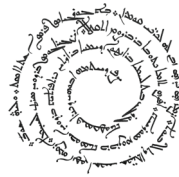# THE JEWISH NEO-ARAMAIC
DIALECT OF URMI

Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies

2

General Editors
Geoffrey Khan and Hezy Mutzafi

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Urmi

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For Nisan Aviv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE

This volume is a description of the Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by the Jews of Urmi in north-western Iran. The majority of the Jewish community left the town in the 1950s and settled in the State of Israel. A few years after their immigration to Israel, their Neo-Aramaic dialect was investigated by Irene Garbell, who published a linguistic description, transcribed texts and a glossary in her book *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan* (1965) and a number of related articles. When I began my own research on Neo-Aramaic a number of years ago, this book was one of the main points of entry into the field. It contains abundant material in its corpus of texts and extensive glossaries, which Garbell was able to gather from the newly arrived immigrants. Her grammatical description, however, is problematic for various reasons.

Garbell adheres strictly to an 'Item-and-Arrangement' type of analysis, which was adopted by some structuralist linguists at that period. Although this approach may have been methodologically rigorous, I have always found Garbell's description difficult to use and obscure in many places. My colleagues in the field and my students tell me that they have experienced similar difficulties with the book.

Another problematic aspect of Garbell's grammatical description is that, although rigorously systematic, its coverage is not complete, even in some areas of morphology. In the area of verb morphology this is in some cases a consequence of the fact that verbal inflections are not presented in full paradigms.

A further issue is that Garbell's book was not intended as a description of specifically the dialect of Urmi but rather of the group of Jewish dialects in the Azerbaijan region. The dialects are classified into two sub-groups designated as 'northern' (N) and 'southern' (S), the dialect of Urmi being in the northern sub-group. Throughout the book many variations in grammatical forms are assigned to the northern or southern sub-group. Some variations, however, are not attributed in this way and so one has the impression that they existed in the Urmi dialect. In some such cases the speech of my own

informants from Urmi did not exhibit such variation. Garbell's book, there-fore, does not offer a clear delineation of the Urmi dialect in all aspects of grammatical structure.

For these reasons I have decided to publish here my own description of the Jewish Urmi dialect. This is not intended to replace the foundational book of Garbell, which due to its richness of material, especially in the text corpus and lexicon, will always remain an important source for Neo-Aramaic studies. Rather my work is intended to complement that of Garbell. The structure of the grammatical description follows the format that I have used in my descriptions of other Neo-Aramaic dialects. The work is based primarily on my own fieldwork. The text corpus in the book, which forms the basis of much of the description, especially in the area of syntax, is a transcription of my own recordings. This has allowed me to transcribe the texts with an indication of prosodic features such as stress placement and intonation group boundaries, according to the model of my other grammars. The glossaries are based on those of Garbell. Items which, as far as can be established, do not occur in the Urmi dialect have been removed and addi-tional material that I have gathered in my own fieldwork has been added.

Although the number of good speakers of the dialect is now far smaller than it was when Garbell undertook her research, it is still possible to find them. I was fortunate in having as my main informant Nisan Aviv, who is a fluent speaker of the Jewish Urmi dialect. He has written several theatre plays in the dialect and has performed in stage productions in the dialect as an actor and a singer. The text corpus published in the volume is based ex-clusively on recordings made of this informant.

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Nisan Aviv for the many hours that he devoted to helping me in this project and for the warm hospitality that he offered me at his home in Tel-Aviv. I also owe a great debt of gratitude to Zion Khakshuri, who has always been willing to answer my questions about the dialect and helped me clarify many aspects of its grammatical structure and lexicon. I am grateful to Ora Yaqubi, who en-couraged me in the early stages of my work and introduced me to Nisan Aviv and other informants. Finally, I am very much in the debt of my friend Hezy Mutzafi, the co-editor of the Gorgias Neo-Aramaic series, who carefully read through the initial version of this book and gave me many valuable comments based on his own extensive knowledge of the dialect, especially with regard to the lexicon and the glossaries.

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Geoffrey Khan
Cambridge, November 2008

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INTRODUCTION

THE JEWS OF URMI

Urmi, also known as Urmia and, during most of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925–1979) Rezaiyeh, is the capital of the West Azerbaijan province in north-western Iran. Until the early 1950s the town was home to a large Jewish community who spoke a neo-Aramaic dialect. At the beginning of the twentieth century the majority of the population was Muslim Azeri. In addition to the Jews there were large minorities of Muslim Kurds, as well as Assyrian and Armenian Christians. Most of the Assyrian Christians, who also speak a dialect of neo-Aramaic, immigrated to Urmi in relatively recent times from the surrounding villages. The Aramaic speaking Jews, on the other hand, were an old component of the urban population. A large proportion of the Christian communities left the town after the First World War.

During the period of the First World War, Urmi was devastated by a series of invasions by the Turks, the Kurds, the Russians and Assyrian Christians from the Hakkari mountains know as the Jəllone. The Jews suffered great hardship and many were forced to flee. Many settled in Tabriz, Baku, Baghdad or further afield in Israel and the USA. In the 1950s the majority of the remaining Jewish community left the town and made their home in Israel. The few Jews who continued to live in Urmi finally left in the 1980s after the Iranian revolution, with the exception of some isolated individuals who are said to be still living there.

The majority of the Jews of Urmi worked in the cloth trade, selling their goods either in the markets of the town or peddling them in the surrounding countryside. A few worked as goldsmiths or jewellers. The education of the children was confined for the most part to Jewish primary schools (⁺mədrāš). These were mostly restricted to boys, but there was one girls' school that had approximately twenty pupils. A few boys had a more advanced Jewish education in a Talmudic *yešiva*. Some of these went on to earn their livelihood through the writing of amulets and talismans. There

were two synagogues in Urmi, a large synagogue, known as the synagogue of Sheikh Abdulla, and smaller one.

THE NEO-ARAMAIC DIALECT OF THE JEWS OF URMI

Written and Spoken Language

A few educated members of the Jewish community of Urmi committed their Neo-Aramaic dialect to writing. These texts were written in Hebrew script, often with vocalization signs. They are for the most part translations of the Bible and other religious works. Samples of these were published by Maclean (1895: 340–344) and Rivlin (1959: 300). More recently a translation of the Torah translated by Rabbi Ḥayyim Yeshurun was published in Israel.[1] Such texts exhibit a variety of differences from the spoken dialect. These include some morphological differences, which apparently reflect a more archaic form of the dialect than is reflected by its modern spoken form. The written translations also exhibit numerous deviations from the spoken dialect in their syntax, as a result of their imitation of the syntax of the source text. Due to these differences, the language of these texts is not incorporated into the description presented in this grammar, which is concerned exclusively with the spoken vernacular form of the dialect.

The Place of Jewish Urmi within the Neo-Aramaic Dialects

The Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Urmi belongs to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) group of dialects, which is a linguistically very diverse group spoken by Jews and Christians East of the Tigris river in south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq and western Iran. It is a general feature of NENA that the dialects spoken by the Jews differ from those spoken by the Christians, even where the two communities lived in modern times in the same geographical location. This applies to the NENA dialects of the Jewish and Christian communities of Urmi, which exhibit fundamental differences in

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[1] *Ḥamišša Ḥummeše ha-Torah. Xamša Səfrət Tora m-Aramit Yaqurta l-Aramit Qalulta*, Holon (no date).

their structure. The following comparative list illustrates some selected divergences in phonology, morphology and lexicon:[2]

J. Urmi	C. Urmi	
belá	*béta*	'house'
zorá	*súra*	'small'
⁺*tura*	ˤ*túyra*	'mountain'
-u	*-e*	'their'
-ilet	*-iwət*	2ms copula
grišé	ʸ*jríšelə*	'He has pulled'
garošé	*bə-*ʸ*jrášelə*	'He is pulling'
xəzyéllux	*xə́zyoxilə*	'He has seen you'
mqy	*hmzm*	'to speak'
⁺*smx*	*kly*	'to stand, to stop'
kwš	ˤ*sly*	'to descend'

These fundamental differences between the Jewish and Christian dialects of Urmi arose not only because of the social separation of the two religious communities but also on account of their different settlement history. The Jewish community, as far as can be established, had deep historical roots in the town whereas most Christians moved to the town from the surrounding countryside in relatively recent times. The contiguity of the two communities within Urmi, therefore, does not have a long history.

The Jewish Urmi dialect is more closely related to the NENA dialects of other Jewish communities in the region than to the speech of the Christians of Urmi. It shares a number of features not found in Christian NENA with the Jewish dialects spoken East of the Great Zab river, the so-called trans-Zab dialects (Mutzafi 2008). Two conspicuous distinctive features of the Jewish trans-Zab group are the shift of the interdental consonants **t* and **d* to /l/ and the general placement of the stress in word final position. These are illustrated in the following:

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[2] Here and in the following lists the abbreviations J. = Jewish and C. = Christian are used.

Fig. 1. Jewish NENA dialects

*baytā 'house', *ʿeḏā 'festival'

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

J. Urmi	belá	elá
J. Sanandaj	belá	elá
J. Arbel	belá	ʾelá

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

J. Amedia	béθa	ʾéda
J. Dohok	béθa	ʾéða
J. Zakho	bésa	ʾéza

Another distinctive feature of trans-Zab Jewish NENA that is found in Jewish Urmi is the collapse of gender distinction in the 3rd person singular independent pronoun, with the 3rd person singular masculine pronoun being used to express also the 3rd person feminine singular, e.g.

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

    J. Urmi   *o*   (3c.)
    J. Sanandaj   *o*   (3c.)
    J. Arbel   ʾ*o*   (3c.)

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

    J. Amedia   ʾ*awa* (3ms.)   ʾ*aya* (3fs.)
    J. Zakho   ʾ*awa* (3ms.)   ʾ*aya* (3fs.)

Despite such shared features, the trans-Zab Jewish dialects differ from one another in a number of respects. Some general remarks will here be made concerning the affiliation of Jewish Urmi within the trans-Zab sub-group.

The closest relatives of Jewish Urmi are the Jewish dialects of Šəno (official name Ushnuye) and Solduz (official name Naghade), which are situated in Iran in the region south of Lake Urmi. Garbell included these dialects in her grammatical description, referring to them as belonging to the southern sub-group of Persian Azerbaijan. The Jewish Urmi dialect differs from Jewish Šəno and Jewish Solduz in a variety of details.[3] In most such cases the latter dialects exhibit more conservative forms than Jewish Urmi. This is seen, for example, in various compound verbal forms that contain the copula. In Jewish Urmi the copula clitic has contracted to a greater extent than in Jewish Šəno/Jewish Solduz, e.g.

    J. Urmi   J. Šəno/J. Solduz

    garošen   *garošlen*   'I am pulling'
    grišen   *grišlen*   'I have pulled'
    šatulen   *šatoylen*   'I am drinking'

In the negated forms of compound verbs in Jewish Urmi, the copula remains bonded to the end of the verbal base, whereas in J. Šəno/J. Solduz the negative copula is used before the verbal base, which is the more original form:

    J. Urmi   J. Šəno/J. Solduz

    la garošen   *len garoša*   'I am not pulling'
    la grišen   *len griša*   'I have not pulling'

---

[3] For further details concerning the dialect of Solduz see Hopkins (1989b).

Jewish Urmi differs to a greater extent from the Jewish NENA dialects spoken further South in western Iran. These include the dialect of Sablaġ (official name Mahabad) and a large sub-group that comprises dialects in the remainder of western Iran including Bokan, Saqəz, Sanandaj and Kerend, which may be called for the present purposes the western Iranian sub-group. The dialects of this sub-group exhibit a large degree of uniformity in their structure. They differ fundamentally from Jewish Urmi in various aspects of their verbal system (Hopkins 1989a, 1999, 2002). The comparative list below illustrates the differences in (i) the progressive present, (ii) the intransitive preterite, (iii) the intransitive perfect and (iv) the expression of a definite direct object of a perfect verb, which in Jewish Urmi agrees with the subject but in the western Iranian dialects agrees with the object.

	J. Urmi	Western Iranian	
(i)	*garošen*	*garšena*	'I am pulling'
(ii)	*qəmle*	*qim*	'He rose'
(iii)	*qim*	*qima-y*	'He has risen'
(iv)	*šwawi brati xəzyella*	*šwawi brati xziteya*	'My neighbour has seen my daughter'

With regard to the Jewish dialects in neighbouring Iraq, as expected Jewish Urmi exhibits the greatest affiliation to the dialects in north-eastern Iraq in the region of the Iranian border, such as Rustaqa and Ruwanduz. This is reflected, for example, in certain aspects of the verbal system such as the expression of the progressive. In Jewish Rustaqa and Jewish Ruwanduz this has an infinitive base, as in Jewish Urmi, though further West in the Jewish Arbel dialect the present base of the verb is used. The *lā* particle in these Iraqi dialects appears to be a fossilized form of the copula (Khan 1999: 111–114; Khan 2002b: 407).

'He is pulling'

J. Urmi	*garoše*
J. Rustaqa	*lā garoša ~ lā garošele*
J. Ruwanduz	*lā garoša*
J. Arbel	*lā garəš*

'I am pulling'

J. Urmi	*garošen*
J. Rustaqa	*lā garošena ~ lā garoša-wena*
J. Ruwanduz	*lā garoša-wen*
J. Arbel	*lā garšen*

The intransitive perfect in Jewish Rustaqa is inflected with S-suffixes (see §4.2.1.) whereas it is inflected with L-suffixes further West in Jewish Ruwanduz and Jewish Arbel (see §4.2.2.).

	'He has risen'	'You (ms.) have risen'
J. Urmi	*qim*	*qimet*
J. Rustaqa	*lā qim*	*lā qimet*
J. Ruwanduz	*lā qəmle*	*lā qəmlox*
J. Arbel	*lā qəmle*	*lā qəmlox*

Although the interdentals **ṯ* and **ḏ* in general shifted to /l/ in Jewish Urmi, in conformity with the other trans-Zab Jewish dialects, the distribution of this feature is slightly less extensive in Jewish Urmi than in other dialects of the subgroup (see §1.8.1.4.), e.g.

	'hand'	'Jew'
J. Urmi	*ida*	*⁺hudaa*
J. Sanandaj	*ila*	*hulaa*
J. Sulemaniyya	*ʾila*	*hulaʾa*
J. Rustaqa	*ʾila*	*hula*
J. Ruwanduz	*ʾila*	*hulaʾa*
J. Arbel	*ʾila*	*hulaʾa*

Jewish Urmi also has a distinct paradigm for the copula with an /l/ element in all inflections, which differs from what is found elsewhere in trans-Zab Jewish NENA, e.g.

	3ms	2ms	1ms
J. Urmi	*ile*	*ilet*	*ilen*
J. Rustaqa	*ile*	*wet*	*wena*
J. Ruwanduz	*ile*	*wet*	*wen*
J. Arbel	*ile*	*wet*	*wen*
J. Sanandaj	*ye*	*yet*	*yena*
J. Sulemaniyya	*ye*	*yet*	*yena*

The Influence of Azeri Turkish and Kurdish

The Jewish Urmi NENA dialect is extensively influenced by Azeri Turkish and Kurdish, which were spoken in and around the town of Urmi, and to a lesser extent by Farsi, to which Jews would have been exposed in government schools and offices. The results of this influence are found in all levels of the grammar and in the lexicon. Chapter 15 examines the extent of the influence in the lexicon. Some selected features within the grammar of the

language that have arisen due to contact with Azeri Turkish and Kurdish include the following (cf. Garbell 1965b):

(i) The general placement of stress in word final position and the retraction of stress in vocative nouns (§1.11.1.2.).

(ii) The use of the demonstrative particle *ay* in genitive annexation constructions (e.g. *julle ay šabbat* 'the clothes of Sabbath' §5.14.) in imitation of the Kurdish relational morpheme (*izafe*), which is demonstrative in origin.

(iii) The frequent placement of adjectives before the noun, in conformity with the word order of Azeri Turkish, e.g. *xa zora bela* 'a small house' (§9.5.1.).

(iv) The normal placement of the direct object before the verb, as in Azeri Turkish and Kurdish.

GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

As remarked in the Preface, this grammar of Jewish Urmi is for the most part based on my own fieldwork and text corpus. When material is taken from Garbell's grammar, the source is referenced by the abbreviation 'G' followed by the page number, e.g. (G:84). The texts that I present here are intended to complement those published by Garbell, many of which have recently been re-published in Hebrew transcription with several corrections and additions by Yosef Ben-Raḥamim (2006), one of Garbell's informants. The texts in my corpus are transcriptions of recordings made of my main informant Nisan Aviv. Numbers in brackets after linguistic examples refer to a line number in my corpus. The texts are almost completely free of interferences from Israeli Hebrew. In the rare cases where this occurs, the Hebrew words are marked by enclosing them by the superscribed letters [H .... H]. The original recordings of the texts can be heard at the website of the NENA database project in Cambridge (nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).
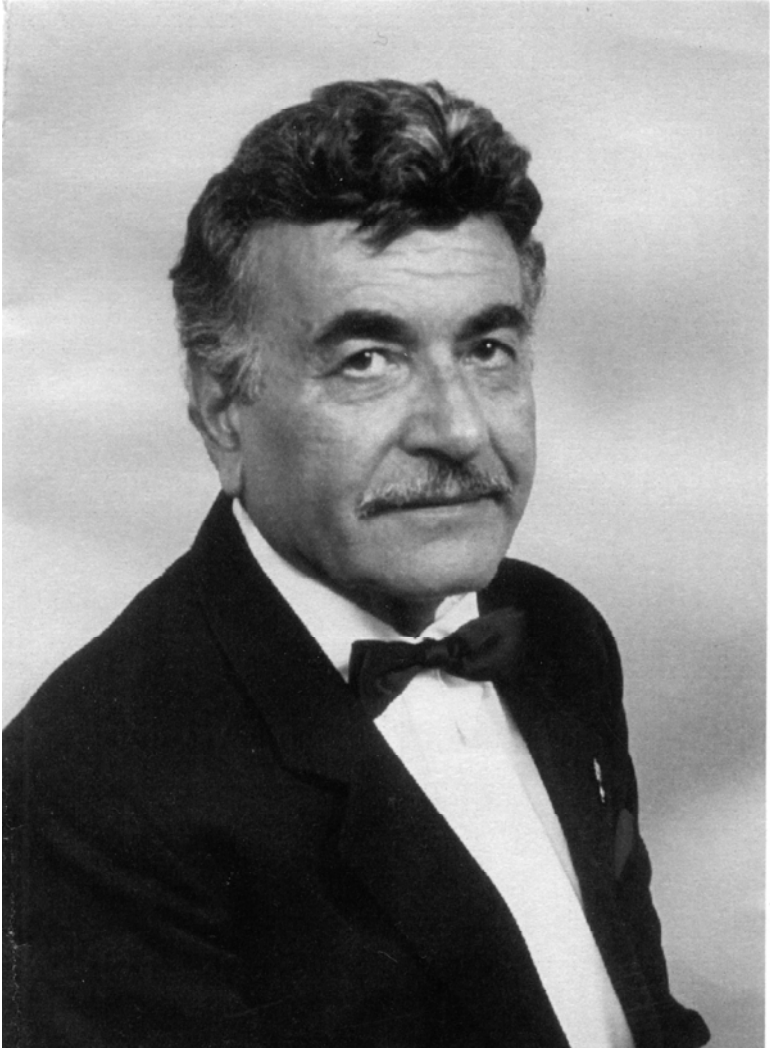
Nisan Aviv

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES

Phoneme Inventory

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngal	Laryngal
Stops							
Unvoiced	p	t		k	q		ʾ
Voiced	b	d		g			
Affricates							
Unvoiced			č				
Voiced			j				
Fricatives							
Unvoiced	f	s	š	x			h
Voiced	w	z	ž	ġ			
			y				
Nasal	m	n					
Lateral		l					
Rhotic		r					

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

/č/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, Turkish and Persian, e.g. *čakma* 'boot', *čamča* 'wooden ladle', *čun* 'because, as'.

/f/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, Turkish and Persian, many ultimately of Arabic origin, e.g. *fakura* 'intelligent', *fayda* 'usefulness', *fitu* 'whistle'.

/j/, which is found in loans from Kurdish, Turkish and Persian, some ultimately of Arabic origin, e.g. *janjar* 'ploughshare', *julle* 'clothes', *jarga* 'row, circle'.

/ž/, which is found in a few loans from Kurdish, e.g. *žang* 'rust'.

1.2. VOWEL PHONEMES

The following vowel phonemes can be distinguished:

/i/, /ə/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/

These oppositions are demonstrated by minimal pairs such as the following:

/i/ : /ə/	*məre*	'He said'
	mire	'He has said'
	twəri	'I broke'
	twiri	'They have been broken
/ə/ : /e/	*xəkle*	'He scratched'
	xekle	'He scratches it'
/i/ : /e/	*mila*	'dead'
	mela	'She dies'
	pləxli	'I opened'
	pləxle	'He opened'
/e/ : /a/	*beli*	'my house'
	bali	'my mind'
	pləxle	'He opened'
	pləxla	'She opened'

| /a/ : /o/ | qara | 'pumpkin' |
| | qora | 'grave' |

| /o/ : /u/ | goran | 'our man' |
| | guran | 'our men' |

1.3. SUPRASEGMENTAL VELARIZATION

A further phonemic opposition relates to velarization. Although in many cases the historical background of this can be traced to the original presence of 'emphatic' consonants in a word, the phenomenon is suprasegmental and its domain is in principle the entire word. There are a number of minimal pairs of words that differ only in the feature of suprasegmental velarization. In the transcription velarization is marked by the symbol [+] at the front of the word, e.g.

| amra | 'May she say' |
| [+]amra | 'wool' |

| aqlew | 'his foot' |
| [+]aqlew | 'his sense' |

| ara | 'ground' |
| [+]ara | 'period, interval' |

| drele | 'He put' |
| [+]drele | 'He scattered' |

| reša | 'head' |
| [+]reša | 'She wakes' |

Garbell (1964, 1965a: 33-34) refers to this phenomenon by the acoustic term 'flatting'. She presents it as having articulatory consequences in all segments of the word. Her description of these may be summarized as follows. When a word is flat there is a secondary articulation of consonants and vowels in addition to their primary one whereby the back of the tongue is moved towards the velum. There is a certain narrowing of the pharyngal tract. The tongue is retracted slightly from the primary point of articulation of dental, alveolar, palatal and velar consonants. Labial consonants are pronounced with a degree of protrusion and rounding of the lips. Vowels in velarized words are realized with back allophones.

In reality suprasegmental velarization frequently does not affect all segments of a velarized word. The impact of velarization across the entire word appears only to be a potential realization of the feature. It is often weakened with the result that some segments of the word are not significantly affected. This can be demonstrated by instrumental acoustic analysis of minimal pairs (velarized vs. non-velarized). The velarization of a segment is reflected in spectographs by the lowering ('flatting') of high frequency energy, specifically by the lowering of the second formant (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 360-363). In what follows I present the results of my analysis of a selection of minimal pairs with the software Praat. The mean frequency (measured in Hertz) of the second formant (F2) at each segment is indicated.

(1) $^+$*aqlew* 'his intelligence' : *aqlew* 'his foot'

Two realizations of this pair were recorded with differing degrees of velarization:

(i) $^+$*a*   *q*   *l*   *e*   *w*
              981   1252 1233 1883 1747

              a   *q*   *l*   *e*   *w*
              1533 1624 1664 2139 1628

(ii) $^+$*a*   *q*   *l*   *e*   *w*
              1150 1287 1593 1647 1871

              a   *q*   *l*   *e*   *w*
              1374 1542 1546 1693 2244

In (i) the velarized member of the pair exhibits significantly lower F2 values in all segments except the final /w/. In (ii) the initial /aq/ syllable has a clear frequency distinction across the two words, but this is not the case with the following sequence /le/, which has a very similar F2 value in both words. The higher F2 of the final /w/ in the non-velarized word is conditioned mainly by the fact that it is realized as an unvoiced fricative [f].

(2) $^+$*darulen* 'I am scattering' : *darulen* 'I am putting'

Two realizations of this pair were recorded with differing degrees of velarization:

(i)   *+d*   *a*   *r*   *u*   *l*   *e*   *n*
       1154 1079 1053 826   1289 1566 1641

       d   *a*   *r*   *u*   *l*   *e*   *n*
       1729 1648 1565 1550 2053 1914 1728

(ii)   *+d*   *a*   *r*   *u*   *l*   *e*   *n*
       1520 1289 1354 1060 1380 1480 1454

       d   *a*   *r*   *u*   *l*   *e*   *n*
       1573 1496 1536 1639 1766 1446 1360

In (i) the F2 frequencies are lower in all segments of the velarized word, though the difference in frequency between the two words of the pair is less in the final */n/*. In (ii), on the other hand, the velarized word exhibits a significant pattern of F2 frequency drop only in the internal sequence of vowels and sonorants */arul/*.

(3)   *+amra* 'wool' : *amra* 'She says'

                 +a   *m*   *r*   *a*
                 1073 1768 1128 1180

                 a   *m*   *r*   *a*
                 1406 1497 1404 1158

There is an uneven reflection of velarization across this pair. The F2 of the initial */a/* vowel is of a significantly lower frequency in the velarized word and the contrast between its back quality and the front quality of the initial */a/* in the non-velarized word is clearly perceptible to the ear. The F2 of the */r/* is also significantly lower in the velarized word. The F2 of the */m/*, however, is of a lower frequency in the non-velarized word, and the final */a/* exhibits a similar F2 frequency in both words.

(4)   *+buz* 'ice' : *buz* 'pour!'

        +b   *u*   *z*
        1314 995   2233

        b   *u*   *z*
        1258 1604 2329

In this pair there is a markedly lower F2 frequency in the vowel /u/ in the velarized word of the pair, but only marginally lower F2 frequencies in the consonants.

(5)   +*dawa* 'quarrel' : *dawa* 'camel'

+d	a	w	a
1407	836	1253	910

d	a	w	a
1716	1170	957	1068

Here there is a significant lowering of F2 frequency only in the initial syllable /da/ of the velarized word.

(6)   +*hawa* 'air' : *hawa* 'that she gives'

+h	a	w	a
1157	979	881	1039

h	a	w	a
1535	1276	928	1011

As with (5), it is only in the initial syllable of the velarized word that there is a significant drop in F2 frequency.

(7)   +*pyala* 'glass' : *pyala* 'She is falling'

+p	y	a	l	a
2047	1927	1078	1022	1109

p	y	a	l	a
2049	1928	1280	1078	1167

In this pair only the internal /a/ vowel of the velarized word exhibits a significant drop in F2 frequency.

(8)   +*tena* 'burden' : *tena* 'fig'

+t	e	n	a
1681	1585	1175	1255

t	e	n	a
1620	1527	1305	1469

In this pair the F2 frequency drops significantly only in the final sylla-ble /na/ of the velarized word.

(9) ⁺*tene* 'burdens' : *tene* 'figs'

⁺t	e	n	e
1857	1688	1438	1719

t	e	n	e
1723	1663	1661	1789

Here there is a significant drop in F2 frequency only in the medial sonorant /n/ of the velarized word.

(10) ⁺*batole* 'to stop working' : *patole* 'to twist'

⁺b	a	t	o	l	e
1570	1274	1812	1138	1930	1763

p	a	t	o	l	e
1553	1528	1893	1545	1964	1843

In this near minimal pair there is a significant drop in F2 frequency only in the /a/ and /o/ vowels of the velarized word.

(11) ⁺*təmma* 'taste' : *dəmma* 'blood'

⁺t	ə	mm	a
1630	1357	1045	1161

d	ə	mm	a
1595	1468	1087	1053

In this near minimal pair the velarization of the first word is reflected only by a marginal drop of F2 frequency in the /ə/ vowel.

Fig. 1 $^{+}$*aqlew* (i)
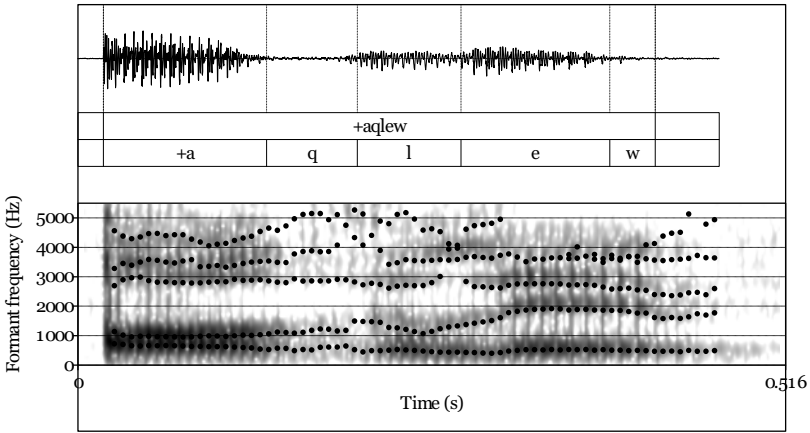
Fig. 2   *aqlew* (i)
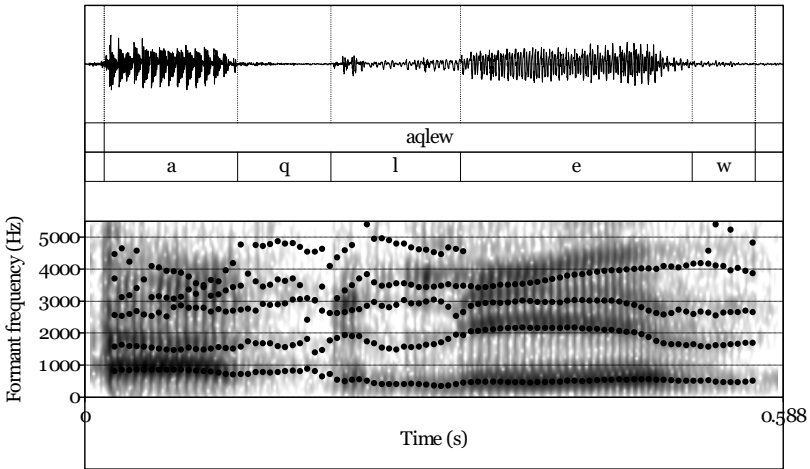
Taking into account the results of these instrumental tests, the following general observations can be made about velarization in the dialect. There is variation as to the number of segments affected by velarization in a velarized word. A velarized word may potentially be realized with a F2 frequency drop in all segments, but in another utterance of the same word the velarization may affect only some of the segments (1, 2). When the velarization is not extended to all segments, the segments that tend to be affected are the vowels /a/, /o/, /u/ and the sonorants /r/, /n/, /l/. The velarization of the /a/, /o/ and /u/ vowels is perceptible to the ear by their distinctively back quality in contrast to a fronted realization in non-velarized words (§1.6.). In some cases the velarization contrasts are reflected only in the realization of the vowels of a pair of words, with the consonants remaining unaffected (4, 7, 10, 11). When the word contains /a/, /o/, /u/ and front vowels such as /e/ or /i/, it is often only the vowels /a/, /o/, /u/ that bear the burden of contrast (10). It follows from this that velarization is more perceptible in verbal inflections with /a/, /o/, /u/, e.g. ⁺tašule 'He is hiding', than in those lacking these vowels, e.g. ⁺tšile 'Hide him!', ⁺tšele 'He hid'. Acoustic reflections of a velarization contrast are less obvious in final /a/ vowels (7), since these in principle are realized as back [ɑ] in all contexts (§1.6.4.).

Garbell (1964, 1965a: 33-34) notes that in a few cases velarization affects only one syllable of a multisyllabic word. This is said to occur specifically in final closed syllables of the form CāC in loanwords. In her transcription she marks only such final syllables as 'flat'. This practice has been adopted in this volume, e.g. ni⁺šān 'sign', duš⁺mān 'enemy', fən⁺jān 'cup'. Given the foregoing remarks about the realization of velarization, words marked as fully velarized (such as ⁺darulen) should be said to differ from words marked as partially velarized (such as ni⁺šān) in the potential extent of velarization in the phonetic realization of the word rather than in their actual phonetic realization in any one particular utterance.

Velarization often spreads beyond a word boundary when there is a combination of more than one word in a single stress group (§1.12). This applies particularly to vowelless or monosyllabic elements combined with a following velarized word, e.g. ⁺b-daməx 'He will sleep', ⁺o-wada 'at that time'.

1.4. NOTES ON THE PHONETIC REALIZATION OF SELECTED CONSONANTS

1.4.1. */p/, /t/, /k/*

In non-velarized words these unvoiced stops are pronounced aspirated, except when they follow an unvoiced fricative in a cluster, e.g. *pél* [pʰeˑl] 'He falls', *tél* [tʰeˑl] 'string of an instrument', *kél* [kʰeˑl] 'He measures', *naxə́p* [nɑːˈxɪpʰ] 'He will be ashamed', *át* [aˑtʰ] 'you (sg.)', *xék* [xeˑkʰ] 'He will scratch', *baxtá* [bʌxˈtɑ] 'woman', *šəfté* [ʃɪfˈteˑ] 'groat dumplings'. When pronounced velarized they are unaspirated in all contexts, e.g. ⁺*tahá* [ɣtɑˈhɑ] 'three', ⁺*kaló* [ɣkɑˈloˑ] 'bride', ⁺*palə́t* [ɣpɑˈlət] 'He goes out'.

1.4.2. */x/, /ġ/*

These are realized as post-velar fricatives, slightly further back than the articulation of the velar stops */k/* and */g/*.

1.4.3. */q/*

When occurring between vowels, between a vowel and */y/* or between a sonant and a vowel, this uvular consonant is voiced and is pronounced either as a stop or a fricative, e.g. *maqé* [mʌˈɢeˑ ~ mʌˈʁeˑ] 'He will speak', *mqí* [ˈmɢiˑ ~ ˈmʁiˑ] 'speak!'

1.4.4. */w/*

In most positions the realization of this phoneme freely varies between a labio-dental [v] and a bilabial [β] with very little friction, e.g. *widén* [viˈdeˑn ~ βiˈdeˑn] 'I have done', *wéli* [ˈveːli ~ ˈβeːli] 'I was', *hawé* [haˈveː ~ haˈβeː] 'that he be', *kwə́l* [ˈkvɪl ~ ˈkβɪl] 'He gives'. It is in some cases realized as a bilabial approximant [w]. This is found predominantly when it is the second member of a cluster following */š/*, e.g. *ušwá* [ɣʃˈwa] 'seven', *šwéle* [ˈʃweːle] 'It was worth', or after */u/*, e.g. *juwé* [ʤuˈwe] 'different', ⁺*lúwa* [ɣluˑwɑ] 'inside'. The conjoining particle *w* is regularly realized as [w], e.g. *soní-w sotí* [søˈniˑw søˈtiˑ] 'my grandfather and grandmother', *xamšá-w xamší* [xʌmˈʃaw xʌmˈʃiː] 'fifty-five'. The realization [w] is found occasionally also elsewhere, e.g. *šwawá* [ʃwaˈwɑ] 'neighbour', in which the realization of the second */w/* has been influenced by that of the first.

1.4.5. */h/*

In intervocalic and post-vocalic position this realized voiced as [ɦ], e.g. *de-hwá* [dë̆ɦ'βɑ] 'gold'. Elsewhere it is articulated as unvoiced [h].

1.4.6. */n/*

The alveolar nasal */n/* is realized as a velar nasal [ŋ] before */k/, /g/* and */q/*, e.g. *danká* [dʌŋ'kʰɑ] 'a certain', *ráng* ['rʌŋg] 'colour', *jwanqá* [ʤβʌŋ'ɢɑ] 'a young man'.

1.4.7. */r/*

The rhotic phoneme is pronounced as an alveolar flap [ɾ] in non-velarized words but more robustly as a trill [r] in velarized words, e.g. *amra* [ʌm'ɾɑ] 'May she say', ⁺*amra* [ˠɒm'rɑ] 'wool'.

1.5. PHONETIC PROCESSES RELATING TO VOICING

The voiced consonants */b/, /d/* and */g/* have a tendency to be devoiced when in contact with unvoiced consonants, e.g.

karubtá [kʌrɣp'tʰɑ] 'sorrowful' (fs.)	cf. *karubá* [kʌrɣ'bɑ] (ms.)
anyagtá [ʌnjʌk'tʰɑ] 'glove'	cf. *anyagyé* [ʌnjʌg'jeˑ] 'gloves'
šdə́re ['ʃtɪru] 'They sent'	cf. *šadə́r* [ʃɑ'dər] 'He sends'

All unvoiced consonants have a tendency to be voiced when in contact with a voiced consonant or a vowel across a word boundary in the same intonation group, e.g.

*be-naxə́p mənnù*ˈ [be-nɑˑ'xəb mən'nuˑ] 'He will be ashamed of them.'

*broná-š gdèwa*ˈ [brøˑ'na-ʒ 'gdeːwɑ] 'and a boy would come.'

*gèč ilá*ˈ ['geˑʤ iˑ'lɑ] 'It is late'

Such phonetic processes as these, which are restricted to particular inflections of a word or certain junctural environments across word boundaries are not represented in the transcription.

1.6. THE PHONETIC REALIZATION OF VOWELS

1.6.1. */i/*

This is realized as an unrounded high front [i], e.g. *sí* [ˈsiː] 'Go!', *ít* [ˈiˑt] 'there is'. In unstressed syllables it is slightly lowered, e.g. *nóši* [ˈnøːʃi̞] 'my-self'. In velarized words it is pronounced with lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in contact with consonants.

1.6.2. */ə/*

In non-velarized words this is realized as [ɪ] or [ə], the latter being particu-larly common before sonants, e.g. *grə́šla* [ˈgrɪʃlɑ] 'She pulled', *škə́l* [ʃkɪ́l ~ ʃkə́l] 'picture', *fkəre* [ˈfkɪre ~ ˈfkəre] 'He understood', *ə́tti* [ˈɪtti] 'I have'. In velarized words it is realized with the unrounded high back quality [ɯ] in the vicinity of plosives and labials, e.g. ⁺*pətxá* [ˠpɯtˈxɑ] 'thickness'.

1.6.3. */e/*

This is in most cases realized as an unrounded mean-mid front vowel [e̞], e.g. *ədyéla* [ɪdˈje̞ˈlɑ] 'She came'. In an open unstressed syllable preceding a syllable containing */i/*, it is articulated with a higher-mid quality [e], e.g. *beli* [beˈliː] 'my house'. Before a consonant cluster beginning with */h/*, it is realized as a centralized mean-mid [ë], e.g. *dehwá* [dë̞fiˈβɑ] 'gold'. In velar-ized words it is pronounced with lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in con-tact with consonants.

1.6.4. */a/*

In non-final position within a word the most common realization is as an unrounded low front [a], e.g. *paláx* [pʰaˈɾlɪx] 'He opens', *mǎni* [ˈmani] 'who', *dǎr* [ˈdaˑɾ] 'He returns', *qalé* [qaˈle̞] 'He roasts'. In the vicinity of back and labial consonants in stressed syllables and in pretonic open syllables it is pronounced as low back [ɑ], e.g. *xamə́r* [xɑˈmɪɾ] 'It ferments', *bá-ma?* [ˈbɑˑmɑ] 'why?'. In unstressed closed syllables and in open syllables that do not immediately precede the stress it is realized as a back low-mid [ʌ], e.g. *axní* [ʌxˈniˑ] 'we', *xarupé* [xʌɾyˈpe̞ˑ] 'sharp (pl.)'. When in contact with */o/* in the sequence */ao/*, */a/* is sometimes rounded as open-mid [ɔ], e.g. *baóx* [bɔˈo̞x] 'to you'.

In word final position, it is realized as low back [ɑ], e.g. *idá* [iˈdɑ] 'hand', *baxtá* [bʌxˈtɑ].

In velarized environments the vowel is realized as back unrounded [ɑ] or back rounded [ɒ], the latter occurring in unstressed closed syllables and in open syllables that do not immediate precede the stress, where the realization is [ʌ] in non-velarized environments, e.g. ⁺*qatə́l* [ˠqɑˈtəl] 'He kills', ⁺*amra* [ˠɒmˈrɑ] 'wool'.

1.6.5. */o/*

In non-velarized words this is generally a rounded mean-mid vowel. In the environment of the uvular */q/* and the post-velar fricatives */x/* and */ġ/* it is realized as back [o̞], e.g. *qór* [ˈqo̞ɾ] 'He buries', *rešóx* [ɾe̞ˈʃox] 'your head'. Elsewhere its usual realization is front [ø̞], e.g. *torá* [tʰø̞ˈɾɑ] 'ox', *nóšan* [ˈnø̞ʃan] 'ourselves'. In an open syllable before a syllable with */i/*, it is raised slightly to close-mid [ø], e.g. *torí* [tʰø̞ˈɾiˑ] 'ox', *nóši* [ˈnø̞ʃi] 'myself'.

In velarized words the vowel is realized only with the back allophones [o̞], [o] and never the front allophones [ø̞], [ø], e.g. ⁺*paloté* [ˠpɒlo̞ˈteˑ] 'He is going out', ⁺*qoqí* [ˠqo̞ˈqiˑ] 'my pot'.

1.6.6. */u/*

In non-velarized words this is realized as a rounded front [y] in open syllables or closed stressed syllables, e.g. *belú* [be̞ˈly] 'their house', *úle* [ˈyˑle̞] 'There he is', *wud* [βyd] 'Do!' In unstressed closed syllables it is centralized slightly to the region of [ʏ], e.g. *xaluntá* [xʌlʏnˈtʰɑ] 'sister'.

In velarized words the front realizations [y] and [ʏ] are replaced by the back allophones [u] and [ʊ] respectively, e.g. ⁺*talubá* [ˠtɑluˈbɑ] 'beggar', ⁺*šultana* [ˠʃʊltɑˈnɑ] 'king'.

1.7. VOWEL LENGTH

The length of vowels is conditioned to a large extent by syllable structure, stress position and speed of the utterance.

1.7.1. The Vowels */i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/* in Open Syllables

1.7.1.1. Penultimate Open Syllables

All vowel phonemes except /ə/ tend in principle to be pronounced long in an open penultimate syllable, both when they are stressed and also when the stress is put on the final syllable and the penultimate syllable is, therefore, pretonic. The relative length of the long vowels depends of the speed of utterance. In fast speech vowels transcribed below with the length sign (*V:*) would be more appropriately transcribed as 'half long' (*Vˑ*). Examples:

⁺*rába* [ˠraːbɑ]	'much'	
kasá [kaːˈsɑ]	'stomach'	
léka? [ˈlẹːkʰɑ]	'where?'	
belá [bẹːˈlɑ]	'house'	
zíla [ˈziːlɑ]	'She has gone'	
didán [diːˈdan]	'our'	
nóšan [ˈnøːʃan]	'ourselves'	
košá [kʰøːˈʃɑ]	'She comes down'	
kúšun [ˈkyːʃʏn]	'Come down (pl.)!'	
⁺*turá* [ˠtuːˈrɑ]	'mountain'	

There are some exceptions to this principle of vowel lengthening in penultimate syllables. These include the following:

(a) The word *mắni* 'who', which is derived historically from an original form **man* in a closed syllable, to which an augment suffix *–i* has been added. The original short /a/ vowel has remained short, as if it were still in a closed syllable. It should be noted that the preservation of short vowels by this type of process of historical drag is more widespread in other NENA dialects than in J. Urmi. The penultimate /a/ vowel in nouns such as *tara* 'door' and *ara* 'land', for example, were originally in closed syllables (< **tarˤa, *arˤa*) and in many NENA dialects have remained short after the elision of the pharyngal. In J. Urmi, however, these vowels are pronounced long according to the general rule.

(b) Short vowels in penultimate syllables are frequently found in loanwords that preserve the phonological system of the source language, e.g.

ăgár [aˈgar]		'if'
bălé [baˈlẹˑ]		'but, indeed'
măsál [maˈsal]		'story'
panjăra [panʤaˈɾɑ]		'window'

1.7.1.2. Final Open Syllables

The length of a vowel in a word-final open syllable depends in principle on the position of the word in the intonation group in which it is uttered. When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, vowels tends to be long, irrespective as to whether they are stressed or not. All vowels except /ə/ occur in this position.

In what follows the boundaries of intonation groups are marked in the transcription by a short vertical sign ˈ (not to be confused with the mark of the stress ˈ in the IPA narrow phonetic transcription). The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group and typically occurs at its end, is marked by a grave accent (*v̀*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*v́*). Vowels marked as long *V:* below are reduced to half long (*V*ˑ) in fast speech:

belá [bẹˈla]	*belà*ˈ [bẹˈlɑː]		'house'
karmé [kaɾˈmẹ]	*karmè*ˈ [kaɾˈmẹː]		'vineyards'
dadí [daˈdi]	*dadì*ˈ [daˈdiː]		'my father'
belú [bẹˈly]	*belù*ˈ [bẹˈlyː]		'their village'
grə́šla [ˈgrɪʃlɑ]	*grə̀šla*ˈ [ˈgrɪʃlɑː]		'She pulled'
grə́šle [ˈgrɪʃlẹ]	*grə̀šle*ˈ [ˈgrɪʃlẹː]		'He pulled'
grə́šli [ˈgrɪʃli]	*grə̀šli*ˈ [ˈgrɪʃliː]		'I pulled'
grə́šlu [ˈgrɪʃly]	*grə̀šlu*ˈ [ˈgrɪʃlyː]		'They pulled'

1.7.1.3. Antepenultimate Open Syllables

A vowel in an antepenultimate open syllable, or one that is further back, is generally pronounced short, even where the word occurs at the end of an intonation group,

xaluntá [xʌlʏnˈtʰɑ] *xaluntà*ˈ [xʌlʏnˈtʰɑː] 'sister'

The transcription that is used in this volume aims to be phonemic and as economical as possible. Most of the vowel length distinctions in open syllables that are described above are either predictable from the position of the syllable or the stress in the word or are results of communicative strategies expressed in the division of speech into intonation groups. In such circumstances the length of a vowel does not have phonemic status since it is

not crucial for expressing semantic distinctions between words. In the tran-scription, therefore, the length of vowels will generally be left unspecified by a diacritical mark. Diacritics will only be used in words that regularly go against the aforementioned tendencies. As indicated above, the vast major-ity of these are loanwords. Such vowels will be marked by a breve sign.

1.7.2. The Vowels */i/, /e/, /o/, /u/* in Closed Syllables

In most cases the length of a vowel in a closed syllable is determined by stress, syllable structure and the position of the word in the intonation group. A distinction should be made between a closed syllable in which the vowel nucleus is followed by one consonant and a closed syllable in which the vowel nucleus is followed by more than one consonant. The former type is found at the end of words. There is a greater tendency to shorten the vowel when it is followed by two consonants than there is when it is fol-lowed by a single consonant.

As a general rule, the vowels */i/, /e/, /o/* and */u/* are pronounced long when they are followed by a single consonant in a stressed closed syllable, e.g.

pél	[ˈpʰẹːl]	'He falls'
gód	[ˈgøːd]	'He does'
kúš	[ˈkʰyːʃ]	'Come down!'
qím	[ˈqiːm]	'He has risen'

When they are followed by two consonants, there is a tendency to shorten them, though at the end of an intonation group the length is some-times retained, e.g.

pélwa	[ˈpẹlvɑ]	'He used to fall'
*pèlwa*ˈ	[ˈpeːlvɑː] ~ [ˈpẹlvɑː]	'He used to fall'
gódwa	[ˈgødvɑ]	'He used to do'
*gòdwa*ˈ	[ˈgøːdvɑː] ~ [gødvɑː]	'He used to do'
dúqlu	[ˈdyqly]	'Sieze them!'
*dùqlu*ˈ	[ˈdyːqlyː] ~ [ˈdɤqly]	'Sieze them!'
qímwa	[ˈqimvɑ]	'He had risen'
*qìmwa*ˈ	[ˈqiːmvɑ] ~ [ˈqimvɑ]	'He had risen'

In unstressed syllables the vowel is usually pronounced short, e.g.

deqwále	[dẹqˈvɑːlẹ]	'He used to chop it'

godwále [gød'vɑːlẹ]   'He used to do it'

An exceptional case is the 2ms. pronominal suffix *–ox*, in which the */o/* is pronounced short in all contexts:

belóx [beˑˈlọx]   'your house'
belòx⸍ [b eˑˈlọx]   'your house'

Due to the high degree of predictability and also the contextual variability of the length of the vowels */i/, /e/, /o/* and */u/* in closed syllables, differences in length are not marked by diacritics in the transcription.

1.7.3. The Vowel */a/* in Closed Syllables

There is greater variability regarding the length of */a/* in closed syllables than is the case with the vowels */i/, /e/, /o/* and */u/*. In the majority of contexts */a/* is short in a closed syllable in words of Aramaic stock and they are transcribed without a diacritic, e.g.

belán [beˑˈlan]   'our house'
karmáx [kʰarˈmɑx]   'your (fs.) vineyard'
garšát [garˈʃatʰ]   'You (fs.) pull'

In monosyllabic words ending a single consonant, however, the */a/* is generally pronounced long and in such case the vowel is marked as long in the transcription by a macron, e.g.

dā́r [ˈdaːɾ]   'He returns'
⁺*tā́l* [ˈˠtɑːr]   'He plays'
ā́t [ˈaːt]   'You (sing.)'
nā́š [ˈnaːʃ]   'person'
mā́r [ˈmaːɾ]   'Say!'

Furthermore various loanwords unadapted to Aramaic morphology retain an original long */a/* vowel in a closed syllable from the source language, e.g.

čaydā́n [ʧajˈdaːn]   'teapot'
⁺*čobā́n* [ˠʧoːˈbaːn]   'shepherd'
bərdā́n [bɪɾˈdaːn]   'suddenly'
šahrdā́r [ʃahrˈdaːɾ]   'town councillor'
ni⁺šā́n [niːˠʃaːn]   'sign'

1.7.4. The Vowel /ə/

The vowel /ə/ is regularly pronounced short in both open and closed sylla-
bles. In closed syllables it is the reflex of an originally short front high vowel
(*i) or of an originally long front high vowel (*ī, *ē) that has become short-
ened, e.g.

garə́š	'He pulls'	< *gāriš
grə́šle	'He pulled'	< *grīšlē
garšə́tte	'He pulls him'	< *garšēttē

It occurs in open syllables due to the weakening of a following gemi-
nated /r/ or as an epenthetic, e.g.

mə́re	'He said'	< *mərre < *mīrrē
sə́xe	'He has washed'	< sxe

1.8. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF CONSONANTS

1.8.1. The BGDKPT Consonants

The erstwhile post-vocalic fricative allophones of the *bgdkpt* consonants have
undergone various developments. In all cases the reflex of the earlier frica-
tive is a fossilized vestige from an earlier period and is now treated as a
phoneme different from the homorganic stop.

1.8.1.1. *b

The reflex of the fricative allophone of *b in earlier Aramaic is /w/, e.g.

qrawa	'battle'	< *qrāḇā
šwawa	'neighbour'	< *šḇāḇā
xalwa	'milk'	< *ḥalḇā
dehwa	'gold'	< *dahḇā

The diphthong /aw/ deriving from the sequence *aḇ has contracted to
/o/ when it stands before a consonant, e.g.

gora	'man'	< *gaḇrā
qora	'grave'	< *qaḇrā
koda	'liver'	< *kaḇdā

In the present of 3ms. verbal forms this contraction has taken place
also where *aḇ was originally followed by a vowel. This has arisen by anal-

ogy with the rest of the paradigm, where the *a*ḇ was followed by a conso-
nant, e.g.

koš	'He descends'	< *kaḇəš*
koša	'She descends'	< *kaḇša*
koši	'They descend'	< *kaḇši*

When *ḇ* is preceded by a high vowel, this sequence contracts to /u/ before a consonant, e.g.

gure	'men'	< *guḇrē*
duša	'honey'	< *dəḇšē*
tuna	'straw'	< *təḇnā*

Where the stop /b/ occurs after a vowel in words of Aramaic stock, this is usually derived from an original geminate *bb*, e.g.

⁺*raba*	'much'	< *rabba*
⁺*rabta*	'big' (f.)	< *rabbətā*

Verbs containing medial /b/ are derived historically from *paᶜᶜel* stems with a geminate middle radical, e.g. *zabən* 'He sells', *qabəl* 'He receives'.

1.8.1.2. *p

Both the stop *p* and the corresponding fricative *p̄* of earlier Aramaic are reflected in the dialect by the stop /p/, e.g.

kepa	'stone'	< *kep̄ā*
kəpna	'hunger'	< *kəp̄nā*
əpra	'soil'	< *ᶜap̄rā*
naxəp	'He is ashamed'	< *nāḵəp̄*

The words *noš-* 'oneself' and ⁺*tloxe* 'lentils' appear to be exceptions to this, since in the attested literary forms of eastern Aramaic these contain *p̄* (cf. BJA *nap̄šā, ṭlop̄ḥē*). The easiest explanation is that the NENA forms *noš-* and ⁺*tloxe* are descended from a proto-form with a voiced *ḇ*. This would have formed a diphthong with a preceding vowel, which became mo-nophthongized before a consonant (§1.8.1.1.): *noš- < *naḇš-,* ⁺*tloxe < *ṭlaḇšē*.

1.8.1.3. *t

The fricative allophone of *t* has shifted in most cases to /l/, e.g.

mala	'village'	< *māṯā*
xmala	'mother-in-law'	< *ḥmāṯā*

xala	'new'	< *ḥāṯā
xel	'under'	< *ṯheṯ
tapəl	'He sneezes'	< *tāpəṯ
-ula	(abstract ending)	< *-ūṯā

This shift does not occur across word boundaries, since the fricative allophones of *bgdkpt* consonants did not, in principle, exist in word-initial position in proto-NENA. One exceptional occurrence of the shift *ṯ > l* at the beginning of a word is the closely-knit sequence *laləmmal* 'not yesterday (= the day before yesterday)' < *lā ṯəmmal*.

The shift *ṯ > d* is attested in the verbal roots ∅*dy* 'to come' and +*rdx* 'to boil' and also in the allomorph of the feminine marker –*da* in a few nouns (§5.5.):

ade	'May he come'	< *ᵓaṯē
+*radəx*	'It boils'	< *rāṯəḥ
kalda	'daughter-in-law'	< *kalṯā

The /d/ has been generalized throughout all inflections of the verb, including its causative form *mdy* 'to bring'. This same shift is attested in the dialects J. Rustaqa and J. Ruwanduz. Other trans-Zab dialects have /l/ or zero in these lexical items:

	'May he come'	'May he bring'
J. Urmi	*ade*	*made*
J. Rustaqa	*ade*	*made*
J. Ruwanduz	*ade*	*made*
J. Arbel	*ale*	*ăme*
J. Sulemaniyya	*he*	*hăme*

In a few instances it has lost its oral articulation and shifted to /h/. Most words in which this shift is found are velarized, e.g.

+*taha*	'three'	< *tlāṯā
+*tahi*	'thirty'	< *tlāṯīn
+*ahra*	'town'	< *ᵓaṯrā
bahro	'two days time'	< *baṯr-yōm

A stop /t/ occurs after a vowel in the following circumstances:

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

brata	'daughter'	< *brattā
+*bate*	'houses'	< *bāttē
šata	'year'	< *šattā

skita	'knife'	< **skītta* < **skīntā*

(ii) When it was originally separated from the preceding vowel by a guttural consonant, which has now been lost, e.g.

beta	'egg'	< **beʿtā*
šrata	'lamp'	< **šraʿtā* < **šraḡtā*

(iii) When it is preceded by an /o/ that has developed by the contraction of the sequence **aḇ* (cf. §1.8.1.1.), e.g.

arota	'Friday'	< **ʿaraḇtā*

(iv) In a number of cases where the fricative **ṯ* occurs in post-vocalic position, e.g.

šate	'He drinks'	< **šāṯē*
yatəw	'He sits'	< **yāṯəb*
sətwa	'winter'	< **sətwā*
it	'there is'	< **ʾīṯ*

1.8.1.4. **d*

The fricative **ḏ*, which was the post-vocalic allophone of **d* in earlier Aramaic, has sometimes shifted to /l/, as is the case with **ṯ*, e.g.

ela	'festival'	< **ʿēḏā*
sahla	'witness'	< **sāhḏā*
qlila	'key'	< **qḏīlā*
raqəl	'He dances'	< **rāqəḏ*
⁺*xasəl*	'He harvests'	< **ḥāṣəḏ*
qel	'It burns'	cf. **yāqəḏ*

In some cases the fricative **ḏ* has shifted to a stop /d/, e.g.

ida	'hand'	< **ʾīḏā*
⁺*hudaa*	'Jew'	< **yhūḏāyā*
od	'May he do'	< **ʿāḇəḏ*
dəġde	'each other'	< **ḥḏāḏē*

In some Jewish trans-Zab dialects the original **ḏ* has shifted to /l/ also in these words:

J. Urmi	*ida*	⁺*hudaa*	*od*	*dəġde*
J. Arbel	*ʾila*	*hulaʾa*	*ʾol*	*dəxle*
J. Sulemaniyya	*ʾila*	*hulaʾa*	*hol*	*ləxle*

The shift *ḏ > d may be interpreted as an intermediate stage in the shift of the fricative to the lateral /l/. The form *ade* < *ʾāṯē 'May he come', moreover, suggests that the shift of the unvoiced fricative *ṯ to the voiced lateral /l/ also underwent an intermediate shift to /d/.

The stop /d/ is attested after vowels in words of Aramaic stock in the following circumstances:

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

  guda　　　'wall'　　　　　　< *guddā

(ii) after /o/ that derives historically from *aḇ, e.g.

  koda　　　'liver'　　　　　　< *kaḇdā

(iii) in several other words not exhibiting these last two features in which a fricative *ḏ would be expected in earlier Aramaic, e.g.

  didi　　　'my'　　　　　　< *dīḏī
  xadər　　　'He becomes'　　< *ḥāḏər

1.8.1.5. *k

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

  baxe　　　'He weeps'　　　　　< *bāḵē
  naxəp　　　'He becomes ashamed'　< *nāḵəp̄
  laxxa　　　'here'　　　　　　　< *l-āḵā

In some lexical items, however, an original fricative *ḵ has been converted into a stop /k/, e.g.

  rakəw　　　'He rides'　　　　< *rāḵəḇ
  leka　　　'where'　　　　　< *l-ēḵā

1.8.1.6. *g

The reflex of post-vocalic *g is zero, e.g.

  šrata　　　'lamp'　　　　< *šraḡtā
  pela　　　'radish'　　　< *paḡlā
  zoa　　　'pair'　　　　< *zōḡā
  pale　　　'He divides'　< *pāləḡ

The stages of this development can be reconstructed as follows: *ḡ > *ʿ > *ʾ > ∅ (cf. Tsereteli 1990), in which the velar fricative shifts to a

pharyngal fricative before being reduced to zero. Some words in J. Urmi that have lost an original *ḡ are pronounced velarized, e.g.

| ⁺reš | 'He awakes' | < *rāḡəš |
| ⁺luwa | 'inside' | < *lə-ḡōʾā |

The background of this is likely to be the pharyngalization of the word caused by the presence of a pharyngal. This pharyngalization would have subsequently become weakened to velarization.

1.8.2. Pharyngals and Laryngals

1.8.2.1. *ḥ

The unvoiced pharyngal *ḥ has in most cases shifted to the velar fricative /x/, e.g.

xmara	'ass'	< *ḥmārā
qamxa	'flour'	< *qamḥā
xamša	'five'	< *ḥamšā
plx	'to open'	< *ptḥ
xll	'to wash'	< *ḥll

In some velarized words the reflex of *ḥ is /h/ or zero, e.g.

⁺səhya	'thirsty'	< *ṣəḥyā < *ṣəhyā
⁺rəqqa	'distant'	< *rəḥqā
⁺dabe	'He slaughters'	< *dābəḥ
⁺šate	'He lies down'	< *šāṭəḥ

Various dialects have preserved the pharyngal *ḥ in some of these words, whereas it has shifted to /x/ elsewhere:

J. Urmi	⁺səhya	⁺rəqqa	⁺dabe
J. Sulemanyya	ṣəḥya	—	dabəḥ
J. Amedia	ṣəḥya	raḥuqa	ḍabəḥ

This suggests that the shift *ḥ > h/∅ in J. Urmi took place later than the shift *ḥ > x. Proto-NENA, it appears, had /x/ (< *ḥ) and also /ḥ/. This situation survived in some dialects. In J. Urmi the pharyngal /ḥ/ subsequently shifted to h/∅ with suprasegmental velarization. This process is the normal one in loanwords that have an original *ḥ in the source language, e.g.

| ⁺hatān | 'bridegroom' | < *ḥātān (Heb.) |
| ⁺psy | 'to hold Passover' | < *psḥ (Heb.)' |

⁺*hasira*	'mat'	< *ḥaṣīra* (Arab. < Kurd./Turk.)
⁺*haq*	'right'	< *ḥaqq* (Arab. < Kurd./Turk.)
⁺*hazər*	'ready'	< *ḥāẓər* (Arab. < Kurd./Turk.)

1.8.2.2. *ᶜ

The voiced pharyngal *ᶜ has been weakened to zero in all contexts, e.g.

ena	'eye'	< *ᶜaynā*
əpra	'soil'	< *ᶜap̄rā*
tara	'door'	< *tarᶜā*
bee	'eggs'	< *bēᶜē*

This process has taken place in words that have preserved the pharyngal in some other NENA dialects. Such words contain /q/, an original emphatic or emphatic inducing consonant (*m, r, l*). In J. Urmi the words with original emphatics are velarized, but those with /q/ are non-velarized, e.g.

J. Urmi	J. Sulemaniyya	
aqla	ᶜ*aqla*	'leg'
aqubra	ᶜ*aqubra*	'mouse'
aqərwa	ᶜ*aqərwa*	'scorpion'
⁺*tena*	*ṭaᶜna*	'burden'
⁺*təmma*	*ṭəmᶜa*	'taste'
⁺*amra*	ᶜ*amra*	'wool'
⁺*sare*	*zaᶜre*	'barley'

Verbs that had *ᶜ as their final radical are now all treated as final /y/ verbs. These words are not velarized, unless one of their other radicals was an emphatic, e.g.

gry	'to shave'	< *grᶜ*
mry	'to ache'	< *mrᶜ*
pqy	'to burst'	< *pqᶜ*
⁺*qty*	'to cut'	< *qṭᶜ*
šmy	'to hear'	< *šmᶜ*
⁺*tmy*	'to taste'	< *ṭmᶜ*
xly	'to wrap'	< *xḏᶜ*
xmy	'to ferment'	< *xmᶜ*

There are a few marginal cases, presumably archaisms, in which *ᶜ has the reflex of the laryngal /ʾ/ rather than zero, e.g.

| ⁺*zarʾa* | 'seed, progeny' | < *zarᶜā* |

1.8.2.3. *h

The laryngal *h has been preserved in word initial and postvocalic position, e.g.

⁺hudaa	'Jew'	< yhūḏāyā
hawe	'May he be'	< hāwē
sahla	'witness'	< sāhḏā

When it closes a syllable with an original short *a, this vowel shifts to /e/, e.g.

| dehwa | 'gold' | < dahḇā |
| sehra | 'moon' | < sahrā |

1.8.2.4. *ʾ

The original laryngal *ʾ, which survives in syllable initial position in some NENA dialects, has been elided in J. Urmi, e.g.

| axəl | 'He eats' | < *ʾāxəl |
| it | 'there is' | < *ʾīt |

This applies also to cases of intervocalic *ʾ that developed from an original /y/ at some earlier point in the history of the dialect, e.g.

| ⁺hudaa | 'Jew' | < *yhūḏāʾā < *yhūḏāyā |
| maštoe | 'to give to drink' | < *maštōʾē < *maštōyē |

1.8.3. Velarization

The velarization of words of Aramaic stock has developed on account of the presence in them of particular types of consonant.

(i) Words that contained historically one of the emphatic consonants *ṭ and *ṣ are in principle pronounced velarized, e.g.

⁺təmma	'taste'	< *ṭaʿmā
⁺mətra	'rain'	< *məṭrā
⁺rxt	'to run'	< *rhṭ < *rhṭ
⁺siwa	'wood'	< *ṣīḇā
⁺bsr	'to lessen'	< *bṣr
⁺mys	'to suck'	< *myṣ

Exceptions to this are rare. One case is *patire* 'Passover' < *paṭṭīrē ('unleavened breads').

(ii) In many words the velarization has been induced by other consonants, including the sonants /r/, /m/, /l/, the voiced labial /b/, the post-velar fricative /x/ and the historical pharyngals *ḥ and *ʿ.

In most cases the velarization has arisen where these consonants co-occur in the same word, e.g.

⁺yrm	'to rise'	<	*rym
⁺raba	'much'	<	*rabba
⁺rixa	'smell'	<	*rīḥā
⁺rdx	'to boil'	<	*rtḥ
⁺amra	'wool'	<	*ʿamrā
⁺dby	'to slaughter'	<	*dbḥ
⁺dmx	'to sleep'	<	*dmx

In some words a pharyngal developed secondarily from some other consonant at some intermediate stage in the evolution of a word, e.g.

⁺ryš	'to wake'	<	*rʿš < rḡš

There are, however, many exceptional cases in which two consonants from this set co-occur but the word nevertheless is unvelarized, e.g.

karma	'vineyard'	<	*karmā
∅mr	'to say'	<	*ʾmr
dəmme	'tears'	<	*dəmʿe
bota	'seed kernel'	<	*bōʿtā
roxa	'rheum'	<	*rūḥā
moxa	'brain'	<	*mōḥā
rxm	'to love'	<	*rḥm
arota	'Friday'	<	*ʿrabtā
balota	'throat'	<	*bālōʿtā

Velarization also occurs in some words containing one consonant from the set, but not consistently, e.g.

⁺aqa	'distress'	<	*ʿāqā
⁺yama	'sea'	<	*yammā
⁺ysr	'to tie'	<	*ʾsr
⁺moe	'water'	<	*mayyā

One may include here the velarized words listed in §1.8.1.3. in which an original *ṯ has shifted to /h/, viz. ⁺taha 'three', ⁺tahi 'thirty' and ⁺ahra 'town'. Several trans-Zab Jewish NENA dialects have a pharyngal /ḥ/ in some of these words, which appears to have developed on account of su-

prasegmental pharyngalization that was a precursor of the velarization of J. Urmi:

	*tlāṯā'	*tlāṯīn	*'aṯrā
J. Urmi	⁺taha	⁺tahi	⁺ahra
J. Arbel	ṭlaḥa	ṭlaḥi	—
J. Sulemaniyya	ṭlaḥa	ṭlaḥi	'aḥra

(iii) A few velarized words occur that contain none of the consonants of the set given in (ii), e.g. ⁺dəqna 'beard'.

All this shows that in words of Aramaic stock other than those containing the historical emphatic consonants *ṭ and *ṣ velarization has not been conditioned systematically by the phonetic structure of the words, but rather it is lexically specific.

Velarized loanwords from Kurdish and Turkish in principle carry over the velarization from the source language.[1] In some cases the ultimate source of such loanwords is in another language, such as Arabic or Russian, and the velarization can be traced to these languages. In the case of loans of Arabic origin, not only the Arabic emphatic consonants but also the pharyngals /ḥ/ and /ʿ/ condition velarization, e.g.

⁺hukmat	'government'	< Arab. ḥukma
⁺amarta	'palace'	< Arab. ʿamāra

The velarization of Hebrew loanwords is conditioned by the historical presence of one of the following elements:

(i) The emphatic consonants *ṭ or *ṣ, e.g.

⁺tawəlla	'ritual immersion'	< Heb. טְבִילָה
⁺təppa	'drop'	< Heb. טִפָּה
⁺saddiq	'pious man'	< Heb. צַדִּיק
⁺məswa	'good deed'	< Heb. מִצְוָה

(ii) The pharyngals *ḥ or *ʿ, e.g.

⁺hatān	'bridegroom'	< Heb. חָתָן
⁺hasid	'pious'	< Heb. חָסִיד

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[1] For further details see Garbell (1964: 93–99).

⁺*arel*	'Christian'	< Heb.	עָרֵל
⁺*gnedem*	'paradise'	< Heb.	גַּן־עֵדֶן

Some exceptions are *ani* 'poor' (Heb. עָנִי) and *hanukke* 'Hanukkah' (Heb. חֲנֻכָּה), which are not velarized.

(iii) Elsewhere velarization occurs predominantly in words with long rounded back vowels, especially *qameṣ*, the reflex of which is [ɒ], e.g.

⁺*haggada*	'Passover legend'	< Heb.	הַגָּדָה
⁺*gamara*	'Gemara'	< Heb.	גְּמָרָה
⁺*Awrahām*	'Abraham'	< Heb.	אַבְרָהָם
⁺*amen*	'amen'	< Heb.	אָמֵן
⁺*Tamār*	'Tamar'	< Heb.	תָּמָר
⁺*tora*	'Torah'	< Heb.	תּוֹרָה
⁺*yaruša*	'inheritance'	< Heb.	יְרֻשָּׁה

In some cases only the final syllable is velarized, e.g.

I⁺yār	'Iyyar (month)'	< Heb.	אִיָּר
Ni⁺sān	'Nisan (month)'	< Heb.	נִיסָן
et⁺rōġ	'etrog'	< Heb.	אֶתְרוֹג

The velarization depends on the vocalism of individual forms and is not generalized through different inflections of the same word or root as seen in the following:

⁺*baraxa*	'blessing'	< Heb.	בְּרָכָה
⁺*barux*	'blessed'	< Heb.	בָּרוּךְ
bərkat	'blessing of'	< Heb.	בִּרְכַּת

There are several exceptions to this tendency of words with long back rounded vowels to be velarized, e.g.

dayyān	'rabbinic judge'	< Heb.	דַּיָּן
kawod	'honour'	< Heb.	כָּבוֹד
mazuza	'mezuzah'	< Heb.	מְזוּזָה
Muryām	'Miriam'	< Heb.	מִרְיָם
biur	'buring'	< Heb.	בְּעוּר
goel	'saviour'	< Heb.	גּוֹאֵל

goyme	'Muslims'	< Heb. גּוֹיִים

1.8.4. Diphthongs

In words of Aramaic stock the historical diphthongs *ay and *aw has generally contracted to */e/* and */o/* respectively, e.g.

bela	'house'	< *bayṯā
⁺*qeta*	'summer'	< *qayṯā
mola	'death'	< *mawṯā
yoma	'day'	< *yawmā

They occur in the initial syllable of some derivative verbal inflections, e.g.

mayrəx	'He makes long'	< *m-yrx*
mawlen	'I use'	< *m-∅wl*

Elsewhere they occur only in loanwords.

1.9. GEMINATION OF CONSONANTS

1.9.1. Distribution of gemination

Most consonant phonemes can be geminated. The ones that are attested geminated in the lexicon are the following:

/b/	*ləbba* 'heart'
/č/	⁺*əčča* 'nine'
/d/	*taaddula* 'evil purpose'
/f/	*kaffət* ⁺*čanga* 'palm of the hand'
/g/	⁺*haggada* 'Passover legend'
/j/	⁺*najjara* 'carpenter'
/k/	*dəkka* 'hill'
/l/	*malle* 'It is enough'
/m/	*əmma* 'hundred'
/n/	*mənnox* 'from you'
/p/	*tappa* 'summit'
/q/	⁺*baqqa* 'frog'
/r/	*durrak* 'mixed'
/s/	*arbassar* 'fourteen'
/š/	⁺*xašša* 'sackcloth'
/t/	*atta* 'now'

/w/	⁺rəwwa 'big'
/x/	laxxa 'here'
/y/	máyyox? 'What is the matter with you?'
/z/	bəzza 'hole'

Cases of geminated /h/, /ġ/ and /ž/ have not been found.

1.9.2. The Origin of Consonant Gemination

Consonant gemination in the dialect has various origins.

1.9.2.1. Assimilation of Consonants

This applies to assimilation of the /l/ of L-suffixes in various verbal inflections, e.g.

šaqlátte	'You buy it'	< *šaqlet + le
šaqláxxe	'We buy it'	< *šaqlex + le
kpə́nne	'He became hungry'	< *kpin + le

1.9.2.2. Gemination Inherited from Morphological Patterns

In words of Aramaic stock, the original consonant gemination of nominal patterns that are found in earlier Aramaic has been preserved in the dialect after an original short front high vowel, which will be represented here as *ə in conformity with the transcription of its reflex /ə/, e.g.

| ləbba | 'heart' | < *ləbbā |

It has also survived in a few nouns of the original pattern *CaCCāCā, e.g.

| ⁺rakkawa | 'rider' | < *rakkāḇā |
| zaqqara | 'weaver' | < *zaqqārā |

In this pattern, however, the preservation of gemination is lexically specific, since in some lexical items of the pattern it has been lost, e.g.

| ganawa | 'thief' | < *gannāḇā |

Gemination is in principle weakened within words of other patterns after vowels other than original short *ə, e.g.

kaka	'tooth'	< *kakkā
⁺raba	'much'	< *rabba
guda	'wall'	< *guddā
tka	'place'	< *dukkā

In loanwords gemination has in many cases been taken from the source language:

sukka	'booth'
⁺*hammāl*	'porter'
⁺*haddusad*	'border'
⁺*tujjarat*	'trade'

1.9.2.3. Secondary Gemination after Short Vowels

In words of Aramaic stock this has taken place in the following circumstances.

(i) After an epenthetic *ə

This applies to an epenthetic breaking a word-initial cluster in monosyllabic nouns, e.g.

dəmma	'blood'	< *dəmā < *dmā.
šənne	'years'	< *šənē < *šnē
šəmme	'sky'	< *šəmē < *šmē

The gemination in the irregular verb form ⁺*məsse* 'He is able' (§4.13.12.) is likely to have developed in this way from the form ⁺*mse*, which is used after the negator, e.g. ⁺*la-mse* 'He cannot' (< *lā māṣē).

(ii) After *ə in an originally closed syllable

The *ə may have been in an originally closed syllable that was opened due to the elision of a following pharyngal *ʿ, e.g.

dəmme	'tears'	< *dəme < *dəmʿē
⁺*qətta*	'piece'	< *qəṭa < qəṭʿā
⁺*temma*	'taste'	< ⁺*təma < *təmʿā

(iii) In compound words

Gemination has developed in some compounds in which two items are tightly bound together. It occurs at the front of the second item. This applies to numerals such as:

xamšassar	'fifteen'	< *xamša-ʿsar
xamša-mme	'five-hundred'	< *xamša-me

Gemination of /l/ has developed secondarily in the preposition *l-* when it is closely connected with the preceding word, e.g.

    hiwali-llew   'I gave her to him'   < *hiwali-lew*

This is also likely to be the background of the gemination in the adverb *laxxa*:

    laxxa   'here'   < *l-hāxā*

(iv) Elsewhere

Gemination has developed secondarily in a few other cases, e.g.

    malle   'It is enough'   < *mālē*
    ⁺*bassor*   'less'   < *bāṣōr*

In both case the motivation for the gemination may have been to express a semantic distinction from a cognate form, viz.

    malle   'It is enough'   ⁺*male*   'He fills'
    ⁺*bassor* 'less'   ⁺*basore* 'It becomes less'

Note also that *malle* is distinguished from ⁺*male* also by lack of velarization.

1.10. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

1.10.1. Syllabic Patterns

The following syllabic patterns are attested:

V	e.g.	*o*	'he, she, it'
VC	e.g.	*it*	'there is'
VCC	e.g.	⁺*asr*	'evening'
CV	e.g.	*si*	'Go!'
CCV	e.g.	*xzi*	'See!'
CVC	e.g.	*qem*	'He rises'
CVCC	e.g.	*taxt*	'throne'
CCVC	e.g.	*twir*	'It has broken'
CCVCC	e.g.	⁺*tfang*	'rifle'

The cluster of two consonants at the end of a syllable is found only in loanwords. Clusters at the beginning of a word may be part of the morpho-

logical pattern in question or may be formed by the prefixing of a vowelless particle, e.g.

b-pənní	'with my mouth'
g-gudá	'in the wall'
m-belá	'from the house'
b-banét	'you will build'

Since the glottal stop *ʾ has been weakened in the dialect and a vowel can form the onset of a syllable, two vowels may stand adjacent to each other within a word, e.g.

⁺*hudaá*	'Jew'
xazoé	'to see'
beé	'eggs'
šraé	'lamps

In fast speech the sequence /aa/ tends to be merged into a single vowel, e.g.

gaáw [ˈgɑːβ]	'in it (f.)'
tafaát [tʰaˈfɑːt]	'difference'

In careful speech, on the other hand, two adjacent vowels may be divided by a non-phonemic glottal stop [ʔ], e.g.

gaáw [gɑˈʔɑw]	'in it (f.)'
baóx [bɑˈʔǫx]	'to you (sing.)'

When the particles *la* 'not' and *ma* 'what' are attached in the same stress group (§1.12.) to a following verb form that begins with a vowel, the /a/ vowel is elided, e.g.

l-ezə́l	'He may not go'	< *la + ezəl*
m-odén?	'What should I do?	< *ma + oden*

When a word beginning with the sequence əCC is preceded by a word ending in a vowel in the same intonation group, the /ə/ is sometimes elided and the first consonant of the sequence is syllabified with the preceding vowel, i.e. *V. əC.C > V C.C.* If the /ə/ bears stress, this is generally shifted to the following syllable, e.g.

lá dyé	'He has not come'	< *lá ə́dye*
xa-broná twále	'He had a son'	< *xa-brona ə́twale*

The elision of word-initial /ə/ takes place also after the conjoining particle *w* when this is suffixed to the preceding word, e.g.

əmma-w čča   '109'   < əmma-w əčča

1.10.2. Epenthetic Vowels

Word initial consonant clusters are often split by a short epenthetic vowel. In most cases this is optional. The usual quality of the epenthetic is [ə] or [ʌ], e.g.

nxə́pli [nəˈxɪplḭ ~ ˈnxɪplḭ]   'I was ashamed'
plə́xle [pʰəˈlɪxlḛ ~ pʰəˈlɪxlḛ]   'He opened'
qrawá [qʌɾɑːˈβa ~ qɾɑːˈβa]   'battle'

An epenthetic regularly occurs in clusters consisting of geminate, homorganic and near-homorganic stops.

g-gudá [gəgyːˈda]   'in the wall'
b-pér [bəˈpeːɾ]   'It will pass'

In the clusters Cy and yC the epenthetic has the quality [i], e.g.

pyalí [pijaːˈli ~ pijaːˈli]   'my falling'
ytəwli [jiˈtɪβlḭ ~ jˈtɪβlḭ]   'I sat down'

In slow speech vowelless prefixed particles are separated from an initial vowel of a word by an epenthetic vowel, e.g.

g-olká [gəølˈkʰa]   'in the country'
m-eni [məḛˈni]   'from my eyes'
m-Urmí [məɣɾˈmi]   'from Urmi'

Final clusters with a sonorant as the second element are split by an anaptyctic vowel, e.g.

⁺áql [ˈˠɑ·ʁəl]   'sense'
⁺ásr [ˈˠɑ·sər]   'evening'
dáwr [ˈdavər]   'generation'
sə́hm [ˈsɪhəm]   'fear'

An anaptyctic also occurs in the final cluster /yf/, e.g.

háyf [ˈhayif]   'in vain, a pity'

Occasionally the stress is placed on such anaptyctics in word final syllables, e.g. ⁺aqə̀l [ˠɑˈʁəl] (112).

In the transcription epenthetic vowels are not represented unless they are stressed.

When a geminate cluster in a word occurs in word-final position in one its inflected forms, the gemination is lost, e.g. *šəm-d-áy bratà*ˈ 'the name of that girl' (15, cf. *šəmma* 'name').

1.10.3. Word Internal Syllable Boundaries

The syllable division in a word internal sequence *VCCCV* can be either *VCC.CV* or *VC.CCV*, the *CC* cluster at the end or beginning of the syllable respectively being optionally broken by an epenthetic.

The division *VCC.CV* occurs when one of the consonants is a sonorant that is followed and/or preceded by a fricative or a different sonorant, e.g.

manxpí [ma.nɪx.ˈpi]	'They will put to shame'
⁺*marxtə́nne* [ˠmɒ.rəxˈtənnẹ]	'I shall make him run'
maxlpə́nnax [mʌ.xɪl.ˈpʰɪn.nʌx]	'I shall exchange you (fs.)'
magwrə́xxe [mʌ.gɪβ.ˈɾɪx.xẹ]	'We shall make him marry'

The division *VC.CCV* is found elsewhere, e.g.

balbli [bal.bə.ˈli:]	'They will seek'
šaydnet [ʃaj.də.ˈnẹ·t]	'You will go mad'
maskri [mas.kə.ˈɾi:]	'They will get lost'

When the last two consonants of a *VCCCV* sequence belong to the 2pl. L-suffix *–lxun*, the syllabification is *VC.CCV* in all contexts. The epenthetic occurs between the /l/ and /x/ and has the quality [ə] or [ọ], e.g.

rə́tlxun [ˈɾɪt.lə.xʏn]	'You (pl.) trembled'
qə́mlxun [ˈqɪm. lə.xʏn]	'You (pl.) rose'
zə́llxun [ˈzɪl.lọ.xʏn]	'You (pl.) went'

None of these epenthetic vowels are marked in the transcription.

1.11. WORD STRESS

The place of stress is marked in the transcription of the recorded texts on all words that bear it. The transcription also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign ˈ. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (*ỳ*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*ý*), e.g. *ána áyolen əl-dadáx at-*⁺*rába gbàtte*ˈ 'I know that you love your father a lot' (28). In principle, there is only one nuclear stress in an intonation group. Occasionally, however, two

intonation groups are linked together without any perceptible boundary by a process of sandhi and two nuclear stresses occur in what appears to be a single intonation group (cf. Cruttenden 1986: 43).

There is a certain degree of variability in the position of stress in words. It is determined to a large extent by the relations between words on the level of syntax and discourse. The same applies to the choice of where the speaker places the nuclear stress and the intonation group boundaries.

1.11.1. Nouns, Pronouns, Adjectives and Numerals

In most multisyllabic nouns, pronouns, adjectives and numerals the stress is placed on either the final or the penultimate syllable. Word-final stress position, which is found in words in all contexts, may be regarded as the basic one. It is the usual position in words of these categories that occur in pause before an intonation group boundary and also in the citation form of nominals. The retraction of stress to an earlier syllable is typically found in words in non-pausal position in the middle of an intonation group or at least within the middle of a syntactic or discourse unit.

1.11.1.1. Word-final Stress Position

(1)   *ítwa létwa xa-*⁺***šultanà.*** ᛁ 'There was once a king.' (1)

(2)   *wazír idáyle* ⁺*qánšar* ***bratà.*** ᛁ 'The minister came up before the girl.' (16)

(3)   *xəzyén ki-kəxwáw* ⁺*rába* ***qwəltà.*** ᛁ 'I saw that her star is very strong.' (14)

(4)   ⁺*šultaná* ***basimà.*** ᛁ 'King (be) well.' (15)

(5)   ⁺*rába* ***qwəttà*** *ətwalé.* ᛁ 'He had a lot of power.' (1)

(6)   *axní* ***əlhà***-*əttan.* ᛁ 'We have God.' (177)

(7)   ***bratá*** *balkí puč-***xulmà** *xzitá.* ᛁ 'The girl has had a bad dream.' (4)

(8)   *má-t abyát* ***aná*** ⁺*məssén baáx odèn.* ᛁ 'Whatever you want I can do for you.' (10)

(9)   *g-šátət ày* ᛁ ***əmmà***-*w* ᛁ ***arbassàr,*** ᛁ ⁺*hal əmmá-w əsrì* ᛁ 'in the years (19)14 to (19)20' (164)

1.11.1.2. Retraction of the Stress

(1) ⁺**šultána** ⁺palóte tàra.| 'The king goes outside.' (12)

(2) heč-⁺**čára** là-xadora-wela.| 'No solution was found.' (3)

(3) ya-**bráta** là-mqela.| 'The girl did not talk.' (2)

(4) **ána** báxun amrèn.| 'I shall tell you.' (67)

(5) mə́ru ki-**áxni** mə́nnxun šulá lə́ttan laxxà.| 'They said "We shall not interfere with you here."' (180)

(6) xa-**ràbta** knəštá| xa-**zòrta** knəštá| 'a large synagogue and small synagogue' (155)

(7) xa-**zóra** dehwà madéwa.| 'They brought a small gold coin.' (92)

(8) **azíze** mewanè| 'dear guests' (94)

(9) gal-**tréssar** dánke sə́fre ⁺torè| 'with twelve Torah scrolls' (155)

(10) fǽqat tré ⁺**táha** pišì.| 'Only two or three remain.' (182)

The normal position for the stress in annexation forms of nouns is on the penultimate syllable, e.g. réšət áy ⁺čobǻn 'the head of the shepherd' (30), qórət dadxùn 'the grave of your father' (67), baruxáwət ay-⁺hatǻn 'the friends of the groom' (85).

The word noš- 'self' is regularly stressed on the penultimate syllable when it has a pronominal suffix, e.g.

(11) hukmá əntyálu b-íd **nòšu.**| 'They took the (reins of) government in their hands.' (168)

(12) čún áxni aqə́rwa welàn| ⁺b-jamátət **nòšan.**| 'Since we were close together in our own community.' (115)

When a noun is used vocatively the stress is regularly retracted, e.g. bráti! 'my daughter!', dáde! 'father!', ⁺dáe 'mother!', ámi! 'uncle!'

1.11.2. Adverbials

Most adverbials exhibit the same stress patterns as nouns, pronouns and adjectives, in that it falls on either the final or the penultimate syllable, word-final stress predominating in pausal position at the end of an intonation group, e.g.

1.11.2.1. Word-final Stress Position

(1) *xánči maxyané zamrané madéx* **laxxà.**⌐ 'Let us bring here some mu-
     sicians and singers.' (4)

(2) *bráta šúqla tàk* **laxxá.**⌐ 'Leave the girl alone here.' (25)

(3) *rešáw təltèlale*⌐ ⁺**qanšàr.**⌐ 'She hung her head in front (of them).'
     (6)

(4) *bod-má* **haxxà** *xdirá?*⌐ 'Why has she become like this?' (7)

(5) **attá** *fkə́rri ɛ́t ma-marèt.*⌐ 'Now I have understood what you are say-
     ing.' (49)

(6) *kullú* ⁺*palótu* **tarà.**⌐ 'They all go outside.' (34)

(7) ⁺*yála qaland ɛ́r* **lokà.**⌐ 'The poor boy there.' (138)

1.11.2.2. Retraction of Stress

(1) *əl-*⁺*hatæ̀n*⌐ *m-otáġ partfíwale* **tára** *reš-syamè.*⌐ 'They threw the groom
     out of the room onto the shoes.' (89)

(2) *ána mə́ri mǽni-t* **átta** *adé* **láxxa** ⁺*la-mse əl-bráti mamqelà,*⌐ *réšew*
     ⁺*b-qatə̀nne.*⌐ 'I said that whoever comes here now and cannot make
     my daughter talk, I shall cut off his head.' (32)

(3) **àtta**-*š ó knəštá* **lóka** *pištéla*⌐ *gal-tréssar dánke sə́fre* ⁺*torè.*⌐ 'That
     synagogue remains there even now, with twelve Torah scrolls.'
     (155)

In a few adverbs, however, the stress regularly falls on the penultimate
syllable. These include, for example, ⁺*rába* 'much, many' and *bára* 'after-
wards':

(4) *əl-bratéw* ⁺**ràba** *gbéwala.*⌐ 'He loved his daughter very much.' (1)

(5) ⁺*šultaná* ⁺**rába** *xduglú xadorè.*⌐ 'The king becomes very worried.'
     (11)

(6) **bàra**⌐ *kartfè ədyélu.*⌐ 'Then afterwards the Kurds came.'

(7) **bára** *doqìlox,*⌐ **bára** ⁺*qatlìlox.*⌐ 'Afterwards they will arrest you,
     then kill you.' (46)

1.11.3. Verbs

(i) The basic position of the stress in verb forms derived from the present base (§4.2.3.) is on the syllable with the vowel nucleus that occurs before the final radical of the root or, if the vowel of this syllable is elided when an inflectional suffix is added, on the first syllable of the suffix:

+qatə́l	'He kills'
+qatlá	'She kills'
+qatlét	'You (ms.) kill'
+qatlétun	'You (pl.) kill'
manxə́p	'He shames'
manxpá	'She shames'
manxpét	'You (ms.) shame'
manxpétun	'You (pl.) shame'

(ii) In verb forms derived from the past bases (§§4.2.3–4.2.6.), the place-ment of the basic stress follows the same principle, in that it is placed on the syllable with the vowel nucleus that occurs before the final radical of the root:

+qtə́lle	'He killed'
+qtə́lla	'She killed'
+qtə́llox	'You (ms.) killed'
+qtə́llxun	'You (pl.) killed'
mənxə́ple	'He shamed'
mənxə́pla	'She shamed'
mənxə́plox	'You (ms.) shamed'
mənxə́plxun	'You (pl.) shamed'
+dmíx	'He has slept'
+dmíxa	'She has slept'
+dmíxet	'You (ms.) have slept'
+dmíxetun	'You (pl.) have slept'
məskír	'He has got lost'
məskíra	'She has got lost'
məskíret	'You (ms.) have got lost'
məskíretun	'You (pl.) have got lost'

(iii) Imperative forms also follow the general principle of other verbal bases, with the stress on the syllable with the vowel nucleus that occurs before the final radical of the root:

      ⁺*qtúl*   'Kill!'
      ⁺*qtúlun*   'Kill!'

      mənhúr   'Ignite!'
      mənhúrun 'Ignite!'

(iv) Compound verbal forms, which have a resultative participle or an infinitive as their base, have a different pattern of stress. It is placed on the syllable with the vowel nucleus that occurs after the final radical of the root, which is a pattern that is characteristic of nominals:

      ⁺*qtilé*   'He has killed'
      ⁺*qtəltá*   'She has killed'
      ⁺*qtilét*   'You (ms.) have killed'
      ⁺*qtilétun*   'You (pl.) have killed'

      ⁺*qatolé*   'He is killing'
      ⁺*qatolá*   'She is killing'
      ⁺*qatolét*   'You (ms.) are killing'
      ⁺*qatolétun* 'You (pl.) are killing'

    When further pronominal suffixes are added to the verbal forms just described, the basic position of stress remains the same, e.g.

(iv) Present base

      ⁺*qatə́llu*   'He kills them'
      ⁺*qatə́lwalu* 'He used to kill them'
      ⁺*qatlíle*   'They kill him'
      ⁺*qatlétune* 'You (pl.) kill him'

(v) Past bases

      ⁺*qtə́lwalele* 'He had killed them'
      ⁺*dmíxiwa*   'They had gone to sleep'

(iv) Imperative

      qtúlle   'Kill (sing.) him!'
      qtúlune   'Kill (pl.) him!'

There are some deviations from these general principles of stress placement in verbs. The main cases of this are as follows.

Verb forms in which the basic position of the stress is at the end of the word exhibit a retraction of the stress onto the penultimate syllable. This typically occurs outside of pause, in the middle of an intonation group, e.g.

(1) *fkə́r-wədla* **ámra** *xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.*⸠ 'She thought (to herself) saying "I shall not speak for a few days."' (2)

(2) *kə́mmət láxxa našé mar-⁺**pálti** tàra.*⸠ 'Let the people here go outside.' (25)

(3) ⁺*m-ótaġ* ⁺**palóta** *izalà.*⸠ 'She goes out of the room.' (11)

(4) *ána là* **hamónen** *əlhá dúgla dagə́l.*⸠ 'I do not believe that God lies.' (58)

(5) *ána* **áyolen** *əl-dadáx āt-⁺rába gbàtte.*⸠ 'I know that you love your father a lot.' (28)

As indicated above, the addition of further suffixes to a verb form does not usually affect the position of the stress, e.g. ⁺*qatlí* 'They kill', ⁺*qatlíwa* 'They used to kill', ⁺*qatlíwalu* 'They used to kill them'. On some occasions, however, the stress is shifted onto the suffix at the end of the word. This is mainly found at the end of an intonation group where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened., e.g.

(6) *nokár* **ədyelè**.⸠ 'A servant came.' (5)

(7) *bráta ədyéla* **ytəwlà**.⸠ 'The girl came and sat down.'(5)

(8) *mănì-t*⸠ *əl-bratí* ⁺*məssé* **mamqelà**⸠ *baèw*⸠ *fəssè-nan*⸠ *dehwè ba-hawén.*⸠ 'Whoever can make my daughter talk, I shall give him money and gold.' (22)

(9) ⁺*šultanà*⸠ *réšət áy* ⁺*čobə́n* ⁺**qtelelè**.⸠ 'The king cut off the head of the shepherd.' (30)

(10) *xabréw-iš* ⁺*rába* **perwà**.⸠ 'His word prevailed.' (1)

(11) *ána xá xabrá* ⁺*rába ki-muhə̀m-ile*⸠ *áy xlulə́t áy Urmì báli zə́lli* **amrənwà**.⸠ 'I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important.' (92)

1.12. STRESS GROUPS

Occasionally a short word is combined with another word in a single stress group and only one of the words bears stress. The stress may fall on either the first or second word, depending on the nature of the component words and on their relative informational importance. Such stress groups occasionally consist of three words. In most cases each of the component words can bear its own stress and examples of this can be found in other contexts. If the stress falls on the final word of the group, its position in this word normally exhibits the same variability as it would if the word stood independently. If, on the other hand, the stress falls on the first word of the group and this word consists of more than one syllable, the stress is regularly placed in its basic position for that particular word (cf. §1.11.).

Some of the most common types of words that are combined with other words in stress groups are as follows.

1.12.1. Numeral + Counted Nominal

The stress falls either on the nominal following the numeral or on the numeral. The stress is regularly put on the final syllable of the numeral:

Stress on the nominal: *xa-⁺šultanà* 'a king' (1), *xa-kălimá* 'a word' (11), *tre-qušé* 'two birds' (44), *ayné tre-waziré* 'these two ministers' (12).

Stress on the numeral: *xà-yoma*ǀ 'one day' (2), *xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm*ǀ 'a pair' (94), *tré-zae ⁺tahá-zae* 'two times, three times' (90).

Examples of the occurrence of stress on both components: *tré xabušé* 'two apples' (80), *tré sangagè* 'two loaves' (176), *⁺tahá yomé* 'three days' (11).

1.12.2. Negator + Verb/Nominal/Adverbial

In the majority of cases the stress is placed on the negated item, though on several occasions it falls on the negator.

Stress on the negated item:

(1)   *bod-mà la-maqulát?*ǀ 'Why do you not speak?' (8)

(2)   *xa-kălimá jwábi la-hwə̀llale.*ǀ 'She did not reply a single word to me.' (11)

(3)   *bráta rešáw la-maromàlle.*ǀ 'The girl does not raise her head.' (27)

(4)   *már la-xazyàlox.*ǀ 'Let her not see you.' (33)

Stress on the negator:

(5)   *lá-qablex ki-dukanà dwə́qta pešá.*ᐟ 'We do not permit any shop to remain closed.' (127)

(6)   *lá-⁺msele amərwalè.*ᐟ 'He could not say it.' (141)

(7)   *lá-yəllan mà-xdir.*ᐟ 'We did not know what had happened.' (178)

(8)   *ya-bráta là-mqela.*ᐟ 'The girl did not speak.' (2)

(9)   *là-nxup!*ᐟ 'Do not be ashamed'. (10)

(10) *ə́t əl-dadáx là-gbate?*ᐟ 'Do you not love your father?' (18)

Stress on both components:

(11) *má-t wadéx lá xadorà.*ᐟ 'Whatever we do will not work.'(12)

(12) *bod-mà lá maqulát?*ᐟ 'Why do you not talk?' (17)

(13) *amón ⁺kalò*ᐟ *là ədyé,*ᐟ *là xilé,*ᐟ *lá šətyè.*ᐟ 'The uncle of the bride has not come, has not eaten and has not drunk.' (95)

1.12.3. Demonstrative + Nominal

The stress falls either on the demonstrative or on the nominal following it.

Stress on the demonstrative: *ó-jur* 'this way' (152), *⁺qaydət áy d-ò-tka*ᐟ 'the system of that place' (144), *yá-xabra* 'this matter' (161), *yà-šula* 'this thing (42).

Stress on the nominal: *o-bratá* 'that girl' (13), *o-broná* 'that boy' (70), *o-⁺čobǽn* 'that shepherd' (23), *ayne-šúle* 'these things' (82), *ayne-⁺xə̀tte* 'this wheat' (102).

Stress on both items: *ó yomà* 'that day' (59), *ó ⁺torbá* 'that bag' (60), *ayné ⁺xəlleè* 'these gifts' (96), *ayné axonawáx* 'these brothers of yours' (64).

1.12.4. Stress groups of three components

Stress groups are occasionally found that consist of more than two components. These are usually formed from three components and exhibit various combinations of the types of stress group mentioned above, e.g. *xa-trè-kǎlime* 'one or two words' (8), *har-o-júr* 'in the same way' (11), *āt-la-maqyàt* 'You do not talk' (24), *⁺mbul-xa-bratà* 'except for one girl' (63).

2. PRONOUNS

2.1. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3s.	*o*
3pl.	*une*
2s.	*āt ~ ād*
2pl.	*atxun*
1s.	*ana*
1pl.	*axni ~ axnan*

Note that no gender distinctions are made in the singular forms, including the 3rd person singular, in which the historically 3ms form *o* is used for both genders.

2.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Two types of demonstrative are used to point out referents in a speech situation, viz. near deixis and far deixis forms. Both of these types can also be used anaphorically, generally to refer back to a referent that has been mentioned earlier in the discourse. When used anaphorically, its reference is internal to the discourse and it does not point to a referent that is visible in the speech situation.

Near deixis and far deixis demonstrative pronouns either stand independently or are used attributively to modify a head noun.

In neither the singular nor plural forms is gender distinguished.

2.2.1. Near Deixis Demonstrative Pronouns

sing.	*ya ~ ay*	'this'
pl.	*ayne ~ ay*	'these'

Independent: *ya bronile* 'This is my son', *ya bratila* 'This is my daughter', *ayne ⁺yalilu* 'These are my children'.

Attributive: *ya gora* 'this man', *ya baxta* 'this woman', *ayne naše* 'these people'.

The variant form *ay* is used after the particle *d-* in annexation constructions (§5.14.), e.g. *bel d-ay gora* 'the house of this man', *bel d-ay naše* 'the house of these people', and after prepositions (§8.4.), e.g. *mən d-ay gora* 'from this man', *mən d-ay naše* 'from these people'.

2.2.2. Far Deixis Pronouns

sing.	*o*	'that'
pl.	*une*	'those'

Independent: *o bronile* 'That is my son', *o bratila* 'That is my daughter', *une ⁺yalilu* 'Those are my children'.

Attributive: *o gora* 'that man', *o baxta* 'that woman', *une naše* 'those people'.

2.3. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON NOUNS AND PREPOSITIONS

The pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions are:

3ms.	*-ew*
3fs.	*-aw*
3pl.	*-u*
2ms.	*-ox*
2fs.	*-ax*
2pl.	*-xun*
1s.	*-i*
1pl.	*-an*

When these are attached to a noun ending in –*a*, they take the place of this vowel, e.g.

bela 'house'

3ms.	*belew*	'his house'
3fs.	*belaw*	'her house'
3pl.	*belu*	'their house'
2ms.	*belox*	'your (ms.) house'
2fs.	*belax*	'your (fs.) house'
2pl.	*belxun*	'your (pl.) house'

1s.	*beli*	'my house'
1pl.	*belan*	'our house'

The *–a* is retained and the glide /y/ is inserted in cardinal numerals (§7.1.), the interrogative particle *ma* ('what?') and the quantifier ⁺*raba* ('many'):

xayan	'one of us'
⁺*tahayan*	'three of us'
mayáw-ile	'What is the matter with her?'
máyyox?	'What is the matter with you?'
ba-máyyan-ile?	'What do we need it for?'
⁺*rabayan*	'many of us, most of us'

When a noun ends in *–e*, the suffix may be used and replaces the ending, e.g.

suse 'horse'

3ms.	*susew*	'his horse'
3fs.	*susaw*	'her horse'
3pl.	*susu*	'their horse', etc.

If the suffix is added to the numeral *tre* 'two' (§7.1.1.), the *–e* is retained and the glide /y/ is inserted:

treyan	'the two of us'

When a noun ends in *–i*, the suffix may be used, but the *–i* is generally retained and the glide /y/ inserted before the suffix, e.g.

mewandari 'hospitality'

3ms.	*mewandariyew*	'his hospitality'
3fs.	*mewandariyaw*	'her hospitality'
3pl.	*mewandariyu*	'their hospitality', etc.

Note, however, the inflection of the noun ⁺*doyi* 'maternal uncle', which has /y/ before the /i/ in the base. When suffixes are added, they replace the final *–i*:

3ms.	⁺*doyew*	'his uncle'
3fs.	⁺*doyaw*	'her uncle'
3pl.	⁺*doyu*	'their uncle', etc.

Nouns ending in *–o* or *–u* do not normally take suffixes and the independent genitive particle must be used, e.g.

kalo	'bride'	*kalo didew*	'his bride'
⁺*kuhu*	'lettuce'	⁺*kuhu didew*	'his lettuce'

Many nouns that end in a consonant may take suffixes, e.g.

čaydān	'teapot'	*čaydanew*	'his teapot'
zəmrut	'emerald'	*zəmrutew*	'his emerald'
araqčin	'skull-cap'	*araqčinew*	'his skull-cap'

Nouns of the pattern *CCəC* restructure syllabically to *CəCC-* when a suffix is added, e.g.

fkər	thought'	*fəkrew*	'his thought'

Some nouns ending in *-əC* do not take suffixes and the independent genitive particle must be used, e.g.

toxəm	'seed'	*toxəm didi*	'my seed'

2.4. THE INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PARTICLE

3ms.	*didew*
3fs.	*didaw*
3pl.	*didu*
2ms.	*didox*
2fs.	*didax*
2pl.	*didxun*
1s.	*didi*
1pl.	*didan*

2.5. REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The form *noš–* (< *nawšā < *naḇšā) is inflected with proniminal suffixes to function as a reflexive pronoun. Note that the stress is regularly placed on the penultimate syllable, rather than in the normal stress position at the end of the word:

3ms.	*nóšew*	'himself'
3fs.	*nóšaw*	'herself'
3pl.	*nóšu*	'themselves', etc.
2ms	*nóšox*	
2fs.	*nóšax*	
2pl.	*nošxun*	
1s.	*nóši*	
1pl.	*nóšan*	

2.6. RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

The reciprocal pronoun is the invariable form ⁺*dəǵde*, e.g.

(1)   *əl-⁺də́ǵde našqìwa.*| 'They kissed one another'. (105)

This has developed historically from *xḏāḏē by metathesis of the initial two consonants or from *d-xḏāḏē with elision of the final syllable.

2.7. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

mắni	'who?'
ma, may	'what?'
émni ~ émnu	'which?

Examples:

(1)   *mắni ya šula widə̀lle?*| 'Who did this thing?'

(2)   *at mà wadét?*| 'What are you doing?'

The variant form *may* occurs only in clauses with the verb *hwy* 'to be', e.g. *may wele?* 'What was it?' or in constructions with suffixed pronominal suffixes, in which the /y/ is geminated after the stress, e.g. *máyyox?* 'What is the matter with you (ms.)?', *ba-máyyan-ile* 'What do we need it for?'

The final –*u* in *emnu* is in origin the 3pl. pronominal suffix (< *ay-mənnu 'which of them'). The –*i* in the variant form *emni* is likely to have arisen by analogy with the ending of *măni*. Both forms are used with noun complements of either gender, singular or plural, e.g. *emni ~ emnu gora* 'which man?', *emni ~ emnu baxta* 'which woman?', *emni ~ emnu naše* 'which people?' A pronominal suffix may be attached to the form *emni*, e.g. *èmnyu* 'which of them' (65), *èmnyan* 'which of us' (66), *emnixún* 'which of you' (67).

The interrogative particles may also form generic heads of relative clauses, e.g.

(3)   *mắni-t áde báew fəssé palèn.*| 'Whoever comes, I shall give money to him'. (22)

(4)   *emnú muštárye ki idaá-welu ba-šaqolè*| ⁺*hudaé marà-welu*| *axní ədyóm là zabnéx.*| 'Any clients who came to make a purchase—the Jews said "We shall not sell today."' (131)

3. COPULA

3.1. PRESENT COPULA

The basic present copula is generally an enclitic. The 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms have an inflection that is identical to the S-suffixes of verbs (§4.2.1.) and may have an optional long form with an additional final /a/ vowel:

	Default	Long
3ms.	*-ile*	
3fs.	*-ila*	
3pl.	*-ilu*	
2ms.	*-ilet*	*-ileta*
2fs.	*-ilat*	*-ilata*
2pl.	*-iletun*	*-iletuna*
1ms.	*-ilen*	*-ilena*
1fs.	*-ilan*	*-ilana*
1pl.	*-ilex*	*-ilexa*

The /l/ element occurs throughout the paradigm. In the majority of NENA dialects this is found in the 3ʳᵈ person forms of the copula but not in the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person forms.

When the predicate ends in a consonant, it is attached unaltered. The stress remains on the predicate item in the same position as it is without the copula, e.g.

⁺*azā́d*   'innocent'   ⁺*azā́d-ile*   'He is innocent.'

When the predicate ends in the vowels /a/, /e/ or /i/, the /i/ of the copula is often assimilated, e.g.

laxxá	'here'	*laxxéle*	'He is here.'
susé	'horse'	*suséle*	'It is a horse.'
gamí	'ship'	*gamíla*	'It (f.) is a ship.'

The assimilation does not always take place, e.g. *ó-š əlhà-ile|* 'He is God' (28), *⁺aqláx lèka-ile?|* 'Where is your intelligence? (64).

When the predicate ends in the vowels /o/ or /u/, the /i/ of the copula is not assimilated, e.g.

máto	'how?'	*máto-ila*	'How is she?'
⁺kahú	'lettuce'	*⁺kahú-ile*	'It is a lettuce'

Assimilation regularly does not take place also to the final /a/ of certain monosyllabic forms, e.g.

má	'what?'	*má-ile?*	'What is it'
yá	'this'	*yá-ile*	'It is this'

In some cases the assimilated and unassimilated forms are in free variatoin, e.g.

xá	'one'	*xá-ilu ~ xélu* 'They are one'

Occasionally the present copula bears its own stress, e.g.

(1)   *axní m-xá dada-⁺dàa iléxa.|* 'We are (descended) from the same father and mother.' (191)

There is no past form that is morphologically related to the present copula. The function of past copula is supplied by the *⁺qtəlle* form of the verb *hwy* 'to be' (§4.13.9.), viz. *wele* 'he was', etc. Apparently by analogy with the form *má-ile?* 'What is it?', the interrogative particle sometimes has the form *may* before the past form, e.g. *may wele?* 'What was it?'

3.2. INFLECTED DEICTIC PARTICLES

Two series of inflected deictic particles exist in the dialect. They consist of the bases *u-* and *ye-* respectively and are inflected with L-suffixes (the preposition *l-* + pronominal suffixes, §4.2.2.). The *u-* series is only used in the 3rd person.

3ms.	*úle*	*yéle*	'There/here he is'
3fs.	*úla*	*yéla*	'There/here she is'
3pl.	*úlu*	*yélu*	'There/here they are'
2ms.		*yélox*	'There/here you (ms.) are'
2fs.		*yélax*	'There/here you (fs.) are'
2pl.		*yélxun*	'There/here you (pl.) are'
1s.		*yéli*	'Here I am'
1pl.		*yélan*	'Here we are'

The deictic particles are used in copula or verbal clauses to draw attention to a referent or to the propositional content of the clause as a whole, e.g.

(1) *ule o lòkele.*⌐ 'There he is there.'

(2) *ulu lòkelu.*⌐ 'There they are there.'

(3) *yelè*⌐ *ayné ixalé báaw hwə̀llan.*⌐ 'See, we gave her these items of food.' (122)

(4) *bàra*⌐ *bərdán xzelàn*⌐ *yelé gullè mandulú.*⌐ 'Then, suddenly, we saw— look they were shooting bullets (= we saw that they were shooting bullets).' (178)

3.3. NEGATIVE PRESENT COPULA

This has the element */w/* throughout the paradigm:

3ms.	*lewe*
3fs.	*lewa*
3pl.	*lewu*
2ms.	*lewet*
2fs.	*lewat*
2pl.	*lewétun*
1ms.	*lewen*
1fs.	*lewan*
1pl.	*lewex*

3.4. NEGATIVE PAST COPULA

The past copula *wele* is negated with the particle *la*, which is the normal negator for verbal forms:

3ms.	*lá-wele*
3fs.	*lá-wela*
3pl.	*lá-welu*
2ms.	*lá-welox*
2fs.	*lá-welax*
2pl.	*lá-welxun*
1ms.	*lá-weli*
1fs.	*lá-weli*
1pl.	*lá-welan*

4. VERBS

4.1. VERBAL STEMS

Verbs with triliteral roots are used in one of two stems with distinctive patterns of inflection. In addition to these there are a number of quadriliteral verbs, the majority of which belong to a single stem with the same pattern of inflection. We present below for each of these three categories the various parts that are used in the formation of verbal forms. A distinction must be made between transitive and intransitive verbs, since intransitive verbs have two past base forms whereas transitive verbs only have one. In all other bases transitive and intransitive verbs are identical.

Stem I

⁺*qtl* 'to kill (transitive)', ⁺*dmx* 'to go to sleep (intransitive)'

	Transitive	Intransitive
Present base	⁺*qatəl-*	⁺*daməx-*
General past base	⁺*qtəl-*	⁺*dməx-*
Intransitive past base		⁺*dmix-*
Resultative participle	⁺*qtila*	⁺*dmixa*
Imperative	⁺*qtul*	⁺*dmux*
Infinitive	⁺*qatole*	⁺*damoxe*
Active participle	⁺*qatlana*	⁺*damxana*

Stem II

m-nxp 'to shame (transitive)', *m-gdl* 'to freeze (transitive and intransitive)'

	Transitive	Intransitive
Present base	*manxəp*	*magdəl-*
General past base	*mənxəp-*	*məgdəl-*
Intransitive past base		*məgdil-*

Resultative participle	*mənxipa*	*məgdila*
Imperative	*mənxup*	*məgdul*
Infinitive	*manxope*	*magdole*
Active participle	*manxpana*	*magdlana*

Quadriliteral I

prtf 'to throw', *brbz* 'to disperse (transitive and intransitive)'

	Transitive	Intransitive
Present base	*partəf- -*	*barbəz-*
General past base	*pərtəf-*	*bərbəz-*
Intransitive past base		*bərbiz-*
Resultative participle	*pərtifa*	*bərbiza*
Imperative	*pərtuf*	*bərbuz*
Infinitive	*partofe*	*barboze*
Active participle	*partfana*	*barbzana*

Quadriliteral II (Marginal)

m-gndr 'to roll (transitive)'

	Transitive
Present base	*magndər-*
General past base	*məgndər-*
Intransitive past base	
Resultative participle	*məgndira*
Imperative	*məgndur*
Infinitive	*magndore*
Active participle	*magndrana*

The verbal stems of earlier Aramaic have undergone considerable level-ling. Stem I is the descendant of the *pəʿal* stem of earlier Aramaic, whereas stem II corresponds to the erstwhile *ʾap̄ʿel* stem. Verbs in the *paʿʿel* stem of earlier Aramaic have merged with either stem I or stem II of the dialect. There are no direct descendants of the intransitive stems *ʾetpəʿel, ʾetpaʿʿal* and *ʾettap̄ʿal*, the functions of which are now expressed by other verbal con-structions.

The *m-* prefix occurs in all forms of stem II, although in the *paʿʿel* and *ʾap̄ʿel* stems of earlier Aramaic it was a feature of the participles, the fore-bears of the present and past bases of the modern dialect, but did not occur in the imperative, nor did it regularly occur in the infinitive. In the modern

J. Urmi dialect, as in most other NENA dialects, the prefix has been extended by analogy to all parts of the verb.

The lack of a prefixed *m-* in all parts of the quadriliteral verb is also an innovation of the J. Urmi dialect, which it shares with the neighbouring Jewish dialects. Its elision is likely to be the result of a phonetic process due to its contact with the following consonant without an intervening vowel (**mbarbəz* > *barbəz*). A similar process no doubt took place with some originally *pa⁽⁾el* verb forms, which resulted in their being treated as stem I verbs, e.g.

šadər	'He sends'	< **mšadər*	< **mšaddər*
xaləl	'He washes'	< **mxaləl*	< **mxalləl*
zabən	'He sells'	< **mzabən*	< **mzabbin*

Stems I and II are distinguished by their consonantal pattern, but the vocalic patterns of the bases have been largely levelled across the two stems. The proto-NENA vocalism of the infinitive of stem I can be reconstructed as **CCaCa*. The pattern *CaCoCe* has arisen by analogy with that of stem II. The vocalism of the resultative participle and imperative of stem II, on the other hand, has developed by analogy with that of stem I. The proto-NENA forms of these can be reconstructed as *muCCəCa* or *muCəCCa* for the resultative participle, with /u/ after the *m-* prefix and a short vowel in the body of the form, and *maCCəC* for the imperative. This is seen by comparing a more conservative dialect, such as Christian Barwar:

	J. Urmi	C. Barwar
Resultative participle	⁺*qtila*	*qṭila*
Imperative	⁺*qtul*	*qṭul*
Infinitive	⁺*qatole*	*qṭala*
Resultative participle	*mənxipa*	*munxəpa* ~ *munəxpa*
Imperative	*mənxup*	*manxəp*
Infinitive	*manxope*	*manxope*

The bases of quadriliteral I and quadriliteral II verbs have exactly the same vocalism as that of stem II verbs.

The quadriliteral II stem is extremely rare. In the ensuing discussion of verbal morphology the term 'quadriliteral' without further qualification is used by default to refer to the normal stem I quadriliteral.

4.2. INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

The present and past bases are inflected with two sets of suffixes, which may be termed S-suffixes and L-suffixes.

4.2.1. S-suffixes

These inflectional suffixes are attached to the present base of all verbs and to the intransitive past base of intransitive verbs in order to express the grammatical subject. They are used as inflections of the general past base of transitive verbs in order to express the undergoer of the action. The 1st and 2nd person suffixes exist in two variants. The most common of these, which will be designated as the 'default' forms, end in consonants. An /a/ vowel may optionally be added to the end of these creating a long variant form.

	Default	Long
3ms.	*-∅*	
3fs.	*-a*	
3pl.	*-i*	
2ms	*-et*	*-eta*
2fs.	*-at*	*-ata*
2pl.	*-etun*	*-etuna*
1ms.	*-en*	*-ena*
1fs.	*-an*	*-ana*
1pl.	*-ex*	*-exa*

Henceforth only the default form of the suffixes will be indicated in the paradigms.

4.2.2. L-suffixes

These suffixes are attached to the general past base of all verbs in order to express the grammatical subject.

3ms.	*-le*
3fs.	*-la*
3pl.	*-lu*
2ms.	*-lox*
2fs.	*-lax*
2pl.	*-lxun*
1s.	*-li*
1pl.	*-lan*

4.2.3. Inflection of the Present Base with S-suffixes

This construction has a wide functional range including present habitual, future and irrealis. These functions are examined in greater detail in §10.2.

4.2.3.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	⁺*qatə́l*	'He kills'
3fs.	⁺*qatlá*	'She kills'
3pl.	⁺*qatlí*	'They kill', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qatlét*	
2fs.	⁺*qatlát*	
2pl.	⁺*qatlétun*	
1ms.	⁺*qatlén*	
1fs.	⁺*qatlán*	
1pl.	⁺*qatléx*	

4.2.3.2. Stem II Verbs

3ms.	*manxə́p*	'He shames'
3fs.	*manxpá*	'She shames'
3pl.	*manxpí*	'They shame', etc.
2ms.	*manxpét*	
2fs.	*manxpát*	
2pl.	*manxpétun*	
1ms.	*manxpén*	
1fs.	*manxpán*	
1pl.	*manxpéx*	

4.2.3.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

3ms.	*partə́f*	'He throws'
3fs.	*partfá*	'She throws'
3pl.	*partfí*	'They throw', etc.
2ms.	*partfét*	
2fs.	*partfát*	
2pl.	*partfétun*	
1ms.	*partfén*	
1fs.	*partfán*	
1pl.	*partféx*	

The stressed vowel after the second radical in the 3ms. forms is some-
times realized in the region of */e/* (⁺*qatél*, *manxép*, etc.), especially at the
end of an intonation group.

4.2.4. Inflection of the Intransitive Past Base with S-suffixes

This construction is used to express the resultative perfect of intransitive
verbs. The resultative perfect of transitive verbs is expressed by a compound
verbal construction consisting of the resultative participle and the enclitic
copula (§4.8.1.). Unlike in the inflection of the present base, the stress re-
mains on the vowel of the intransitive past base when inflectional endings
are attached. Compare ⁺*damáx* 'He goes to sleep', ⁺*damxá* 'She goes to sleep'
with ⁺*dmíx* 'He has gone to sleep', ⁺*dmíxa* 'She has gone to sleep'.

4.2.4.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	⁺*dmix*	'He has gone to sleep'
3fs.	⁺*dmíxa*	'She has gone to sleep'
3pl.	⁺*dmíxi*	'They have gone to sleep', etc.
2ms.	⁺*dmíxet*	
2fs.	⁺*dmíxat*	
2pl.	⁺*dmíxetun*	
1ms.	⁺*dmíxen*	
1fs.	⁺*dmíxan*	
1pl.	⁺*dmíxex*	

4.2.4.2. Stem II Verbs

m-skr 'to get lost'

3ms.	*məskír*	'He has got lost'
3fs.	*məskíra*	'She has got lost'
3pl.	*məskíri*	'They have got lost', etc.
2ms.	*məskíret*	
2fs.	*məskírat*	
2pl.	*məskíretun*	
1ms.	*məskíren*	
1fs.	*məskíran*	
1pl.	*məskírex*	

4.2.4.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

xlbq 'to become entangled'

3ms.	*xəlbíq*	'He has become entangled'
3fs.	*xəlbíqa*	'She has become entangled
3pl.	*xəlbíqi*	'They have become entangled', etc.
2ms.	*xəlbíqet*	
2fs.	*xəlbíqat*	
2pl.	*xəlbíqetun*	
1ms.	*xəlbíqen*	
1fs.	*xəlbíqan*	
1pl.	*xəlbíqex*	

4.2.5. Inflection of the General Past Base with S-suffixes

The general past base of transitive verbs many be inflected with S-suffixes in order to express the undergoer of the action. These are restricted to the 3fs. and 3pl. The agent is expressed by L-suffixes. The form has the function of a preterite, which is the basic function of constructions in which the general past base has the grammatical subject expressed by L-suffixes (§10.3.1.).

4.2.5.1. Stem I

The syllabification of the inflected ⁺*qtəl-* general past base with S-suffix inflections differs from that of the inflected intransitive past base ⁺*dmix-*:

3fs.	⁺*qətlá-le*	'He killed her'
3pl.	⁺*qətlí-le*	'He killed them'

4.2.5.2. Stem II

3fs.	*mənxpá-le*	'He shamed her'
3pl.	*mənxpí-le*	'He shamed them'

4.2.5.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

3fs.	*pərtfá-le*	'He threw her'
3pl.	*pərtfí-le*	'He threw them'

4.2.6. Inflection of the General Past Base with L-suffixes

This construction is used with both transitive and intransitive verbs to express the preterite.

4.2.6.1. Stem I Verbs

	Transitive		Intransitive	
3ms.	⁺qtə́lle	'He killed'	⁺dmáxle	'He went to sleep'
3fs.	⁺qtə́lla	'She killed'	⁺dmáxla	'She went to sleep'
3pl.	⁺qtə́llu	'They killed', etc.	⁺dmáxlu	'They went to sleep', etc.
2ms.	⁺qtə́llox		⁺dmáxlox	
2fs.	⁺qtə́llax		⁺dmáxlax	
2pl.	⁺qtə́llxun		⁺dmáxlxun	
1s.	⁺qtə́lli		⁺dmáxli	
1pl.	⁺qtə́llan		⁺dmáxlan	

4.2.6.2. Stem II Verbs

	Transitive		Intransitive	
3ms.	mənxáple	'He shamed'	məgdə́lle	'He froze'
3fs.	mənxə́pla	'She shamed'	məgdə́lla	'She froze'
3pl.	mənxə́plu	'They shamed', etc.	məgdə́llu	'They froze', etc.
2ms.	mənxə́plox		məgdə́llox	
2fs.	mənxə́plax		məgdə́llax	
2pl.	mənxə́plxun		məgdə́llxun	
1s.	mənxə́pli		məgdə́lli	
1pl.	mənxəplan		məgdə́llan	

4.2.6.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

	Transitive		Intransitive	
3ms.	pərtáfle	'He threw'	xəlbáqle	'He became entagled'
3fs.	pərtáfla	'She threw'	xəlbáqla	'She became entagled'
3pl.	pərtáflu	'They threw', etc.	xəlbáqlu	'They became entagled', etc.
2ms.	pərtáflox		xəlbáqlox	
2fs.	pərtáflax		xəlbáqlax	
2pl.	pərtáflxun		xəlbáqlxun	
1s.	pərtáfli		xəlbáqli	
1pl.	pərtáflan		xəlbáqlan	

4.2.6.4. Roots Ending in /n/ or /r/

When the verbal root ends in /n/ or /r/, the adjacent /l/ of the L-suffix is assimilated to it. In the case of /n/, this regularly results in the gemination of the /n/, e.g.

zbənne	'He bought'	< **zbənle*
kpənne	'He became hungry'	< **kpənle*

A final /r/ likewise is in many cases geminated, e.g.

zqərre	'He wove'	< **zqərle*
šdərre	'He sent'	< **šdərle*
pšərre	'It melted'	< **pšərle*
məpšərre	'He caused to melt'	< **məpšərle*

On some occasions, however, the gemination of the /r/ is weakened, e.g.

nhəre	'It burnt'	< **nhərle*
+*ysəre*	'He tied'	< *+*ysərre*
mənhəre	'He ignited'	< **mənərle*

4.3. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

Of particular interest in the verbal system of Jewish Urmi is the existence of two past verbal bases with a different inflection and function (stem I +*qtəl-*, +*qtil-*; stem II +*məqtəl-*, *məqtil-*). Both are derived historically from the passive participles of earlier Aramaic **qtīl* (stem I), **muqtəl* < **muqtal* (stem II). The short vowel /ə/ in the stem I +*qtəl-* base is likely to have arisen by analogy with the vowel in the corresponding position of the stem II +*məqtəl-* base, which is historically short. Conversely, the long /i/ in the stem II +*məqtil-* base is likely to have developed by analogy with the vowel in the stem I +*qtil-* base.

This development can be better understood by taking into consideration the verbal systems of other Jewish NENA dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area. In a cluster of Jewish dialects in southern Iranian Kurdistan and eastern Iraqi Kurdistan, e.g. the dialects of Kerend, Sanandaj and Sulemaniyya, the preterite of transitive verbs is expressed by the *CCəC-* base inflected with L-suffixes whereas the preterite of intransitive verbs is

expressed by the *CCiC-* base inflected with S-suffixes.[1] This represents an ergative type of syntax since in the expression of the same tense and aspect the subject of an intransitive verb has the same inflection as the object of a transitive verb. The agent of transitive clauses, on the other hand, has a different inflection, namely by L-suffixes containing the preposition *l-*. Examples from Jewish Sulemaniyya:

qṭə́lle	'He killed'	*priq*	'He finished'
qəṭlále	'He killed her'	*príqa*	'She finished'
qəṭlílu	'He killed them'	*príqi*	'They finished'

The *CCəC-* base, therefore, in dialects such as Jewish Sulemaniyya, is restricted to transitive verbs. The acquisition of the short /ə/ vowel by analogy with the stem II *məCCəC-* would have arise due to the fact that stem II is typically transitive.

I have shown elsewhere (Khan 2004: 295–305, Khan 2007) that a preterite verb in this sub-group of dialects may be inflected with an L-suffix when the clause lacks an object argument but exhibits other features of transitivity in the broader sense of the term that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). These linguists proposed that transitivity is a continuum rather than an absolute category. There are different degrees of transitivity according to a variety of parameters. The existence of an object participant in the clause is only one parameter. Other parameters identified by Hopper and Thompson that condition high transitivity include (1) the extent to which the subject has properties characteristic of an agent, i.e. the extent to which the subject referent is the controller and instigator of the action, (2) the dynamism of the action and (3) the punctuality of the action. Preterite verbs that lack a specific object argument but exhibit these other transitivity features in their inherent actionality typically take L-suffixes in Jewish Sulemaniyya, e.g. *xəlle ʾu-štele* 'He ate and drank' (control and instigation of action); *bdele b-xala* 'He started eating' (dynamic), contrast *pərīq m-xala* 'He finished eating' (non-dynamic); *tpəlle* 'He sneezed' (punctual).

A preterite, which directly asserts an action, is naturally more dynamic and punctual than a resultative perfect, which expresses a state resulting from an action but does not directly assert the action. We have seen how the

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[1] This sub-group of dialects was first brought to the attention of scholars by Simon Hopkins (1989a) and Gideon Goldenberg (1992).

dynamicity and punctualness of the inherent actionality of a particular verb can determine whether it takes L-suffixes or not in the preterite of verbs in Jewish Sulemaniyya. It follows that past forms without L-suffixes are closer in semantic profile to the stative perfect than are forms with L-suffixes.

The further development of the inflection with L-suffixes in other NENA dialects can be understood against this background. In most NENA dialects the inflection with L-suffixes was extended to all verbs of the lexicon as a means of expressing dynamic, punctual action, i.e. the preterite. In this development, the dynamic punctual actionality inherent in the lexical meaning of the verb was not the crucial conditioning factor for the use of the L-suffixes but rather the temporal-aspectual contour with which the speaker wishes to present the action.

In some NENA dialects in which the L-suffix inflection has been generalized in the preterite, the S-suffix inflection of past bases has been retained to express the non-dynamic resultative perfect. This is the case in Jewish Urmi, in which the intransitive past base inflected with S-suffixes has shifted from preterite to resultative perfect. The same development has occurred in the north-western periphery of the NENA area. In Hertevin the S-suffix inflection of past bases is used to express the resultative perfect in intransitive verbs, as in Jewish Urmi, e.g. *dmeḥ* 'He has gone to sleep' (Jastrow 1988: 58–59). In the Bohtan dialect this resultative perfect construction has been extended by analogy to transitive verbs, e.g. *dmix* 'He has gone to sleep', *ptix* 'He has opened' (Fox: forthcoming).

4.4. PARTICLES COMBINED WITH VERBS DERIVED FROM THE PRESENT AND PAST BASES

4.4.1. Indicative Particle

An indicative particle with the form *k-* or *g-* is prefixed to some verbs derived from the present base. This construction is restricted to a set of stem I verbs with ∅ or *h* as their first radical (see §4.10.1. for details). In such verbs a formal distinction is made between indicative realis and irrealis, e.g. ∅*mr* 'to say': *kmər* 'He says', *amər* 'May he say, (that) he says'. In all other verbs no formal distinction is made between these two moods.

4.4.2. Future Particle

The future may be expressed by prefixing the particle *ba-* or *b-* to an inflected form of the present base, e.g. *ba-garəš, b-garəš* 'He will pull'. In the set of verbs that take the indicative particle (§4.10.1.), the future particle is attached to the irrealis form without this particle, e.g. *b-ade* 'He will come' (∅*dy* 'to come'). An alternative construction for expressing the future is the combination of the invariable verb form *gbe* (< ∅*by* 'to want') with a present base verb, e.g. *gbe garəš* 'He will pull', *gbe garšen* 'I shall pull'.

4.4.3. Deontic Particle

A wish may be expressed by combining the deontic particle *mar* with a present base verb, e.g. *mar garəš* 'May he pull, let him pull'. In the set of verbs that mark a formal distinction between realis and irrealis, the *mar* particle is followed by the irrealis form, e.g. *mar ade* 'May he come, let him come' (∅*dy* 'to come').

4.4.4. Past Converter Suffix *-wa*

The particle *–wa*, a fossilized form of the verb form **hwā* in earlier Aramaic, is suffixed to verbs derived from present and past bases. For more details concerning the function of these verbal constructions see §10.2 and §10.3.

4.4.4.1. Present Base Verbs

The /e/ of the inflectional endings *–et* (2ms.), *-en* (1ms.) and *–ex* (1pl.) is sometimes centralized to the region of /ə/ when this suffix is attached.

3ms.	⁺*qatə́lwa*	'He used to kill'
3fs.	⁺*qatláwa*	'She used to kill'
3pl.	⁺*qatlíwa*	'They used to kill', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qatlétwa* ~ ⁺*qatlə́twa*	
2fs.	⁺*qatlátwa*	
2pl.	⁺*qatlétunwa*	
1ms.	⁺*qatlénwa* ~ ⁺*qatlə́nwa*	
1fs.	⁺*qatlánwa*	
1pl.	⁺*qatléxwa* ~ ⁺*qatlə́xwa*	

4.4.4.2. General Past Base Verbs

The particle is placed between the base and the L-suffix inflectional ending.

3ms.	⁺*qtǝ́lwale*	'He had killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtǝ́lwala*	'She had killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtǝ́lwalu*	'They had killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtǝ́lwalox*	
2fs.	⁺*qtǝ́lwalax*	
2pl.	⁺*qtǝ́lwalxun*	
1s.	⁺*qtǝ́lwali*	
1pl.	⁺*qtǝ́lwalan*	

4.4.4.3. Intransitive Past Base Verbs

3ms.	⁺*dmíxwa*	'He had gone to sleep'
3fs.	⁺*dmíxawa*	'She had gone to sleep'
3pl.	⁺*dmíxiwa*	'They had gone to sleep', etc.
2ms.	⁺*dmíxetwa* ~ ⁺*dmíxǝtwa*	
2fs.	⁺*dmíxatwa*	
2pl.	⁺*dmíxetunwa*	
1ms.	⁺*dmíxenwa* ~ ⁺*dmíxǝnwa*	
1fs.	⁺*dmíxanwa*	
1pl.	⁺*dmíxexwa* ~ ⁺*dmíxǝxwa*	

4.5. INFLECTION OF THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative has a singular and a plural form. The stress is placed on the penultimate syllable of the plural form.

4.5.1. Stem I Verbs

| sing. | ⁺*qtúl* | 'Kill!' |
| plural | ⁺*qtúlun* | 'Kill!' |

4.5.2. Stem II Verbs

| sing. | *mǝnhúr* | 'Ignite!' |
| plural | *mǝnhúrun* | 'Ignite!' |

4.5.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

| sing. | *pǝrtúf* | 'Throw!' |
| plural | *pǝrtúfun* | 'Throw!' |

4.6. INFLECTION OF THE RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLE

The resultative participle is historically derived from the passive participle in the determined state in earlier Aramaic. It is inflected for ms., fs. and plural, the inflections being historically the endings of nominal forms in the determined state. The vocalic pattern of the stem II and quadriliteral participles has developed by analogy with that of the stem I participle.

The resultative participle is used in compound verbal forms expressing the resultative perfect of transitive verbs (§10.3.3.2.) or as an adjectival form (§4.8.1.1., §6.2.).

4.6.1. Stem I Verbs

ms.	$^+$*qṭila*
fs.	$^+$*qṭəlta*
pl.	$^+$*qṭile*

4.6.2. Stem II Verbs

ms.	*mənxipa*
fs.	*mənxəpta*
pl.	*mənxipe*

4.6.3. Quadriliteral Verbs

ms.	*pərtifa*
fs.	*pərtəfta*
pl.	*pərtife*

4.7. INFLECTION OF THE ACTIVE PARTICIPLE

The active participle is formed by attaching the affix –*an* to the present base. It is inflected for ms., fs. and plural with endings that are historically the endings of nominal forms in the determined state. The deriviation of active participles is not completely productive across all verbal roots. It plays a marginal role in the verbal system in negative clauses (§10.13.2.), but otherwise is used as a noun or adjective describing a characteristic, time-stable property of a referent.

4.7.1. Stem I

ms.	⁺*qatlana*	'killer'
fs.	⁺*qatlanta*	'killer'
pl.	⁺*qatlane*	'killers'

4.7.2. Stem II

ms.	*manxpana*	'shamer'
fs.	*manxpanta*	'shamer'
pl.	*manxpane*	'shamers'

4.7.3. Quadriliteral

ms.	*barbzana*	'waster'
fs.	*barbzanta*	'waster'
pl.	*barbzane*	'wasters'

4.8. COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS CONTAINING THE VERB 'TO BE'

4.8.1. Copula Combined with Resultative Participle

4.8.1.1. Present Perfect of Transitive Verbs

The realis resultative perfect of transitive verbs is expressed by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle combined with the present enclitic copula (for the perfect of intransitive verbs see §4.2.4.). The form of the copula differs from the form that is used in non-verbal predicates, in that the /l/ is regularly contracted. As a result, the inflection has become identical with the S-suffixes except in the 3rd person. In this transitive resultative perfect construction the resultative participle is always active. When the resultative participle of transitive verbs is used in a non-verbal predicate with an uncontracted copula, it always has passive diathesis:

Perfect	Non-verbal predicate
⁺*qtilé* 'He has killed'	⁺*qtiléle* 'He is killed'

The full paradigm of the transitive perfect is as follows:

3ms.	⁺*qtilé*	'He has killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltá*	'She has killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtilú*	'They have killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilét*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltát*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilétun*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilén*	
1fs.	⁺*qtəltán*	
1pl.	⁺*qtiléx*	

4.8.1.2. Past Perfect of Transitive Verbs

The perfect forms described in §4.8.1.1. may be converted into past perfects in two ways. The past converter suffix *–wa* may be added directly to the forms with the contracted enclitic copulas, reflecting the fact that the enclitic endings are interpreted as verbal suffixes rather than forms of the copula:

3ms.	⁺*qtiléwa*	'He had killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltáwa*	'She had killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtilúwa*	'They had killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilə́twa*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltátwa*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilétunwa*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilə́nwa*	
1fs.	⁺*qtəltánwa*	
1pl.	⁺*qtilə́xwa*	

Alternatively the contracted enclitic present copula may be replaced by the past enclitic copula in its normal form.

3ms.	⁺*qtilá-wele*	'He had killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltá-wela*	'She had killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtilé-welu*	'They had killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilá-welox*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltá-welax*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilé-welxun*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilá-weli*	
1fs.	⁺*qtəltá-weli*	
1pl.	⁺*qtilé-welan*	

4.8.1.3. Irrealis Perfect

The irrealis perfect of both transitive and intransitive verbs is formed by combining the resultative participle with the irrealis present base form of the verb *hwy* (*hawe*, *hawya*, etc.). A notable feature of this construction is that the resultative participle is inflected for gender but not for number, the ms. form ⁺*qtila* being used for both ms. and plural inflections:

3ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawe*	'He may have killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawya*	'She may have killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawe(ni)*	'They may have killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawet*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawyat*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawetun*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawen*	
1fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawyan*	
1pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawex*	

3ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawe*	'He may have gone to sleep'
3fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawya*	'She may have gone to sleep'
3pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawe(ni)*	'They may have gone to sleep', etc.
2ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawet*	
2fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawyat*	
2pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawetun*	
1ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawen*	
1fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawyan*	
1pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawex*	

When the resultative participle is an adjectival predicate rather than a component of a compound verb form, it is inflected for both gender and number, as is the norm with adjectives:

3ms.	⁺*qtila hawe*	'He may be killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəlta hawya*	'She may be killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtile hawe(ni)*	'They may be killed'

3ms.	⁺*dmixa hawe*	'He may be asleep'
3fs.	⁺*dməxta hawya*	'She may be asleep'
3pl.	⁺*dmixe hawe(ni)*	'They may be asleep'

4.8.1.4. Irrealis Past Perfect

The irrealis past perfect is formed by adding the past converter suffix –*wa* to the form of the verb *hwy*:

3ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawewa*	'He might have killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawyawa*	'She might have killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawe(ni)wa*	'They might have killed', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawətwa*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawyatwa*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawetunwa*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilá-hawənwa*	
1fs.	⁺*qtəltá-hawyanwa*	
1pl.	⁺*qtilá-hawəxwa*	

3ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawewa*	'He might have gone to sleep'
3fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawyawa*	'She might have gone to sleep'
3pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawe(ni)wa*	'They might have gone to sleep', etc.
2ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawətwa*	
2fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawyatwa*	
2pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawetunwa*	
1ms.	⁺*dmixá-hawənwa*	
1fs.	⁺*dməxtá-hawyanwa*	
1pl.	⁺*dmixá-hawəxwa*	

4.8.1.5. General Remarks on Resultative Participles and Perfects

Resultative participles can be formed from intransitive verbs, which, as we have seen (§4.8.1.3.– 4.8.1.4.), are used in the inflection of the irrealis perfect. Elsewhere they are used adjectivally, either in an ascriptive predicate which assigns a property to a subject referent or as an adjectival modifier of a head noun. Such adjectival participles express a stable, non-dynamic property and can only be felicitously formed from intransitive verbs with a telic actionality, i.e. a verb with an action that has an inherent non-dynamic endpoint, e.g.

kpn 'to become hungry' (telic)	*o-naša kpinele* 'The man is hungry'
	naša kpina 'a hungry man'
ytw 'to sit down' (telic)	*o-naša ytiwele* 'The man is seated'
	naša ytiwa 'a man who is seated'
myl 'to die' (telic)	*o-naša milele* 'The man is dead'
	naša mila 'a dead man'

Resultative participles are not derived from atelic intransitive verbs, i.e. verbs expressing an action that does not have an inherent endpoint, e.g.

∅*zl* 'to go' (atelic)   *o-naša zilele
                               *naša zila

Transitive verbs that expess an action with an undergoer are inherently telic, the endpoint being the effect on the undergoer. Adjectival resultative participles derived from transitive verbs have passive diathesis, e.g.

⁺*qtl* 'to kill'   *o-naša* ⁺*qtilele* 'The man is killed'
                         naša ⁺*qtila* 'a murdered man'

 plx 'to open'   *o-tara plixele* 'The door is open'
                         tara plixa 'an open door'

The verbal realis resultative perfect of intransitive verbs, which is expressed by the intransitive past base and S-suffixes, may be formed from both telic and atelic verbs, e.g.

kpn 'to become hungry' (telic)   *kpin* 'He has become hungry'

∅*zl* 'to go' (atelic)   *zil* 'He has gone'

The resultative perfect of transitive verbs that is formed by combining the contracted copula with the resultative participle is always active in diathesis. The passive perfect of transitive verbs must be expressed by the verb *xdr* 'to become' in the intransitive perfect form combined with the resultative participle of the transitive verb, e.g. ⁺*qtila xdir* 'He has been killed'.

This is summarized in the table below:

		Transitive		Intransitive
		Active	Passive	
Realis perfect		⁺*qtile*	⁺*qtila xdir*	*kpin, zil*
Adjective	Telic	—	⁺*qtila*	*kpina*
	Atelic	—	—	—

4.8.2. Copula Combined with Infinitive

4.8.2.1. *Present Progressive*

The present progressive is expressed by combining the infinitive with the present enclitic copula. As in the compound verbal forms with resultative

participles, the /l/ of the enclitic copula is regularly contracted also in these constructions with the infinitive. As a result, the inflection has become identical with the S-suffixes except in the 3rd person.

3ms.	+qatolé	'He is killing'
3fs.	+qatolá	'She is killing'
3pl.	+qatolú	'They are killing', etc.
2ms.	+qatolét	
2fs.	+qatolát	
2pl.	+qatolétun	
1ms.	+qatolén	
1fs.	+qatolán	
1pl.	+qatoléx	

4.8.2.2. Past Progressive

The past progressive is expressed by replacing the contracted present copula by the past enclitic copula. In such constructions the infinitive form ends in –a (+qatola, manxopa, partofa) rather than in –e (+qatole, manxope, partofe), which occurs in other contexts:

3ms.	+qatolá-wele	'He was killing'
3fs.	+qatolá-wela	'She was killing'
3pl.	+qatolá-welu	'They were killing', etc.
2ms.	+qatolá-welox	
2fs.	+qatolá-welax	
2pl.	+qatolá-welxun	
1s.	+qatolá-weli	
1pl.	+qatolá-welan	

4.9. NEGATION OF VERBAL FORMS

All verbal forms are negated by the particle *la*:

Present base verbs

la +qatəl	'He does not kill'
la +qatəlwa	'He used not to kill'

General past base verbs

la +qtəlle	'He did not kill'

la ⁺qtəlwale	'He had not killed'
la ⁺dməxle	'He did not go to sleep'
la ⁺dməxwale	'He had not gone to sleep'

Intransitive past base verbs

la ⁺dmix	'He has not gone to sleep'
la ⁺dmixwa	'He had not gone to sleep'

Imperatives

la ⁺qtul	'Do not kill'
la ⁺qtulun	'Do not kill (pl.)'

Compound transitive perfect

la ⁺qtile	'He has not killed'
la ⁺qtilewa	'He had not killed'
la ⁺qtila-wele	'He had not killed'

Compound progressive

la ⁺qatole	'He is not killing'
la ⁺qatola-wele	'He was not killing'

The negative particle *la* is combined with preverbal particles that are used before verbs derived from the present base, viz. the future particles *ba, b-, gbe* and the deontic particle *mar*. In both cases the negator is placed after the other particle, e.g.

b-la ⁺qatəl	'He will not kill'
mar la ⁺qatəl	'May he not kill'

4.10. WEAK VERBS IN STEM I

4.10.1. Verba Primae /∅/ (1)

This category of weak verbs includes verbs of Aramaic stock that contained at an earlier historical period an initial laryngal *ʾ, which in some cases was in turn derived historically from an initial pharyngal *ʿ. The verbs with initial /∅/ that otherwise have strong, stable consonants are *∅xl* 'to eat' and *∅mr* 'to say'. Other verbs in the category that include weakness or irregular-

A feature that is exclusive to primae /∅/ (1) verbs and the initial /h/ verb *hwy* (§4.13.9.) is the survival of the initial indicative particle *k-/g-* (< **qā* < **qāyem*) in the present base. In the verbs ∅*xl* and ∅*mr* it has the unvoiced form *k-* and replaces the initial vowel of the base, e.g. *kxəl* 'He eats' < **k-ʾaxəl*. The form without the prefix expresses the irrealis mood.

4.10.1.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*axəl*	'May he eat'	*amər*	'May he say'
3fs.	*axla*	'May she eat'	*amra*	'May she say'
3pl.	*axli*	'May they eat'	*amri*	'May they say'

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kxəl*	'He eats'	*kmər*	'He says'
3fs.	*kəxla*	'She eats'	*kəmra*	'She says'
3pl.	*kəxli*	'They eat'	*kəmri*	'They eat'

4.10.1.2. General Past Base

Both verbs are treated as transitive verbs and so have a general past base inflected with L-suffixes expressing the preterite but no intransitive past base.

3ms.	*xəl-*	*mər-*
3fs.	*xila-*	*mira-*
3pl.	*xili-*	*miri-*

Examples: *xəlle* 'He ate', *xilale* 'He ate it (f.)', *məre* 'He said', *mirile* 'He said them'. Note that the /r/ to which the /l/ of the L-suffix is assimilated in *məre* is ungeminated.

4.10.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*xila*	*mira*
fs.	*xəlta*	*mərta*
pl.	*xile*	*mire*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms .	*xile*	'He has eaten'	*mire*	'He has said'
3fs.	*xəlta*	'She has eaten'	*mərta*	'She has said'
3pl.	*xilu*	'They have eaten'	*miru*	'They have said'

4.10.1.4. Imperative

The imperative of ∅*mr* has /a/ rather than the usual /u/:

sing.	*xul*	'Eat!'	*mar*	'Say!'
pl.	*xúlun*	'Eat!'	*márun*	'Say'!'

4.10.1.5. Infinitive

The infinitive has an /i/ vowel in the initial syllable and otherwise preserves the original vocalic pattern of NENA stem I infinitives *CCaCa*.

ixala   *imara*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula). The initial *i-* of the infinitive of the verb ∅*mr* is elided:

3ms.	*ixale*	'He is eating'	*mare*	'He is saying'
3fs.	*ixala* '	She is eating'	*mara*	'She is saying'
3pl.	*ixalu*	'They are eating'	*maru*	'They are saying'

4.10.1.6. Active participle

ms.	*axlana*	'(big) eater'
fs.	*axlanta*	'(big) eater'

4.10.2. Verba Primae /∅/ (2)

A second class of initial /∅/ verbs include loanwords that are ultimtely of Arabic origin, e.g. ∅*db* 'to chastise', ⁺∅*jz* 'to be unwell' and ∅*šq* 'to fall in love'. These have different patterns of inflection from class (1) initial /∅/ verbs in a number of respects.

4.10.2.1. Present

Unlike initial /∅/ verbs in class (1), the realis is not distinguished from the irrealis by an indicative prefix. In this respect, therefore, they are treated as strong verbs.

3ms.   *adəb*   'He chastises'   *ašəq*   'He falls in love'
3fs.   *adba*   'She chastises'   *ašqa*   'She falls in love'
3pl.   *adbi*   'They chastise'   *ašqi*   'They fall in love'

4.10.2.2. General Past Base

A vowel /e/ occurs before the second radical, which is centralized to /ə/ in the closed syllable of the 3fs. and 3pl. forms.

3ms.   *edəb-*   *ešəq-*
3fs.   *ədba-*
3pl.   *ədbi*

Examples: *edəble* 'He chastised', *ədbale* 'He chastised her', *ešəqle* 'He fell in love'.

4.10.2.3. Intransitive Past Base

ešiq-

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.   *ešiq*   'He has fallen in love'
3fs.   *ešíqa*   'She has fallen in love'
3pl.   *ešíqi*   'They have fallen in love'

4.10.2.4. Resultative participle

ms.   *ediba*
fs.   *edəbta*
pl.   *edibe*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.   *edibe*   'He has chastised'
3fs.   *edəbta*   'She has chastised'
3pl.   *edibu*   'They have chastised'

4.10.2.5. Imperative

sing.   *edub*   'Chastise!'
pl.   *edúbun*   'Chastise!'

4.10.2.6. Infinitive

adobe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*adobe*	'He is chastising'
3fs.	*adoba*	'She is chastising'
3pl.	*adobu*	'They are chastising'

4.10.2.7. Active Participle

ms.	*adbana*	'chastiser'
fs.	*adbanta*	'chastiser'

4.10.3. Verba Primae /y/

This category includes verbs that are historically initial /y/ such as *ydl* 'to give birth', *ylp* 'to learn', *yqr* 'to become heavy', *yrx* 'to grow long, to stretch out'. There are, in addition, a number verbs in which the initial /y/ is a secondary development. In some cases the /y/ has replaced an original laryngal *ʔ or pharyngal *ʕ, e.g. ⁺*ysr* 'to tie' (< *ʔsr*), *yrq* 'to run' (< *ʕrq*), *yzl* 'to spin' (< *ʕrq*), ⁺*yqr* 'to uproot' (< *ʕqr*). The verb ⁺*yrm* 'to rise' is historically medial rather than initial /y/ (< *rym*). Note also *ysq* 'to go up' (< *slq*) where the /y/ is also a secondary development. Some initial /y/ verbs have other weak radicals, e.g. *ymy* 'to swear' (§4.10.6.), *ypy* 'to bake' (§4.10.6.), *ytw* 'to sit down' (§4.10.10.), *yrw* 'to become mixed up; to interfere' (§4.10.10.).

4.10.3.1. Present

3ms.	*yazəl*	'He spins'	*yarəq*	'He runs'
3fs.	*yazla*	'She spins'	*yarqa*	'She runs'
3pl.	*yazli*	'They spin'	*yarqi*	'They run'

4.10.3.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*yzəl-*	*yrəq-*
3fs.	*yəzla-*	
3pl.	*yəzli-*	

Examples: *yzəlle* 'He span', *yəzlale* 'He span it (f.)', *yrəqle* 'He ran'.

4.10.3.3. Intransitive Past Base

yriq-

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	*yriq*	'He has run'
3fs.	*yríqa*	'She has run'
3pl.	*yríqi*	'They have run'

4.10.3.4. Resultative participle

ms.	*yzila*
fs.	*yzəlta*
pl.	*yzile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*yzile*	'He has spun'
3fs.	*yzəlta*	'She has spun'
3pl.	*yzilu*	'They have spun'

4.10.3.5. Imperative

sing.	*yzul*	'Spin!'
pl.	*yzúlun*	'Spin!'

4.10.3.6. Infinitive

yazole

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*yazole*	'He is spinning'
3fs.	*yazola*	'She is spinning'
3pl.	*yazolu*	'They are spinning'

4.10.3.7. Active participle

ms.	*yazlana*	'spinner'
fs.	*yazlanta*	'spinner'

4.10.4. Verba Mediae /y/

This category includes the verbs ∅*yq* 'to become narrow', *byz* 'to spill, to be spilled', ⁺*čym* 'to close', *dyl* 'to be able to see', *dyq* 'to chop', *dyr* 'to return', *gyj* ⁺*qurban* 'to become the sacrifice of', *gys* 'to grow tired', *hyl* 'to become desecrated', *jyr* 'to urinate', *kyl* 'to measure', *kym* 'to become black', *kyp* 'to bend (intr.)', *lys* 'to bite, to chew', *lyš* 'to knead', ⁺*lyč* 'to trample', *myl* 'to die', ⁺*myč* 'to trample', ⁺*myr* 'to dare', ⁺*mys* 'to suck', *nym* 'to slumber', *nys* 'to bite (one's finger)', *nyx* 'to calm down, to be extinguished (fire)', *pyl* 'to fall', *pyr* 'to pass', *pys* 'to become stricken with leprosy', *pyx* 'to blow', *pyš* 'to remain', *qyl* 'to burn', *qym* 'to rise', *qyp* 'to knock', ⁺*qyr* 'to grow cold', ⁺*qys* 'to cut (hair)', *ryq* 'to spit', *rys* 'to press', *ryt* 'to tremble', ⁺*ryš* 'to wake (intr.)', *syl* 'to copulate', ⁺*sym* 'to fast', *šyk* 'to rub, to polish', *šyp* 'to rub', *šyr* 'to sink (in mud, intr. and tr.), *šyš* 'to shake, to churn', *tym* 'to finish (tr. and intr.)', *tyx* 'to be quenched, appeased', ⁺*tyl* 'to play', ⁺*tys* 'to stick into', *wyš* 'to become dry', *xyk* 'to itch, to scratch', *xyp* 'to bathe', *xyr* 'to look', ⁺*xyt* 'to sew', *zyd* 'to increase'. Some of these verbs were originally final geminate, e.g. *dyq* 'to crush (grain)' (< **dqq*), ⁺*mys* 'to suck' (< **mṣṣ*), *ryq* 'to spit' (< **rqq*), *rys* 'to press' (< **rss*), *ryt* 'to tremble' (< **rtt*). Some were originally mediae /ʾ/ (< **ˤ*), e.g. *dyr* 'to return' (< **dʾr* < **dˤr*), *lys* 'to chew' (< **lˤs*), ⁺*tyl* 'to play' (< *ṭˤl*). Some were originally initial /y/, e.g. *qyl* 'to burn' (< **yqð*), *wyš* 'to become dry' (< **ybš*). The verbs *pyl* 'to fall' and *qyp* 'to knock' were originally initial /n/ (< **npl, *nqp*).

4.10.4.1. Present

The medial /y/ is contracted throughout the paradigm, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel /e/ between the first and third radicals. The contraction originally occurred in the context **CayCV*, which was found in all inflections except the 3ms. The original form of the 3ms. can be reconstructed as **CayəC*. The /e/ was subsequently extended to the 3ms. by analogy.

3ms.	*deq*	'He crushes'
3fs.	*deqa*	'She crushes'
3pl.	*deqi*	'They crush'

The verbs *dyr* 'to return' and ⁺*tyl* 'to play', both of which derive historically from medial pharyngal roots, are exceptions in that they have /a/ between the first and third radicals, e.g. *dār* 'He returns', ⁺*tāl* 'He plays'.

4.10.4.2. General Past Base

ms.	*dəq-*	*qəm-*
fs.	*diqa-*	
pl.	*diqi-*	

Examples: *dəqle* 'He crushed', *diqile* 'He crushed them', *qəmle* 'He rose'.

4.10.4.3. Intransitive Past Base

qim-

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	*qim*	'He has risen'
3fs.	*qíma*	'She has risen'
3pl.	*qími*	'They have risen'

4.10.4.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*diqa*
fs.	*dəqta*
pl.	*diqe*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*diqe*	'He has crushed'
3fs.	*diqa*	'She has crushed'
3pl.	*diqu*	'They have crushed'

4.10.4.5. Imperative

sing.	*duq*	'Crush!'
pl.	*dúqun*	'Crush!'

The verb *qym* is irregular in that the final radical */m/* is elided in the singular form. Both singular and plural forms, furthermore, are pronounced emphatic:

sing.	⁺*qu*	'Rise!'
pl.	⁺*qúmun*	'Rise!'

The singular forms of this imperative may be combined with the 2ms. and 2fs. L-suffixes: ⁺*qulox!* 'Get up (ms.)!', ⁺*qulax!* 'Get up (fs.)!'

4.10.4.6. Infinitive

The infinitive preserves the original vocalic pattern of NENA stem I infinitives *CCaCa*:

dyaqa

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*dyaqe*	'He is crushing'
3fs.	*dyaqa*	'She is crushing'
3pl.	*dyaqu*	'They are crushing'

4.10.4.7. Active participle

ms.	*deqana*	'crusher'
fs.	*deqanta*	'crusher'
ms.	⁺*talana*	'player'
fs.	⁺*talanta*	'player'

4.10.5. Verba Tertiae /y/

Verbs in this category include *bny* 'to build; to count', *bry* 'to create', *bxy* 'to weep', *bẓy* 'to make a hole', ⁺*bly* 'to swallow', *čqy* 'to tear', *dry* 'to put', ⁺*dby* 'to slaughter', ⁺*dry* 'to scatter, to winnow', ⁺*dwy* 'to pray (for s.o.)', *fry* 'to become wide', *gby* 'to choose; to cull', *gly* 'to disclose', *gny* 'to set (sun)', *gry* 'to shave', ⁺*hjy* 'to pronounce, to spell', *jhy* 'to become tired', *jry* 'to flow', *kny* 'to have the heart to do sth.', *kry* 'to become short; to hire', *ksy* 'to cover', *lhy* 'to blaze', *lwy* 'to implore', *mhy* 'to efface, to be wiped out', *mny* 'to count', *mqy* 'to speak', *mry* 'to ache', *msy* 'to wash (clothes), *mšy* 'to wipe', *mxy* 'to beat', ⁺*mly* 'to fill (tr. and intr.), ⁺*mry* 'to pasture (herd tr.)', ⁺*msy* 'to cause to rebel', ⁺*mty* 'to arrive', *nby* 'to prophesy', *nfy* 'to be of use', *npy* 'to enjoy', ⁺*nby* 'to swell', *ply* 'to divide; to remove lice', *pqy* 'to burst', ⁺*pčy* 'to become battered', ⁺*psy* 'to celebrate Passover', *qhy* 'to set on edge (teeth)'; *qly* 'to fry', *qry* 'to read, to study', *qwy* 'to become strong', ⁺*qty* 'to cut; to be cut', ⁺*rdy* 'to be pleased', *sny* 'to hate', *sry* 'to do evil', *sxy* 'to bathe', ⁺*shy* 'to become thirsty', ⁺*sly* 'to pray', ⁺*spy* 'to strain (liquid)', ⁺*swy* 'to harden (intr.)', *šby* 'to become alike', *šly* 'to card', *šny* 'to move location', *šry* 'to untie', *šty* 'to drink', ⁺*šty* 'to lie down', ⁺*šry* 'to pass judgment', *tky* 'to lean', *tqy* 'to beg, entreat', *try* 'to become wet', ⁺*tmy* 'to taste; to become unclean', ⁺*tpy* 'to sting, to bite (snake)', ⁺*try* 'to drive', ⁺*tšy* 'to hide', *xly* 'to become sweet; to wrap', *xmy* 'to be leavened (dough)', *xry* 'to defecate', *xzy*

'to see', ⁺*xčy* 'to hollow out', ⁺*xty* 'to sin', *zdy* 'to fear', *zky* 'to be fortunate to attain', *zny* 'to whore, to commit adultery', *zry* 'to sow, to plant'.

Some of these verbs originally had a voiced pharyngal *ᶜ as final radical, e.g. *gry* 'to shave' (< *grᶜ), *mry* 'to ache' (< *mrᶜ), *pqy* 'to burst' (< *pqᶜ), ⁺*qty* 'to cut' (< *qṭᶜ), *šmy* 'to hear' (< *šmᶜ), ⁺*tmy* 'to taste' (< *ṭmᶜ), *xly* 'to wrap' (< *xd̠ᶜ), *xmy* 'to ferment' (< *xmᶜ), *zdy* 'to fear' (< *zdᶜ), *zry* 'to sow' (< *zrᶜ). In *ply* 'to divide' the historical pharyngal developed ultimately from a the velar fricative *ḡ (< *plᶜ < *plḡ). In some cases the original final radical was the unvoiced pharyngal *ḥ, e.g. ⁺*dby* 'to sacrifice' (< *dbḥ, cf. Jewish Arbel and Jewish Sulemaniyya *dbḥ*), ⁺*psy* 'to celebrate Passover' (< Hebrew *psḥ*), ⁺*šty* 'to lie down' (< *šṭḥ).

4.10.5.1. Present

3ms.	*xaze*	'He sees'	⁺*mate*	'He arrives'	
3fs.	*xazya*	'She sees'	⁺*matya*	'She arrives'	
3pl.	*xaze(ni)*	'They see', etc.	⁺*mate(ni)*	'They arrive', etc.	
2ms.	*xazet*		⁺*matet*		
2fs.	*xazyat*		⁺*matyat*		
2pl.	*xazetun*		⁺*matetun*		
1ms.	*xazen*		⁺*maten*		
1fs.	*xazyan*		⁺*matyan*		
1pl.	*xazex*		⁺*matex*		

My main informant used only the inflection –*e* in the 3pl (< *ay < *ayn). Some speakers from Urmi, however, occasionally use also the 3pl. ending -*eni*, e.g. *xazeni* 'They see'.

4.10.5.2. General Past Base

ms.	*xze-*	⁺*mte-*
fs.	*xəzya-*	
pl.	*xəzyi-*	

Examples: ⁺*mtele* 'He arrived', *xzele* 'He saw', *xəzyale* 'He saw her', *xəzyile* 'He saw them'. The –*i* vowel in the pl. past base has developed by analogy with the corresponding form of the strong verb (⁺*qətli-*).

4.10.5.3. Intransitive Past Base

⁺*mte-*

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	+*mte* ~ +*mə́te*	'He has arrived'
3fs.	+*mətya*	'She has arrived'
3pl.	+*mte(ni)* ~ +*mə́te(ni)*	'They have arrived', etc.
2ms.	+*mtet* ~ +*mə́tet*	
2fs.	+*mətyat*	
2pl.	+*mtetun*	
1ms.	+*mten* ~ +*mə́ten*	
1fs.	+*mətyan*	
1pl.	+*mtex* ~ +*mə́tex*	

4.10.5.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*xəzya*
fs.	*xzita*
pl.	*xəzye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*xəzye*	'He has seen'
3fs.	*xzita*	'She has seen'
3pl.	*xəzyu*	'They have seen'

4.10.5.5. Imperative

| sing. | *xzi* | 'See!' |
| pl. | *xzímun* | 'See!' |

In some NENA dialects a distinction is made in the form of the ms. and the fs. imperatives of final /y/ verbs, but this has been levelled in the Jewish Urmi dialect.

4.10.5.6. Infinitive

xazoe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula). Unlike in verbs with a strong final radical, the /l/ of the copula is retained. The sequence of vowels /oei/ contracts to /u/: *xazoe-ile* > *xazule*.

3ms.	*xazule*	'He is seeing'
3fs.	*xazula*	'She is seeing'
3pl.	*xazulu*	'They are seeing', etc.
2ms.	*xazulet*	

2fs.	*xazulat*
2pl.	*xazuletun*
1ms.	*xazulen*
1fs.	*xazulan*
1pl.	*xazulex*

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final */oe/* vowel sequence is replaced by */aa/*:

3ms.	*xazaa-wele*	'He was seeing'
3fs.	*xazaa-wela*	'She is seeing'
3pl.	*xazaa-welu*	'They are seeing'

The verb *bxy* 'to weep', has the irregular infinitive form *baxila*, which forms the progressive with the uncontracted form of the enclitic copula:

3ms.	*baxilele*	'He is weeping'
3fs.	*baxilela*	'She is weeping'
3pl.	*baxilelu*	'They are weeping'

4.10.5.7. Active participle

ms.	*baxyana*	'weeper'
fs.	*baxyanta*	'weeper'

4.10.6. Primae /y/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes the verbs *ymy* 'to swear' and *ypy* 'to bake'. They exhibit features of both initial */y/* and final */y/* verbs.

4.10.6.1. Present

3ms.	*yape*	'He bakes'
3fs.	*yapya*	'She bakes'
3pl.	*yape(ni)*	'They bake'

4.10.6.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*ype-*
3fs.	*yəpya-*
3pl.	*yəpyi-*

Examples: *ypele* 'He baked', *yəpyale* 'He baked it (f.)', *yəpyile* 'He baked them'.

4.10.6.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*yəpya*
fs.	*ypita*
pl.	*yəpye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*yəpye*	'He has baked'
3fs.	*ypita*	'She has baked'
3pl.	*yəpyu*	'They have baked'

4.10.6.4. Imperative

sing.	*ypi*	'Bake!'
pl.	*ypímun*	'Bake!'

4.10.6.5. Infinitive

yapoe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula). The /l/ of the copula is retained. The sequence of vowels /oei/ contracts to /u/: *yapoe-ile* > *yapule*.

3ms.	*yapule*	'He is baking'
3fs.	*yapula*	'She is baking'
3pl.	*yapulu*	'They are baking'

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final /oe/ vowel sequence is replaced by /a/:

3ms.	*yapaa-wele*	'He was baking'
3fs.	*yapaa-wela*	'She is baking'
3pl.	*yapaa-welu*	'They are baking'

4.10.7. Verba Mediae /w/

This category includes the verbs *dwq* 'to hold', *gwr* 'to marry', *kwš* 'to descend', *lwš* 'to dress', *nwx* 'to bark', *qwr* 'to bury', *šwq* 'to leave', *twr* 'to break', *xwr* 'to become white'. In the majority of cases the medial /w/ is derived historically from **ḇ*, the only exception being *xwr* 'to become white' (< **ḥwr*).

4.10.7.1. Present

The medial */w/* is contracted throughout the paradigm, resulting in the occurrence of the vowel */o/* between the first and third radicals.

3ms.	*koš*	'He descends'
3fs.	*koša*	'She descends'
3pl.	*koši*	'They descend'

4.10.7.2. General Past Base

ms.	*kwəš-*	*šwəq-*
fs.		*šəwqa-*
pl.		*šəwqi-*

Examples: *kwəšle* 'He descended', *šwəqle* 'He left', *šəwqale* 'He left her', *šəwqile* 'He left them'.

4.10.7.3. Intransitive Past Base

kwiš-

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	*kwiš*	'He has descended'
3fs.	*kwíša*	'She has descended'
3pl.	*kwíši*	'They have descended'

4.10.7.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*šwiqa*
fs.	*šwəqta*
pl.	*šwiqe*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*šwiqe*	'He has left'
3fs.	*šwəqta*	'She has left'
3pl.	*šwiqu*	'They have left'

4.10.7.5. Imperative

sing.	*kuš*	'Descend!'
pl.	*kúšun*	'Descend!'

4.10.7.6. Infinitive

The infinitive preserves the original vocalic pattern of NENA stem I infinitives *CCaCa*:

kwaša

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*kwaše*	'He is descending'
3fs.	*kwaša*	'She is descending'
3pl.	*kwašu*	'They are descending'

4.10.7.8. Active participle

ms.	*košana*	'descender'
fs.	*košanta*	'descender'

4.10.8. Verba Primae /∅/, Secundae /w/

This category includes ∅*wd* 'to do' (< *ˤ*ḏ*d*).

4.10.8.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*od*	'May he do'
3fs.	*oda*	'May she do'
3pl.	*odi*	'May they do'

(ii) Realis

As with other initial /∅/ verbs, the realis present is distinguished from the irrealis form by a prefixed indicative particle. In the case of ∅*wd* the particle has the voiced form *g-*:

3ms.	*god*	'He does'
3fs.	*goda*	'She does'
3pl.	*godi*	'They do'

4.10.8.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*wəd-*	⁺*wər-*
3fs.	*wida-*	
3pl.	*widi-*	

Examples: *wədle* 'He did', *widale* 'He did it (f.)', *widile* 'He did them'.

4.10.8.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*wida*
fs.	*wədta*
pl.	*wide*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms .	*wide*	'He has done'
3fs.	*wədta*	'She has done'
3pl.	*widu*	'They have done'

4.10.8.4. Imperative

sing.	*wud*	'Do!'
pl.	*wúdun*	'Do!'

4.10.8.5. Infinitive

The infinitive has the pattern of other initial /∅/ verbs with initial /i/:

iwada

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula). The initial *i-* of the infinitive is elided:

3ms.	*wade*	'He is doing'
3fs.	*wada*	'She is doing'
3pl.	*wadu*	'They are doing'

4.10.8.6. Active Participle

ms.	*odana*	'doer'
fs.	*odanta*	'doer'

4.10.9. Verba Tertiae /w/

This category includes the verbs *gnw* 'to steal', *klw* 'to write', *xrw* 'to be ruined', *jnw* 'to snatch; to bite', *mrw* 'to mix', *mtw* 'to place', *qlw* 'to clean, to become clean', ⁺*rkw* 'to ride, to mount', *tnw* 'to become numb', *xlw* 'to milk', *xrw* 'to be spoilt, ruined'.

The /w/ radical remains uncontracted throughout all paradigms.

4.10.9.1. Present

3ms.	*kaləw*	'He writes'
3fs.	*kalwa*	'She writes'
3pl.	*kalwi*	'They write'

4.10.9.2. General Past Base

ms.	*xrəw-*	*kləw-*
fs.		*kəlwa-*
pl.		*kəlwi-*

Examples: *xrəwle* 'It (m.) was ruined', *kləwle* 'He wrote', *kəlwale* 'He wrote it (f.)', *kəlwile* 'He wrote them'.

4.10.9.3. Intransitive Past Base

xriw-

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	*xriw*	'He has become ruined'
3fs.	*xríwa*	'She has become ruined'
3pl.	*xríwi*	'They have become ruined'

4.10.9.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*kliwa*
fs.	*kləwta*
pl.	*kliwe*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*kliwe*	'He has written'
3fs.	*kləwta*	'She has written'
3pl.	*kliwu*	'They have written'

4.10.9.5. Imperative

| sing. | *kluw* |
| pl. | *klúwun* |

4.10.9.6. Infinitive

kalowe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*kalowe*	'He has seen'
3fs.	*kalowa*	'She has seen'
3pl.	*kalowu*	'They have seen'

4.10.9.7. Active Participle

ms.	*kalwana*	'writer'
fs.	*kalwanta*	'writer'

4.10.10. Verba Primae /y/, Tertiae /w/

This category includes the verbs *yrw* 'to become mixed up' and *ytw* 'to sit'. The root *yrw* originally had an initial pharyngal < *ʿrḇ.

4.10.10.1. Present

3ms.	*yatəw*	'He sits'
3fs.	*yatwa*	'She sits'
3pl.	*yatwi*	'They sit'

4.10.10.2. General Past Base

ms.   *ytəw-*

Example: *ytəwle* 'He sat down'.

4.10.10.3. Intransitive Past Base

ytiw-

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	*ytiw*	'He has sat down'
3fs.	*ytíwa*	'She has sat down'
3pl.	*ytíwi*	'They have sat down'

4.10.10.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*ytiwa*
fs.	*ytəwta*

    pl.   *ytiwe*

4.10.10.5. Imperative

    sing.   *ytuw*
    pl.   *ytúwun*

4.10.10.6. Infinitive

yatowe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

    3ms.   *yatowe*   'He is sitting down'
    3fs.   *yatowa*   'She is sitting down'
    3pl.   *yatowu*   'They are sitting down'

4.10.10.7. Active Participle

    ms.   *yatwana*   'sitter'
    fs.   *yatwanta*   'sitter'

4.10.11. Verba Mediae /w/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes the verbs: +*rwy* 'to grow', *swy* 'to become sated', *šwy* 'to be worthwhile', +*twy* 'to roast'.

    The medial /w/ remains uncontracted in all paradigms.

4.10.11.1. Present

    3ms.   +*rawe*   'He grows'
    3fs.   +*rawya*   'She grows'
    3pl.   +*rawe(ni)* 'They grow'

4.10.11.2. General Past Base

    ms. +*rwe-*   +*twe-*
    fs.   +*təwya-*
    pl   +*təwyi-*

    Examples: +*rwele* 'He grew', +*twele* 'He roasted', +*təwyale* 'He roasted it (f.)', +*təwyile* 'He roasted them'.

4.10.11.3. Intransitive Past Base

⁺*rwe-*

Intransitive perfect, inflected with S-suffixes

3ms.	⁺*rwe ~ rə́we*	'He has grown'
3fs.	⁺*rəwya*	'She has grown'
3pl.	⁺*rwe(ni)*	'They have grown', etc.
2ms.	⁺*rwet*	
2fs.	⁺*rəwyat*	
2pl.	⁺*rwetun*	
1ms.	⁺*rwen*	
1fs.	⁺*rəwyan*	
1pl.	⁺*rwex*	

4.10.11.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	⁺*rəwya*
fs.	⁺*rwita*
pl.	⁺*rəwye*

4.10.11.5. Imperative

sing.	⁺*rwi*
pl.	⁺*rwimun*

4.10.11.6. Infinitive

⁺*rawoe*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula). As with other final /y/ verbs, the /l/ of the copula is retained and the sequence of vowels /oei/ contracts to /u/:

3ms.	⁺*rawule*	'He is growing'
3fs.	⁺*rawula*	'She is growing'
3pl.	⁺*rawulu*	'They are growing'

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final /oe/ vowel sequence is replaced by /a/:

3ms.	⁺*rawaa-wele*	'He was growing'
3fs.	⁺*rawaa-wela*	'She is growing'
3pl.	⁺*rawaa-welu*	'They are growing'

4.10.11.7. Active Participle

ms.	⁺*rawyana*	'grower'
fs.	⁺*rawyanta*	'grower'

4.11. WEAK VERBS IN STEM II

4.11.1. Verba Primae /∅/

Verbs that belong historically to this category had originally a laryngal or pharyngal as their initial radical. They are conjugated with the pattern of strong verbs in stem I, the initial *m-* being treated as the first radical, e.g. *mxl* 'to feed' < **m-∅xl* < **m-ʾxl*, ⁺*mbr* 'to bring in' < **m-∅br* < **m-ʿbr*, ⁺*mjz* 'to importune' < ⁺*m-∅jz* < **m-ʿjz*.

Note the verb *mqy* 'to speak', which is derived historically from stem II of the root **hqy (< *ḥqy)*, the laryngal **h* having been elided. The status of the initial *m-* in this word as a radical is demonstrated by the fact that the stem II derivation has been recycled in the causative form *m-mqy* 'to cause to speak'. Note also the form ⁺*m-mbr* 'to bring in', which has developed by applying a second cycle of the stem II pattern to ⁺*mbr* (< **m-ʿbr*).

Some verbs of this category that derive historically from roots with an initial laryngal or pharyngal have a corresponding stem I verbs in which the initial consonant has shifted to /y/, e.g. *mrw* 'to mix' < **m-∅rw* < **m-ʿrḇ* (cf. stem I *yrw* 'to be mixed up'), *mlp* 'to teach' < **m-∅lp* < **m-ʾlp* (cf. stem I *ylp* 'to learn'). Conversely some forms are derived from roots that are historically initial /y/, e.g. *m-my* < **m-∅my* < **m-ymy* 'to make swear' (cf. stem I *ymy* 'to swear'), *mlq* 'to kindle' < **m-∅lq* < **m-yqḏ*; cf. stem I *qyl*, 'to burn (intr.)', which has shifted to the middle /y/ category and also has a stem II form *m-qyl* 'to burn (tr.), a doublet of *mlq*.

4.11.1.1. Present

3ms.	*maxəl*	'He feeds'
3fs.	*maxla*	'She feeds'
3pl.	*maxli*	'They feed'

4.11.1.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*mxəl-*
3fs.	*məxla-*

    3pl.   *məxli-*

Examples: *mxəlle* 'He fed', *məxlale* 'He fed her', *məxlile* 'He fed them'.

4.11.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*mxila*
fs.	*mxəlta*
pl.	*mxile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with the enclitic copula):

3ms.	*mxile*	'He has fed'
3fs.	*mxəlta*	'She has fed'
3pl.	*mxilu*	'They have fed'

4.11.1.4. Imperative

sing.	*mxul*
pl.	*mxúlun*

4.11.1.5. Infinitive

maxole

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*maxole*	'He is feeding'
3fs.	*maxola*	'She is feeding'
3pl.	*maxolu*	'They are feeding'

4.11.1.6. Active Participle

ms.	*maxlana*	'feeder'
fs.	*maxlanta*	'feeder'

4.11.2. Verba Primae /y/

Verbs of this category retain the initial radical /y/ that is found in the corresponding stem I form, e.g. *m-ydl* 'to help give birth' (cf. *ydl* 'to give birth'), *m-yqr* 'to make heavy' (cf. *yqr* 'to become heavy'), *m-yrq* 'to make run, to elope with' (cf. *yrq* 'to run, to flee'), *m-yrx* 'to make long (cf. *yrx* 'to become long'); ⁺*m-ysr* 'to cause to be bound' (cf. ⁺*ysr* 'to bind'),. In the case of *m-yrt* 'to make tremble' and *m-ybš* 'to dry (tr.)', the corresponding stem I form is

medial /y/, viz. *ryt* 'to tremble', *wyš* 'to dry (intr.)'. Such initial /y/ verbs are conjugated with the patterns of strong verbs in stem II.

4.11.2.1. Present

3ms.	*mayrəx*	'He makes long'
3fs.	*mayrxa*	'She makes long'
3pl.	*mayrxi*	'They make long'

4.11.2.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*məyrəx-*
3fs.	*məyrxa-*
3pl.	*məyrxi-*

Examples: *məyrəxle* 'He made long', *məyrxale* 'He made it (f.) long', *məyrxile* 'He made them long'.

4.11.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*məyrixa*
fs.	*məyrəxta*
pl.	*məyrixe*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*məyrixe*	'He has made long'
3fs.	*məyrəxta*	'She has made long'
3pl.	*məyrixu*	'They have made long'

4.11.2.4. Imperative

sing.	*məyrux*	'Make long!'
pl.	*məyrúxun*	'Make long!'

4.11.2.5. Infinitive

mayroxe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*mayroxe*	'He is making long'
3fs.	*mayroxa*	'She is making long'

| 3pl. | *mayroxu* | 'They are making long' |

4.11.2.6. Active Participle

| ms. | *mayrxana* | 'one who makes long' |
| fs. | *mayrxanta* | 'one who makes long' |

4.11.3. Verba Mediae /y/

This category includes the verbs *m-dyr* 'to return (tr.)', *m-gyj* 'to pass a bird to be sacrificed above one's head', *m-gys* 'to tire (tr.)', *m-hyl* 'to desecrate, to profane', *m-kym* 'to blacken', *m-kyp* 'to bend', ⁺*m-mys* 'to give suck', *m-nyx* 'to give rest; to extinguish', *m-pyl* 'to let fall', *m-pyr* 'to pass (tr.)', *m-pyš* 'to leave', *m-qyl* 'to burn (tr.)', *m-qym* 'to raise', *m-qyp* 'to make touch', ⁺*m-ryš* 'to waken', ⁺*m-syl* 'to listen', ⁺*m-sym* 'to cause to fast', *m-tym* 'to complete', ⁺*m-tyn* 'to load', *m-tyx* 'to quench, to appease', *m-zyd* 'to add'. Some of these had a medial pharyngal at an earlier stage of development, e.g. *m-dyr* 'to return' (< *m-dˁr*), ⁺*m-tyn* 'to load' (< *m-tˁn*), *m-tyx* 'to quench' (< *m-dˁk*), ⁺*m-ryš* 'to waken' (< *m-rˁš* < *m-rḡš*), *m-šyš* 'to shake' (< *m-šˁš* < *m-šḡš*). Some are derived historically from final geminate roots, e.g. *m-kyp* 'to bend' (< *m-kpp*), ⁺*m-mys* 'to give suck' (< *m-mṣṣ*).

4.11.3.1. Present

Forms with inflectional endings have two alternative base forms, viz. *maCC-*, which corresponds to pattern of stem I strong verbs, and *maCiC-*, which preserves the middle weak radical in the form of an /i/ vowel.

3ms.	*mazəd*		'He adds'
3fs.	*mazda*	*mazida*	'She adds'
3pl.	*mazdi*	*mazidi*	'They add'

4.11.3.2. General Past Base

Two alternative patterns exist for the 3fs. and 3pl. bases, viz a pattern that corresponds to that of strong verbs of stem I and a pattern that preserves the middle weak radical in the form of an /i/ vowel.

3ms.	*mzəd-*	
3fs.	*məzda-*	*mzida-*
3pl.	*məzdi-*	*mzidi-*

Examples: *mzədle* 'He added', *məzdale* ~ *mzidale* 'He added it (f.)', *məzdile* ~ *mzidile* 'He added them'.

4.11.3.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*mzida*
fs.	*mzədta*
pl.	*mzide*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*mzide*	'He has added'
3fs.	*mzədta*	'She has added'
3pl.	*mzidu*	'They have added'

4.11.3.4. Imperative

sing..	*mzud*
pl.	*mzúdun*

4.11.3.5. Infinitive

mazode

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*mazode*	'He is adding'
3fs.	*mazoda*	'She is adding'
3pl.	*mazodu*	'They are adding'

4.11.3.6. Active Participle

ms.	*mazdana* ~ *mazidana*	'one who adds'
fs.	*mazdanta* ~ *mazidanta*	'one who adds'

We may include in this category the verbs *m-∅yq* 'to make narrow', *m-∅yl* 'to inform', which can be analysed as stem II of the initial /∅/ verbs *∅yq* 'to be narrow' and *∅yl* 'to know' respectively, the /y/ being preserved uncontracted in all inflections, e.g. *mayəq* 'He makes narrow', *mayqen* 'I make narrow', *məyqili* 'I made them narrow'.

4.11.4. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes *m-bxy* 'to make weep', *m-fry* 'to widen', *m-jry* 'to make flow', *m-lty* 'to give food by a spoon', *m-mly* 'to make suffice', *m-mqy* 'to make speak', *m-mry* 'to hurt, to give pain', ⁺*m-mty* 'to cause to arrive, to cause to happen', ⁺*m-nby* 'to cause to swell', *m-ndy* 'to throw', *m-nšy* 'to cause to forget', *m-nty* 'to grant (God)', ⁺*m-pčy* 'to batter', *m-qly* 'to burn', *m-qry* 'to teach (in school)', *m-qšy* 'to ask difficult questions', *m-qwy* 'to strengthen', ⁺*m-rdy* 'to placate', ⁺*m-rpy* 'to let free; to divorce', ⁺*m-rwy* 'to make grow; to increase', *m-spy* 'to hand over', *m-sry* 'to stink', *m-swy* 'to satiate', ⁺*m-swy* 'to harden', *m-sxy* 'to give a bath', *m-šby* 'to liken, to resemble', *m-šmy* 'to make hear', *m-šny* 'to cause to move aside', *m-šty* 'to give to drink; to span the warp in a loom', ⁺*m-šty* 'to cause to lie down', ⁺*m-tmy* 'to cause to taste; to render unclean', *m-try* 'to moisten', *m-xly* 'to sweeten', *m-xty* 'to lead into sin', *m-xwy* 'to show', *m-zky* 'to give fortune (God, especially sons)', *m-zny* 'to lead to whoredom', *m-zry* 'to sow, to plant', *m-ymy* ~ *m-my* 'to make swear'. Some of these originally had a voiced pharyngal *ᶜ as final radical, e.g. *m-mry* 'to hurt' (< *m-mrᶜ*), *m-šmy* 'to cause to hear' (< *m-šmᶜ*), *m-zdy* 'to frighten' (< *m-zdᶜ*), *m-zry* 'to sow' (< *m-zrᶜ*). The verb ⁺*m-šty* 'to cause to lie down' originally had an unvoiced pharyngal *ḥ as the final radical (< *m-šṭḥ*).

4.11.4.1. Present

3ms.	*mašte*	'He makes drink'
3fs.	*maštya*	'She makes drink'
3pl.	*mašte(ni)*	'They make drink', etc.
2ms.	*maštet*	
2fs.	*maštyat*	
2pl.	*maštetun*	
1ms.	*mašten*	
1fs.	*maštyan*	
1pl.	*maštex*	

4.11.4.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*məšte-*
3fs.	*məštya-*

3pl.   *məštyi-*

Examples: *məštele* 'He made drink', *məštyale* 'He made her drink', *məštyile* 'He made them drink'.

4.11.4.3. Resultative Participle

ms.   *məštya*
fs.   *məštita*
pl.   *məxtye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.   *məštye*   'He has made drink'
3fs.   *məštita*   'She has made drink'
3pl.   *məštyu*   'They have made drink'

4.11.4.4. Imperative

ms.   *məšti*   'Make drink!'
pl.   *məštímun*   'Make drink!'

4.11.4.5. Infinitive

maštoe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula). As in stem I final */y/* verbs, the */l/* of the copula is retained. The sequence of vowels */oei/* contracts to */u/*: *maštoe-ile > maštule*.

3ms.   *maštule*   'He is making drink'
3fs.   *maštula*   'She is making drink'
3pl.   *maštulu*   'They are making drink'

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final */oe/* vowel sequence is replaced by */a/*:

3ms.   *maštaa-wele*   'He was making drink'
3fs.   *maštaa-wela*   'She was making drink'
3pl.   *maštaa-welu*   'They were making drink'

4.11.4.6. Active Participle

ms.   *maštyana*   'one who makes drink'
fs.   *maštyanta*   'one who makes drink'

The verb [+]*m-ry* 'to graze, to pasture (animals)' originally contained a medial pharyngal radical and so fell into this category of verb (***m-r⟨⟩y*). The pharyngal has been reduced to zero and the verb is conjugated with the patterns of stem I final /y/ verbs:

Present:	[+]*mare*
General Past:	[+]*mrele*
Resultative participle:	[+]*mərya*
Imperative:	[+]*mri*
Infinitive:	[+]*maroe*

4.11.5. Verba Mediae /w/

The /w/ is treated like a strong radical in some roots, e.g. *m-dwq* 'to close', *m-gwr* 'to give in marriage', *m-xwr* 'to whiten', in which the /w/ remains stable throughout all paradigms. We may include here the verb *mwl* 'to use', which can be analysed as stem II of an initial /∅/, middle /w/ root (possibly < **⟨wḏ*), the /w/ being preserved uncontracted in all inflections, e.g. *mawəl* 'He uses', *mawlen* 'I use', *məwlili* 'I used them.

The verb *m-kwš* 'to take down' has a variant form with a contracted /w/, viz. *mkš*, which is inflected with the patterns of strong stem I verbs.

Note the verb *m-lbš* 'to dress (tr.)', preserving the original stop /b/, which corresponds to the stem I medial /w/ verb *lwš* 'to dress'.

4.11.6. Verba Tertiae /w/

This category includes the verbs *m-gnw* 'to cause to steal', *m-qrw* 'to bring near', *m-xrw* 'to spoil', [+]*m-rkw* 'to put on a horse'. The /w/ in all cases is treated like a strong radical and remains stable throughout the paradigms.

4.12. WEAK QUADRILITERAL VERBS

4.12.1. Verba Primae /∅/

This category includes the verbs ∅*mbl* 'to take away' and ∅*nty* 'to take, to carry', the latter being weak also in the final radical.

4.12.1.1. Present

The realis is not distinguished from the irrealis by an indicative prefix as is the case with a subset of initial /∅/ verbs (§4.10.1.).

3ms.	*ambəl*	'He takes away'
3fs.	*ambla*	'She takes away'
3pl.	*ambli*	'They take away'

4.12.1.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*əmbəl-*
3fs.	*əmbla-*
3pl.	*əmbli-*

Examples: *əmbəlle* 'He took away', *əmblale* 'He took her away', *əmblile* 'He took them away'.

4.12.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*əmbila*
fs.	*əmbəlta*
pl.	*əmbile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*əmbile*	'He has taken away'
3fs.	*əmbəlta*	'She has taken away'
3pl.	*əmbilu*	'They have taken away'

4.12.1.4. Imperative

| sing. | *əmbul* | 'Take away!' |
| pl. | *əmbúlun* | 'Take away!' |

4.12.1.5. Infinitive

ambole

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*ambole*	'He is taking away'
3fs.	*ambola*	'She is taking away'
3pl.	*ambolu*	'They are taking away'

4.12.1.6. Active Participle

| ms. | *amblana* | 'one who takes away' |
| fs. | *amblanta* | 'one who takes away' |

4.12.2. Verba Secundae /y/

This category includes the verb *šydn* 'to become mad'.

4.12.2.1. Present

3ms.	*šaydən*	'He becomes mad'
3fs.	*šaydna*	'She becomes mad'
3pl.	*šaydni*	'They become mad', etc.
2ms.	*šaydnet*	
2fs.	*šaydnat*	
2pl.	*šaydnetun*	
1ms.	*šaydnen*	
1fs.	*šaydnan*	
1pl.	*šaydnex*	

4.12.2.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*šəydən-*

Examples: *šəydənne* 'He became mad'.

4.12.2.3. Intransitive Past Base

šəydin-

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	*šəydin*	'He has become mad'
3fs.	*šəydína*	'She has become mad'
3pl.	*šəydíni*	'They have become mad'

4.12.2.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*šəydina*
fs.	*šəydənta*
pl.	*šəydine*

4.12.2.5. Imperative

sing.	*šəydun*	'Become mad!'
pl.	*šəydúnun*	'Become mad!'

4.12.2.6. Infinitive

šaydone

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula).

3ms.	*šaydone*	'He is becoming mad'
3fs.	*šaydona*	'She is becoming mad'
3pl.	*šaydonu*	'They are becoming mad'

4.12.3. Verba Quartae /y/

This category includes the verbs ⁺*drdy* 'to scatter', ⁺*mlty* 'to give food by a spoon', *nndy* 'to jump', *prpy* 'to rinse', *šršy* 'to hang down', *tlty* 'to hang', ⁺*xrdy* 'to entangle'.

4.12.3.1. Present

tlty 'to hang'

3ms.	*talte*	'He hangs'
3fs.	*taltya*	'She hangs'
3pl.	*talte(ni)*	'They hang', etc.
2ms.	*taltet*	
2fs.	*taltyat*	
2pl.	*taltetun*	
1ms.	*talten*	
1fs.	*taltyan*	
1pl.	*taltex*	

4.12.3.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*təlte-*
3fs.	*təltya-*
3pl.	*təltyi-*

Examples: *təltele* 'He hung', *təltyale* 'He hung her', *təltyile* 'He hung them'.

4.12.3.3. Intransitive Past Base

bəlhe-

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	*bəlhe*	'He has become frightened'

| 3fs. | *bəlhya* | 'She has become frightened' |
| 3pl. | *bəlhe(ni)* | 'They have become frightened' |

4.12.3.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	*təltya*
fs.	*təltita*
pl.	*təltye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*təltye*	'He has hung'
3fs.	*təltita*	'She has hung'
3pl.	*təltyu*	'They have hung'

4.12.3.5. Imperative

| ms. | *təlti* | 'Hang!' |
| pl. | *təltímun* | 'Hang!' |

4.12.3.6. Infinitive

taltoe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula). As in other final /y/ verbs, the /l/ of the copula is retained. The sequence of vowels /oei/ contracts to /u/: *taltoe-ile > taltule*.

3ms.	*taltule*	'He is hanging'
3fs.	*taltula*	'She is hanging'
3pl.	*taltulu*	'They are hanging'

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final /oe/ vowel sequence is replaced by /a/:

3ms.	*taltaa-wele*	'He was hanging'
3fs.	*taltaa-wela*	'She is hanging'
3pl.	*taltaa-welu*	'They are hanging'

4.12.3.7. Active Participle

| ms. | *taltyana* | 'one who hangs' |
| fs. | *taltyanta* | 'one who hangs' |

4.13. IRREGULAR AND DEFECTIVE VERBS

4.13.1. 'to go'

∅*zl*

4.13.1.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*. The final /l/ of the 3ms. form is elided in the rest of the paradigm.

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*ezəl*	'May he go'
3fs.	*eza*	'May she go'
3pl.	*ezi*	'May they go', etc.
2ms.	*ezet*	
2fs.	*ezat*	
2pl.	*ezetun*	
1ms.	*ezen*	
1fs.	*ezan*	
1pl.	*ezex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*gezəl*	'He goes'
3fs.	*geza*	'She goes'
3pl.	*gezi*	'They go', etc.
2ms.	*gezet*	
2fs.	*gezat*	
2pl.	*gezetun*	
1ms.	*gezen*	
1fs.	*gezan*	
1pl.	*gezex*	

4.13.1.2. General Past Base

zəl-

Examples: *zəlle* 'He went', *zəlla* 'She went', *zəllu* 'They went'.

4.13.1.3. Intransitive Past Base

ẓil-

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	*ẓil*	'He has gone'
3fs.	*ẓíla*	'She has gone'
3pl.	*ẓíli*	'They have gone'

4.13.1.4. Resultative Participle

ms./pl.	*ẓila*
fs.	*ẓəlta*

These are used only as a component in irrealis perfect forms, in which a number distinction is not made in the inflection of the resultative participle (§4.18.3.):

3ms.	*ẓila-hawe*	'He may have gone'
3fs.	*ẓəlta-hawya*	'She may have gone'
3pl.	*ẓila-hawe(ni)*	'They may have gone'

4.13.1.5. Imperative

The singular imperatives are optionally combined with a 2nd person L-suffix, which distinguishes between gender.

ms.	*si ~ si-lox*	'Go!'
fs.	*si ~ si-lax*	'Go!'
pl.	*símun*	'Go!'

4.13.1.6. Infinitive

iẓala

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*iẓale*	'He is going'
3fs.	*iẓala*	'She is going'
3pl.	*iẓalu*	'They are going'

4.13.1.7. Active Participle

ms.	*eẓana*	'goer'
fs.	*eẓanta*	'goer'

4.13.2. 'to want'

4.13.2.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*. The initial /a/ vowel of the irrealis is not historical, the original root being **bʿy*, but has evolved by analogy with initial /∅/ roots thus: *kxəl— axəl : gbe (< *k-baʿe)—abe.*

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*abe*	'May he wants'
3fs.	*abya*	'May she wants'
3pl.	*abe*	'May they want', etc.
2ms.	*abet*	
2fs.	*abyat*	
2pl.	*abetun*	
1ms.	*aben*	
1fs.	*abyan*	
1pl.	*abex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*gbe*	'He wants'
3fs.	*gba*	'She wants'
3pl.	*gbe(ni)*	'They want', etc.
2ms.	*gbet*	
2fs.	*gbat*	
2pl.	*gbetun*	
1ms.	*gben*	
1fs.	*gban*	
1pl.	*gbex*	

4.13.2.2. General Past Base

A vowel /e/ occurs before the second radical, which is centralized to /ə/ in the closed syllable of the 3fs. and 3pl. forms.

3ms.	*ebe-*
3fs.	*əbya-*
3pl.	*əbyi-*

Examples: *ebele* 'He wanted', *əbyale* 'He wanted her', *əbyile* 'He wanted them'.

4.13.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*əbya*
fs.	*ebita*
pl.	*əbye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*əbye*	'He has wanted'
3fs.	*ebita*	'She has wanted'
3pl.	*əbyu*	'They have wanted'

4.13.2.4. Imperative

| sing. | *əbi* | 'Want!' |
| plural | *əbímun* | 'Want!' |

4.13.2.5. Infinitive

aboe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*abule*	'He wants (now)'
3fs.	*abula*	'She wants (now)'
3pl.	*abulu*	'They want (now)'

When the infinitive is combined with the past copula to express the progressive in the past, the final */oe/* vowel sequence is replaced by */a/*:

3ms.	*abaa-wele*	'He wanted'
3fs.	*abaa-wela*	'She wanted'
3pl.	*abaa-welu*	'They wanted'

4.13.2.6. Active Participle

| ms. | *abyana* | 'wanter, suitor' |
| fs. | *abyanta* | 'wanter' |

4.13.3. 'to know'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*. The final /l/ of the 3ms is lost in the rest of paradigm. The initial /a/ vowel of the irrealis is not historical, the original root being **yḏʿ*, but has evolved by analogy with initial /∅/ roots thus: *kxǝl—axǝl : kyǝl* (< **k-yaḏǝʿ)—ayǝl*.

4.13.3.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*ayǝl*	'May he know'
3fs.	*aya*	'May she know'
3pl.	*ayi*	'May they know', etc.
2ms.	*ayet*	
2fs.	*ayat*	
2pl.	*ayetun*	
1ms.	*ayen*	
1fs.	*ayan*	
1pl.	*ayex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kyǝl*	'He knows'
3fs.	*kya*	'She knows'
3pl.	*kyi*	'They know'
2ms.	*kyet*	
2fs.	*kyat*	
2pl.	*kyetun*	
1ms.	*kyen*	
1fs.	*kyan*	
1pl.	*kyex*	

The initial sequence /ky/ is sometimes replaced by /kk/ after a negative particle, e.g. *lá-kken* 'I do not know'.

4.13.3.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*yǝl-*
3fs.	*yila-*

3pl.   *yili-*

Examples: *yəlle* 'He knew', *yilale* 'He knew her', *yilile* 'He knew them'.

4.13.3.3. Resultative Participle

ms.   *yila*
fs.   *yəlta*
pl.   *yile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.   *yile*   'He has known'
3fs.   *yəlta*   'She has known'
3pl.   *yilu*   'They have known'

4.13.3.4. Imperative

6.17.3.5.1. ms.   *yul*   'Know!'
6.17.3.5.3. pl.   *yúlun*   'Know!'

4.13.3.5. Infinitive

The infinitive has an initial /a/ in conformity with the irrealis form.

ayole

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.   *ayole*   'He knows'
3fs.   *ayola*   'She knows'
3pl.   *ayolu*   'They know'

4.13.3.6. Active Participle

ms.   *ayana*   'knower'
fs.   *ayanta*   'knower'

4.13.4. 'to give'

hwl

4.13.4.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial syllable *ha-* of the irrealis form. The unhistorical final /l/ of the 3ms. form does not appear in the rest of the paradigm.

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*hawəl*	'May he give'
3fs.	*hawa*	'May she give'
3pl.	*hawi*	'May they give', etc.
2ms.	*hawet*	
2fs.	*hawat*	
2pl.	*hawetun*	
1ms.	*hawen*	
1fs.	*hawan*	
1pl.	*hawex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kwəl*	'He gives'
3fs.	*kwa*	'She gives'
3pl.	*kwi*	'They give', etc.
2ms.	*kwet*	
2fs.	*kwat*	
2pl.	*kwetun*	
1ms.	*kwen*	
1fs.	*kwan*	
1pl.	*kwex*	

4.13.4.2. General Past Base

A non-etymological final /l/ appears in the 3ms. base, but not in the 3fs. and 3pl. bases.

3ms.	*hwəl-*
3fs.	*hiwa-*
3pl.	*hiwi-*

Examples: *hwəlle* 'He gave', *hiwale-lli* 'He gave her to me', *hiwile-lli* 'He gave them to me'.

4.13.4.3. Resultative Participle

The non-etymological /l/ occurs in all forms.

ms.	*hwila*
fs.	*hwəlta*
pl.	*hwile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*hwile*	'He has given'
3fs.	*hwəlta*	'She has given'
3pl.	*hwilu*	'They have given'

4.13.4.4. Imperative

sing.	*hol*	'Give!'
pl.	*hólun*	'Give!'

4.13.4.5. Infinitive

hiwala

Compound form (progressive, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.	*hiwale*	'He is giving'
3fs.	*hiwala*	'She is giving'
3pl.	*hiwalu*	'They are giving'

4.13.4.6. Active Participle

ms.	*hawana*	'giver'
fs.	*hawanta*	'giver'

4.13.5. 'to come'

∅*dy*

The middle radical of this verb is /d/ throughout all paradigms. This is an irregular reflex of historical fricative **t̠* (§1.8.1.3.). In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*, which replaces the initial /a/ of the irrealis.

4.13.5.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*ade*	'May he come'
3fs.	*adya*	'May she come'
3pl.	*ade(ni)*	'May they come', etc.
2ms.	*adet*	
2fs.	*adyat*	
2pl.	*adetun*	
1ms.	*aden*	
1fs.	*adyan*	
1pl.	*adex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*gde*	'He comes'
3fs.	*gədya*	'She comes'
3pl.	*gde(ni)*	'They come', etc.
2ms.	*gdet*	
2fs.	*gədyat*	
2pl.	*gdetun*	
1ms.	*gden*	
1fs.	*gədyan*	
1pl.	*gdex*	

4.13.5.2. General Past Base

ədye-

Examples: *ədyele* 'He came', *ədyela* 'She came', *ədyelu* 'They came'.

4.13.5.3. Intransitive Past Base

ədy-

Intransitive past base (perfect, inflected with S-suffixes)

3ms.	*ə́dye*	'He has come'
3fs.	*ə́dya*	'She has come'
3pl.	*ə́dye(ni)*	'They have come', etc.
2ms.	*ə́dyet*	
2fs.	*ə́dyat*	

2pl.	*ə́dyetun*
1ms.	*ə́dyen*
1fs.	*ə́dyan*
1pl.	*ə́dyex*

4.13.5.4. Resultative Participle

ms./pl.	*ədya*
fs.	*ədita*

These are used only as a component in irrealis perfect forms, in which a number distinction is not made in the inflection of the resultative participle (§4.18.3.):

3ms.	*ədya-hawe*	'He may have come'
3fs.	*ədita-hawya*	'She may have come'
3pl.	*ədya-hawe(ni)*	'They may have come'

4.13.5.5. Imperative

The singular imperatives are optionally combined with a 2nd person L-suffix, which distinguishes between gender. The plural form is pronounced emphatic.

ms.	*ida ~ idalox*	'Come!'
fs.	*ida ~ idalax*	'Come!'
pl.	⁺*idamun*	'Come!'

4.13.5.6. Infinitive

idaa

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula). The /l/ of the copula base is retained, the sequence *idaa-ile* contracting to *idayle* with a glide /y/:

3ms.	*idayle*	'He is coming'
3fs.	*idayla*	'She is coming'
3pl.	*idaylu*	'They are coming', etc.
2ms.	*idaylet*	
2fs.	*idaylat*	
2pl.	*idayletun*	
1ms.	*idaylen*	
1fs.	*idaylan*	

1pl.   *idaylex*

Progressive with the past copula:

3ms.	*idaa-wele*	'He was coming'
3fs.	*idaa -wela*	'She was coming'
3pl.	*idaa -welu*	'They were coming'

4.13.5.7. Active Participle

ms.	*adyana*	'one who comes'
fs.	*adyanta*	'one who comes'

4.13.6. 'to bring'

mdy

This verb is historically the stem II causative of the verb 'to come'. It is conjugated now with the patterns of a stem I final /y/ verb.

4.13.6.1. Present

3ms.	*made*	'He brings'
3fs.	*madya*	'She brings'
3pl.	*made(ni)*	'They bring', etc.
2ms.	*madet*	
2fs.	*madyat*	
2pl.	*madetun*	
1ms.	*maden*	
1fs.	*madan*	
1pl.	*madex*	

4.13.6.2. General Past Base

3ms.	*mde-*
3fs.	*mədya-*
3pl.	*mədyi-*

Examples: *mdele* 'He brought', *mədyale* 'He brought her', *mədyile* 'He brought them'.

4.13.6.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	*mədya*

fs.   *mdita*
pl.   *mədye*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with contracted enclitic copula):

3ms.   *mədye*   'He has brought'
3fs.   *mdita*   'She has brought'
3pl.   *mədyu*   'They have brought'

4.13.6.4. Imperative

sing.   *mdi*   'Bring!'
pl.   *mdímun*   'Bring!'

4.13.6.5. Infinitive

madoe

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula). As is the norm in final */y/* verbs, the */l/* of the copula is retained and the sequence of vowels */oei/* contracts to */u/*: *madoe-ile* > *madule*

3ms.   *madule*   'He is bringing'
3fs.   *madula*   'She is bringing'
3pl.   *madulu*   'They are bringing'

4.13.6.6. Active participle

ms.   *madyana*   'one who brings'
fs.   *madyanta*   'one who brings'

4.13.7. 'to enter'

[+]∅*wr*

In most forms this verb has the features characteristic of initial */∅/* and medial */w/* verbs. In the present the realis form is distinguished from the irrealis by prefixing the particle *g-*. The infinitive form is irregular and treats the root as if it were medial */y/*.

4.13.7.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	⁺*or*	'May he enter'
3fs.	⁺*ora*	'May she enter'
3pl.	⁺*ori*	'May they enter', etc.
2ms.	⁺*oret*	
2fs.	⁺*orat*	
2pl.	⁺*oretun*	
1ms.	⁺*oren*	
1fs.	⁺*oran*	
1pl.	⁺*orex*	

(ii) Realis

3ms.	⁺*gor*	'He enters'
3fs.	⁺*gora*	'She enters'
3pl.	⁺*gori*	'They enter', etc.
2ms.	⁺*goret*	
2fs.	⁺*gorat*	
2pl.	⁺*goretun*	
1ms.	⁺*goren*	
1fs.	⁺*goran*	
1pl.	⁺*gorex*	

4.13.7.2. General Past Base

⁺*wər-*

Examples: ⁺*wərre* 'He entered', ⁺*wərra* 'She entered', ⁺*wərru* 'They entered'.

4.13.7.3. Intransitive Past Base

⁺*wir-*

Intransitive past base (perfect, inflected with S-suffixes)

3ms.	⁺*wir*	'He has entered'
3fs.	⁺*wíra*	'She has entered'
3pl.	⁺*wíri* '	'They have entered', etc.
2ms.	⁺*wíret*	

2fs.	⁺*wírat*
2pl.	⁺*wíretun*
1ms.	⁺*wíren*
1fs.	⁺*wíran*
1pl.	⁺*wírex*

4.13.7.4. Resultative Participle

ms./pl.	*wira*
fs.	*wərta*

These are used only as a component in irrealis perfect forms, in which a number distinction is not made in the inflection of the resultative participle (§4.18.3.):

3ms.	*wira-hawe*	'He may have entered'
3fs.	*wərta-hawya*	'She may have entered'
3pl.	*wira-hawe(ni)*	'They may have entered'

4.13.7.5. Imperative

sing.	⁺*wur*	'Enter!'
pl.	⁺*wúrun*	'Enter!'

4.13.7.6. Infinitive

⁺*wiyore*

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula).

3ms.	⁺*wiyore*	'He is entering'
3fs.	⁺*wiyora*	'She is entering'
3pl.	⁺*wiyoru*	'They are entering', etc.
2ms.	⁺*wiyoret*	
2fs.	⁺*wiyorat*	
2pl.	⁺*wiyoretun*	
1ms.	⁺*wiyoren*	
1fs.	⁺*wiyoran*	
1pl.	⁺*wiyorex*	

Progressive with the past copula:

3ms.	⁺*wiyora-wele*	'He was entering'
3fs.	⁺*wiyora-wela*	'She was entering'
3pl.	⁺*wiyora-welu*	'They were entering'

4.13.7.7. Active Participle

ms.	[+]*worana*	'one who enters'
fs.	[+]*woranta*	'one who enters'

4.13.8. 'to live'

xyy

4.13.8.1. Present

3ms.	*xaye*	'He lives'
3fs.	*xaya*	'She lives'
3pl.	*xaye(ni)*	'They live', etc.
2ms.	*xayet*	
2fs.	*xayat*	
2pl.	*xayetun*	
1ms.	*xayen*	
1fs.	*xayan*	
1pl.	*xayex*	

4.13.8.2. General Past Base

xiye-

Example: *xiyéle* 'He came alive'

4.13.8.3. Intransitive Past Base

xiye-

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	*xíye*	'He has come alive'
3fs.	*xíya*	'She has come alive'
3pl.	*xíye(ni)*	'They have come alive'

4.13.8.4. Resultative Participle

ms./pl.	*xiya*	
fs.	*xita*	

These are used only as a component in irrealis perfect forms, in which a number distinction is not made in the inflection of the resultative participle (§4.18.3.):

3ms.	*xiya-hawe*	'He may have come alive'
3fs.	*xita-hawya*	'She may have come alive'
3pl.	*xiya-hawe(ni)*	'They may have come alive'

4.13.8.5. Imperative

sing.	*xiyi*	'Live!'
pl.	*xiyímun*	'Live!'

4.13.8.6. Infinitive

xaa

Compound form (progressive, inflected with the enclitic copula). The /l/ of the copula is retained:

3ms.	*xaele*	'He is living'
3fs.	*xaela*	'She is living'
3pl.	*xaelu*	'They are living'

Progressive in the past inflected with past copula:

3ms.	*xaa-wele*	'He was living'
3fs.	*xaa-wela*	'She was living'
3pl.	*xaa-welu*	'They were living'

4.13.9. 'to be'

hwy

This replaces the copula in certain functional contexts (§10.8.).

4.13.9.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial *ha-* syllable of the irrealis.

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	*hawe*	'May he be'
3fs.	*hawya*	'May she be'
3pl.	*hawe(ni)*	'May they be', etc.

2ms.	*hawet*
2fs.	*hawyat*
2pl.	*hawetun*
1ms.	*hawen*
1fs.	*hawyan*
1pl.	*hawex*

(ii) Realis

3ms.	*kwe*	'He is'
3fs.	*kəwya*	'She is'
3pl.	*kwe*	'They are', etc.
2ms.	*kwet*	
2fs.	*kəwyat*	
2pl.	*kwetun*	
1ms.	*kwen*	
1fs.	*kəwyan*	
1pl.	*kwex*	

4.13.9.2. General past base

we-

Examples: *wele* 'He was', *wela* 'She was', *welu* 'They were'.

4.13.9.3. Intransitive Past Base

Intransitive past base (perfect, inflected with S-suffixes)

həwe-

3ms.	*hə́we*	'He has been'
3fs.	*hə́wya*	'She has been'
3pl.	*hə́we(ni)*	'They have been'
2ms.	*hə́wet*	
2fs.	*hə́wyat*	
2pl.	*hə́wetun*	
1ms.	*hə́wen*	
1fs.	*hə́wyan*	
1pl.	*hə́wex*	

4.13.9.4. Imperative

sing.	*həwi*	'Be!'

pl.   *həwímun*   'Be!'

4.13.10. 'to hit'

dhl 'to hit'

This verb is a loan from Kurdish *dān*. The /l/, which occurs in some of its inflections in the J. Urmi NENA dialect, is a secondary addition to the root, as is the case with the /l/ in the verb *hwl* 'to give' (cf. 3ms. *hawəl*, but 3fs. *hawa* etc.).

4.13.10.1. Present

The /l/ occurs only in the 3ms. form of the present.

3ms.	*dahəl*	'He hits'
3fs.	*daha*	'She hits'
3pl.	*dahi*	'They hit', etc.
2ms.	*dahet*	
2fs.	*dahat*	
2pl.	*dahetun*	
1ms.	*dahen*	
1fs.	*dahan*	
1pl.	*dahex*	

4.13.10.2. General Past Base

A non-etymological final /l/ appears in the 3ms. base, but not in the 3fs. and 3pl. bases, as is the case with the verb *hwl* 'to give'.

3ms.	*dhəl-*
3fs.	*diha-*
3pl.	*dihi-*

Examples: *dhəlle* 'He beat', *dihale* 'He beat her', *dihile* 'He beat them'.

4.13.10.3. Resultative Participle

The non-etymological /l/ occurs in all forms.

ms.	*dhila*
fs.	*dhəlta*
pl.	*dhile*

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with the enclitic copula):

3ms.	*dhile*	'He has hit'
3fs.	*dhəlta*	'She has hit'
3pl.	*dhilu*	'They have hit'

4.13.10.4. Imperative

The non-etymological /l/ occurs in both singular and plural forms:

| sing. | *dhul* |
| pl. | *dhúlun* |

4.13.10.5. Infinitive

dahole

Compound form (transitive perfect, inflected with the enclitic copula):

3ms.	*dahole*	'He is hitting'
3fs.	*dahole*	'She is hitting'
3pl.	*daholu*	'They are hitting'

4.13.10.6. Active Participle

| ms. | *dahana* |
| fs. | *dahanta* |

This loaned verb is found in several other Jewish dialects in the eastern NENA area, in some cases without any secondary /l/, e.g. J. Sanandaj *dae* 'He hits', *daya* 'She hits', *dile* 'He hit', *diyale* 'He hit her'.

4.13.11. 'to be enough'

mlly

This verb has the inflectional endings of final /y/ verbs, but an irregular gemination of the medial radical. It is an etymological doublet of ⁺*mly* 'to fill', which is pronounced emphatic. The verb is only used with present, general past and infinitive bases in the 3ms.

4.13.11.1. Present

Present base *mall-*

| 3ms | *malle* | 'It is enough' |

4.13.11.2. General Past Base

məlle-

        3ms   *məllele*   'It was enough'

4.13.11.3. Infinitive

malloe

In the progressive compound construction, which is inflected with the en-clitic copula, the sequence *malloe-ile* contracts to *mallule,* in accordance with the pattern of inflection of final */y/* verbs:

        3ms.   *mallule*   'It is enough'

    When inflected with the past copula, the base is *mallaa-*

        3ms.   *mallaa-wele*   'He was able'

4.13.12. 'to be able'

[+]*mssy*

This verb is a variant of a stem I final */y/* verb. It differs from the regular pattern in that all bases have as their core the invariable sequence */[+]məss/* with a geminated medial radical.

4.13.12.1. Present

Present base [+]*məss-*

        3ms   [+]*məsse*   'He is able'
        3fs.   [+]*məssa*   'She is able'
        3pl.   [+]*məsse(ni)*   'They are able', etc.
        2ms.   [+]*məsset*
        2fs.   [+]*məssat*
        2pl.   [+]*məssetun*
        1ms.   [+]*məssen*
        1fs.   [+]*məssan*
        1pl.   [+]*məssex*

4.13.12.2. General Past Base

[+]*məsse-*

        3ms   [+]*məssele*   'He was able'

3fs.	⁺*məssela*	'She was able'
3pl.	⁺*məsselu*	'They were able'

4.13.12.3. Intransitive Past Base

⁺*məsse-*

Intransitive perfect inflected with S-suffixes:

3ms.	⁺*mə́sse*	'He has been able'
3fs.	⁺*mə́ssa*	'She has been able'
3pl.	⁺*mə́sse(ni)*	'They have been able'

4.13.12.4. Resultative Participle

ms./pl.	⁺*məssa*
fs.	⁺*məssita*

These are used only as a component in irrealis perfect forms, in which a number distinction is not made in the inflection of the resultative participle (§4.18.3.):

3ms.	⁺*məssa-hawe*	'He may have been able'
3fs.	⁺*məssita-hawya*	'She may have been able'
3pl.	⁺*məssa-hawe(ni)*	'They may have been able'

4.13.12.5. Infinitive

⁺*məssoe*

In the progressive compound construction, which is inflected with the enclitic copula, the sequence ⁺*məssoe-ile* contracts to ⁺*məssule*, in accordance with the pattern of inflection of final /y/ verbs:

3ms.	⁺*məssule*	'He is able'
3fs.	⁺*məssula*	'She is able'
3pl.	⁺*məssulu*	'They are able'

When inflected with the past copula, the base is ⁺*məssaa-*

3ms.	⁺*məssaa-wele*	'He was able'
3fs.	⁺*məssaa-wela*	'She was able'
3pl.	⁺*məssaa-welu*	'They were able'

4.13.12.6. Negation

After the negative particle *la*, the initial sequence /⁺*məss*/ of the verbal bases sometimes contracts to /⁺*ms*/, e.g. *la-⁺mse* 'He cannot/He has not been able', *la-⁺msaa-wele* 'He was not able'.

4.14. PHRASAL VERBS

The dialect contains numerous 'phrasal verbs', which consist of a finite inflected verb and a nominal element. These are calques from parallel constructions in Persian, Kurdish or Azeri Turkish. The nominal element is generally retained from the source language with the finite verb being exchanged for an equivalent Aramaic verb, e.g.

fəkr ∅wd	'to think'	Pers. *fekr kardan*
⁺*darmana ∅wd*	'to treat (medicinally)'	Pers. *darmān kardan*
sabət ∅wd	'to prove'	Pers. *sabet kardan*
surgun ∅wd	'to banish'	Azeri Turk. *sürgün etmək*
šar mndy	'to slander'	Azeri Turk. *şer atmaq*

4.15. PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECT ON PRESENT BASE VERBS

The pronominal direct object of verbs derived from the present base (⁺*qatəl*) is expressed by L-suffixes

3ms. verb with direct pronominal objects:

3ms	⁺*qatə́lle*	'He kills him'
3fs.	⁺*qatə́lla*	'He kills her'
3pl.	⁺*qatə́llu*	'He kills them', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qatə́llox*	
2fs.	⁺*qatə́llax*	
2pl.	⁺*qatə́llxun*	
1s.	⁺*qatə́lli*	
1pl.	⁺*qatə́llan*	

The /l/ of the L-suffix is assimilated to a final /n/ or /r/ of the verbal root. The consonant /n/ is regularly geminated, e.g. *zabənne* 'He sells it' (< *zabənle*). The consonant /r/ is sometimes geminated, e.g. *šadərre* 'He sends it' (< *šadərle*), but in other cases the gemination is weakened, e.g. *manhəre* 'He ignites it' (< *manhərle*).

The /l/ of the suffix is assimilated to the final consonant of the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person inflectional suffixes. When the stress falls immediately before this consonant, it is geminated. It is pronounced ungeminated when it is not preceded by the stress, as is the case with the 2pl. inflectional ending.

Verb paradigm with 3ms. direct pronominal object:

3ms.	⁺qatə́lle	'He kills him'
3fs.	⁺qatlále	'She kills him'
3pl.	⁺qatlíle	'They kill him', etc.
2ms.	⁺qatlétte ~ ⁺qatlə́tte	
2fs.	⁺qatlátte	
2pl.	⁺qatlétune	
1ms.	⁺qatlénne ~ ⁺qatlə́nne	
1fs.	⁺qatlánne	
1pl.	⁺qatléxxe ~ ⁺qatlə́xxe	

4.16. PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECTS ON GENERAL PAST BASE VERBS

The pronominal object of verbs derived from the general past base (⁺qtəl-) may be expressed in one of two ways, by incorporation into the verbal base or by attachment of L-suffixes.

4.16.1. Incorporated Pronominal Object

Only 3fs. and 3pl. objects can be expressed by inflection of the general past base:

3fs.	⁺qətlale	'He killed her'
3pl.	⁺qətlile	'He killed them'

Examples of final /y/ verbs:

3fs.	xəzyale	'He saw her'
3pl.	xəzyile	'He saw them'

4.16.2. L-suffixes

This construction is used to express all persons of the pronominal direct object. The /l/ of the L-suffix expressing the object is assimilated to the final consonant of the suffix expressing the agent in the 1pl. and 2ⁿᵈ person forms.

This consonant is not geminated on account of the fact that stress is not placed immediately before it but rather on the base of the verb.

3ms.	⁺qtə́llele	'He killed him'
3fs.	⁺qtə́llale	'She killed him'
3pl.	⁺qtə́llule	'They killed him', etc.
2ms.	⁺qtə́lloxe	
2fs.	⁺qtə́llaxe	
2pl.	⁺qtə́llxune	
1s.	⁺qtə́llile	
1pl.	⁺qtə́llane	

4.17. PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECTS ON IMPERATIVES

On imperatives the pronominal object is expressed by L-suffixes. The /l/ of the L-suffix is assimilated to the final /n/ of the plural inflection.

Stem I verbs

sing.	⁺qtúlle	'Kill him!'
plural	⁺qtúlune	'Kill him!'

Stem II verbs

sing.	mənxúple	'Shame him!'
plural	mənxúpune	'Shame him!'

Quadriliteral verbs

sing.	pərtúfle	'Throw it!'
plural	pərtúfune	'Throw it!'

When the final radical of the verb is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix assimilates to this in the singular imperative. The /n/ is regularly geminated, e.g. zbúnne! 'Sell it!' The /r/ is in some cases geminated, e.g. šdúrre! 'Send it!', but in other cases the gemination is weakened, e.g. mənhúre! 'Ignite it!'

4.18. PRONOMINAL DIRECT OBJECTS ON COMPOUND

VERBS

Compounds verb forms consisting of a resultative participle or an infinitive combined with a contracted form of the copula express a pronominal direct object by L-suffixes. The stress is normally placed before the suffix. After the

vowel of the 3rd person inflections the */l/* of the suffix is geminated, except in the 2pl. form *–lxun*. The */l/* is assimilated to the consonant of the 1st and 2nd person suffixes.

4.18.1. Compounds with the Resultative Participle

4.18.1.1. Present Perfect

Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object:

3ms.	⁺*qtilélle* ~ ⁺*qtilə́lle*	'He has killed him'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltálle*	'She has killed him'
3pl.	⁺*qtilúlle*	'They have killed him', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilétte* ~ ⁺*qtilə́tte*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltátte*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilétune*	
1ms.	⁺*qtilénne* ~ ⁺*qtilə́nne*	
1fs.	⁺*qtilánne*	
1pl.	⁺*qtiléxxe* ~ ⁺*qtilə́xxe*	

3ms. verb with full suffix paradgm:

3ms.	⁺*qtilélle* ~ ⁺*qtilə́lle*	'He has killed him'
3fs.	⁺*qtilélla* ~ ⁺*qtilə́lla*	'He has killed her'
3pl.	⁺*qtiléllu* ~ ⁺*qtilə́llu*	'He has killed them', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtiléllox* ~ ⁺*qtilə́llox*	
2fs.	⁺*qtiléllax* ~ ⁺*qtilə́llax*	
2pl.	⁺*qtilélxun* ~ ⁺*qtilə́lxun*	
1s.	⁺*qtilélli* ~ ⁺*qtilə́lli*	
1pl.	⁺*qtiléllan* ~ ⁺*qtilə́llan*	

4.18.1.2. Past Perfect

The two forms of the compound past perfect (⁺*qtilewa* and ⁺*qtila-wele* §4.8.1.2.) likewise express a pronominal direct object with L-suffixes.

Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object:

3ms.	⁺*qtiléwale* ~ ⁺*qtila-welele*	'He had killed him'
3fs.	⁺*qtəltáwale* ~ ⁺*qtəlta-welale*	'She had killed him'
3pl.	⁺*qtilúwale* ~ ⁺*qtila-welule*	'They had killed him', etc.
2ms.	⁺*qtilə́twale* ~ ⁺*qtila-weloxe*	
2fs.	⁺*qtəltátwale* ~ ⁺*qtəlta-welaxe*	

2pl.   ⁺qtilétunwale ~ ⁺qtile-welxune
1ms.   ⁺qtilə́nwale ~ ⁺qtila-welile
1fs.   ⁺qtəltánwale ~ ⁺qtəlta-welile
1pl.   ⁺qtiló̰xwale ~ ⁺qtile-welane

3ms. verb with full suffix paradgm:

3ms.   ⁺qtiléwale ~ ⁺qtila-welele   'He had killed him'
3fs.   ⁺qtiléwala ~ ⁺qtila-welela   'He had killed her'
3pl.   ⁺qtiléwalu ~ ⁺qtila-welelu   'He had killed them', etc.
2ms.   ⁺qtiléwalox ~ ⁺qtila-welelox
2fs.   ⁺qtiléwalax ~ ⁺qtila-welelax
2pl.   ⁺qtiléwalxun ~ ⁺qtila-welelxun
1s.   ⁺qtiléwali ~ ⁺qtila-weleli
1pl.   ⁺qtiléwalan ~ ⁺qtila-welelan

4.18.1.3. Irrealis Perfect

3ms.   ⁺qtilá-hawele   'He may have killed him'
3fs.   ⁺qtəltá-hawyale   'She may have killed him'
3pl.   ⁺qtilá-hawe(ni)le   'They may have killed him', etc.
2ms.   ⁺qtilá-hawete
2fs.   ⁺qtəltá-hawyate
2pl.   ⁺qtilá-hawetune
1ms.   ⁺qtilá-hawene
1fs.   ⁺qtəltá-hawyane
1pl.   ⁺qtilá-hawexe

4.18.2. Compounds with the Infinitive

4.18.2.1. Present Progressive

Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object:

3ms.   ⁺qatolélle ~ ⁺qatoló̰lle   'He is killing him'
3fs.   ⁺qatolálle   'She is killing him'
3pl.   ⁺qatolúlle   'They are killing him', etc.
2ms.   ⁺qatolétte ~ ⁺qatoló̰tte
2fs.   ⁺qatolátte ~ ⁺qatolátte
2pl.   ⁺qatolétune

      1ms.   ⁺*qatolénne* ~ ⁺*qatolánne*
      1fs.   ⁺*qatolánne*
      1pl.   ⁺*qatoléxxe* ~ ⁺*qatoláxxe*

3ms. verb with full suffix paradgm:

      3ms.   ⁺*qatolélle* ~ ⁺*qatolálle*   'He is killing him'
      3fs.   ⁺*qatolélla* ~ ⁺*qatolálla*   'He is killing her'
      3pl.   ⁺*qatoléllu* ~ ⁺*qatolállu*   'He is killing them', etc.
      2ms.   ⁺*qatoléllox* ~ ⁺*qatolállox*
      2fs.   ⁺*qatoléllax* ~ ⁺*qatolállax*
      2pl.   ⁺*qatolélxun* ~ ⁺*qatolálxun*
      1s.   ⁺*qatolélli* ~ ⁺*qatolálli*
      1pl.   ⁺*qatoléllan* ~ ⁺*qatolállan*

4.18.2.2. Past Progressive

Full verb paradigm with 3ms. object:

      3ms.   ⁺*qatoléwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welele*   'He was killing him'
      3fs.   ⁺*qatoláwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welale*   'She was killing him'
      3pl.   ⁺*qatolúwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welule*   'They were killing him', etc.
      2ms.   ⁺*qatolátwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-weloxe*
      2fs.   ⁺*qatolátwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welaxe*
      2pl.   ⁺*qatolétunwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welxune*
      1ms.   ⁺*qatolánwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welile*
      1fs.   ⁺*qatolánwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welile*
      1pl.   ⁺*qatoláxwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welane*

3ms. verb with full suffix paradgm:

      3ms.   ⁺*qatoléwale* ~ ⁺*qatola-welele*   'He was killing him'
      3fs.   ⁺*qatoléwala* ~ ⁺*qatola-welela*   'He was killing her'
      3pl.   ⁺*qatoléwalu* ~ ⁺*qatola-welelu*   'He was killing them', etc.
      2ms.   ⁺*qatoléwalox* ~ ⁺*qatola-welelox*
      2fs.   ⁺*qatoléwalax* ~ ⁺*qatola-welelax*
      2pl.   ⁺*qatoléwalxun* ~ ⁺*qatola-welelxun*
      1ms.   ⁺*qatoléwali* ~ ⁺*qatola-weleli*
      1pl.   ⁺*qatoléwalan* ~ ⁺*qatola-welelan*

4.19. PRONOMINAL INDIRECT OBJECT

4.19.1. L-suffixes

The pronominal indirect object may be expressed with all verb forms either by L-suffixes or by independent prepositional phrases consisting of the prepositions *əll-* or *ba-*.

4.19.1.1. Present Base Verbs

kwəlle	'He gives him'
kwəl əllew	'He gives to him'
kwəl baew	'He gives to him'

4.19.1.2. Past Base Verbs

hwəllele	'He gave him'
hwəlle əllew	'He gave to him'
hwəlle baew	'He gave to him'

4.19.1.3. Imperatives

holle!	'Give him!'
hol əllew	'Give to him!'
hol baew	'Give to him!'

4.19.1.4. Compound Constructions

The L-suffixes combine in the same way as they do when they express the direct object. In forms with L-suffixes the stress is normally placed before the suffix. After the vowel of the 3rd person inflections the /l/ of the suffix is geminated, except in the 2pl. form *–lxun*. The /l/ is assimilated to the consonant of the 1st and 2nd person suffixes.

(i) Present Perfect

3ms.	*hwilélle ~ hwilálle*	'He has given him'
3fs.	*hwəltálle*	'She has given him'

 3pl. *hwilúlle*   'They have given him', etc.
 2ms. *hwilétte ~ hwilə́tte*
 2fs. *hwəltátte*
 2pl. *hwilétune*
 1ms. *hwilénne ~ hwilə́nne*
 1fs. *hwəltánne*
 1pl. *hwiléxxe ~ hwilə́xxe*

(ii) Present Progressive

 3ms. *hiwalélle ~ hiwalə́lle* 'He is giving him'
 3fs. *hiwalálle*   'She is giving him'
 3pl. *hiwalúlle*   'They are giving him', etc.
 2ms. *hiwalétte ~ hiwalə́tte*
 2fs. *hiwalátte*
 2pl. *hiwalétune*
 1ms. *hiwalénne ~ hiwalə́nne*
 1fs. *hiwalánne*
 1pl. *hiwaléxxe ~ hiwalə́xxe*

Examples with independent prepositional phrases:

 hwile əllew 'He has given to him'

 hwile baew 'He has given to him'

 hiwale əllew 'He is giving to him'

 hiwale baew 'He is giving to him'

4.19.2. Incorporated Pronominal Object

The pronominal indirect object may occasionally be expressed by inflection of the general past base. This is a marginal construction which, according to informants, is acceptable only in the 3fs., e.g.

 mirale 'He said to her'

 hiwale 'He gave to her'

4.20. COMBINATION OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT OBJECT
PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

When both the direct and the indirect object are pronominal, the direct object is expressed by an L-suffix and the direct object by a prepositional phrase:

kwəlle əllew	'He gives it to him'
hwəltálle əlli	'She has given it to me'
hiwaléxxe əllox	'We are giving it to you'

4.21. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

The copula element in the compound verbal forms of J. Urmi has become more integrated with the base (resultative participle or infinitive) to which it is attached than in most other NENA dialects that have parallel types of construction. This is reflected in a variety of its properties. The most obvious feature is its regular contraction, which makes it identical with S-suffixes in the 1st and 2nd person forms.

Another feature that distinguishes the copula element in J. Urmi from what is found in other dialects is its moveability in the clause. In some dialects the enclitic may be moved from the base and placed on another element in the clause that expresses an information prominence of some kind, e.g.

C. Barwar

ʔáti gràšət|	'You are pulling'
ʔàti-t gráša|	'*You* are pulling'
xáwla gràšənne|	'I am pulling the rope'
xàwlɛn grášəlle|	'I am pulling *the rope*'

In J. Urmi, on the other hand, the enclitic is indissolubly bonded to the base and cannot be moved to perform this function:

J. Urmi

ā́t garošèt|	'You are pulling'
àt garošét|	'*You* are pulling'
xolá garošə̀nne|	'I am pulling the rope'
xolà garošə́nne|	'I am pulling *the rope*'

Different degrees of bonding of the copula clitic are also reflected in the negation of the construction. In dialects such as C. Barwar, in which the copula element exhibits a lesser degree of bonding, the enclitic copula is replaced by an independent negative copula element that stands before the infinitive base. In J. Urmi, on the other hand, in which the copula element is bonded to a greater degree, the construction is negated by prefixing the verbal negator *la* and retaining the copula clitics as suffixes on the base, in conformity with the negation of other verbal forms:

C. Barwar

  lɛn graša   'I am not pulling' vs. *la garšən*

J. Urmi

  la garošen   'I am not pulling' cf. *la garšen*

There are typological differences across the dialects also in the expression of the pronominal object of the compound constructions. In some dialects the pronominal object is expressed by a type of pronominal suffix that is attached to nouns rather than a type that is attached to other verbal forms. This is the case, for example, in C. Alqosh. When enclitic forms of the copula are used these are placed after the pronominal object suffix:

C. Alqosh

bɛθəḥ 'his house'
wole b-grašəḥ 'He is pulling him'
wole b-grašaḥ 'He is pulling her'

In other dialects the construction expresses the pronominal object in the same way as it is expressed in verbal forms, namely by pronominal suffixes consisting of the prepositional element *l-*. Within this group of dialects there are differences in the positioning of the object suffixes, which reflect different degrees of bonding of the copula enclitic to the infintive base. In some dialects, such as C. Ashitha, the object suffix is placed before the copula suffix:

C. Ashitha:

  grašəllɛle (= *graša-əlla-ile*)   'He is pulling her'

In C. Barwar the object suffix is generally placed after the copula element, though this position is not completely fixed and it is sporadically placed before the copula, as in C. Ashitha:

C. Barwar

> *grašəlla* (= *graša-ile-la*)   'He is pulling her'
> *grašəllεle* (= *graša-əlla-ile*)

In J. Urmi, which exhibits a greater degree of bonding of the copula enclitic, the pronominal object suffixes are obligatorily placed after it:

J. Urmi

> *garošella* (= *garoše-la*)   'He is pulling her'
> *garošalle* (= *garoša-le*)   'She is pulling him'

All these features of the J. Urmi compound constructions reflect the fact that they are more advanced than in most other NENA dialects in their development into integral verbal forms.

4.22. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

4.22.1. Positive

The existential particle exists in two variant forms:

> *it ~ ita*   'There is/are'

The final –*a* of the long form *ita* may have developed by analogy with the long variant forms of the verbal S-suffixes, -*et ~ -eta* (2ms.), -*at ~ -ata* (2fs.), etc. (§4.2.1.).

A past form of the particle is formed by attaching the past converter suffix –*wa*:

> *itwa ~ ətwa*   'There was/were'

4.22.2. Negative

The present negative particle has short and long variants, as is the case with the positive form:

> *let ~ leta*   'There is/are not'

The */e/* results from contraction from an original *ay (< *layt*). The past forms are:

> *letwa ~ lətwa*   'There was/were not'

4.23. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Possessive constructions are formed by combining the existential particles with the L-suffixes. In the present forms the /l/ of the suffixes is regularly assimilated to the final /t/:

itte ~ ətte	'He has'
lette ~ lətte	'He has not'
itwale ~ ətwale	'He had'
letwale ~ lətwale	'He had not

4.24. VERBAL NOUNS

A number of verbal nouns are attested in the lexicon of the dialect that express specific perfective occurrences of the action denoted by the verbal root. In some case they express the concrete result of the action. They are mostly formed by combining the infinitive with the nominal feminine ending –*ta*, e.g.

napuxta	'vomit'	<	*napoxe*	'to vomit'
parušta	'parting (of hair)'	<	*paroše*	'to separate'
zamurta	'song'	<	*zamore*	'to sing'
nšuqta	'kiss'	<	*našoqe*	'to kiss'

Some verbal nouns with other morphological forms are found, e.g.

[+]*sraxta*	'shout'	<	[+]*saroxe*	'to shout'
maxila	'beating'	<	*maxoe*	'to beat'

It appears that verbal nouns cannot be derived productively from all verbal roots.

4.25. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE VERBAL STEMS

Stem II is used productively to form causatives of stem I verbs, e.g.

bxy 'to weep'	*m-bxy* 'to cause to weep'
[+]*dmx* 'to go to sleep'	[+]*m-dmx* 'to put to sleep'
fkr 'to understand'	*m-fkr* 'to cause to understand'
gnw 'to steal'	*m-gnw* 'to cause to steal'
kpn 'to become hungry'	*m-kpn* 'to cause to become hungry'
nxp 'to become ashamed'	*m-nxp* 'to put to shame'
[+]*rdx* 'to boil (intr.)'	[+]*m-rdx* 'to boil (tr.)'
yqr 'to become heavy'	*m-yqr* 'to cause to become heavy'

    yrq 'to run'   *m-yrq* 'to cause to run, to elope with'

In a few rare cases a causative of a quadriliteral verb is formed by a stem II quadriliteral, e.g.

    gndr 'to roll (intr.)   *m-gndr* 'to cause to roll'
    trql 'to stumble'   *m-trql* 'to cause to stumble'

When the stem I form is transitive and takes a direct object, the stem II causative can have an active or passive diathesis, e.g. ⁺*ysr* 'to bind (so.)' : ⁺*m-ysr* 'to cause (so.) to bind' ~ 'to cause (so.) to be bound'.

The causative stem II may be declarative in sense, e.g.

    ⁺*m-hrm* 'to declare to be ritually forbidden'

A few stem II verbs have an intransitive sense in addition to a transitive sense, e.g.

    m-gdl 'to freeze (intr. and tr.)'
    m-skr 'to become lost—to lose'
    m-xwy 'to cause to be seen, to show—to be seen, to appear'

Some are used only with an intransitive sense, e.g.

    m-sry 'to stink'

A stem I form is not available for all stem II verbs. This applies, for example, to the following:

    m-mlx 'to salt'
    m-ndy 'to throw'
    m-nty 'to give, grant (God)'
    m-nxr 'to fall off (leaves)'
    m-trp 'to gallop'
    m-shl 'to call to witness'
    ⁺*m-syl* 'to listen'
    ⁺*m-šltn* 'to make king'
    ⁺*m-štx* 'to find'

In some cases stem II verbs of this set are derived from nominals, e.g.

    m-mlx   'to salt'   < *məlxa* 'salt'
    ⁺*m-šltn*   'to make king'   < ⁺*šultana* 'king'

In a few cases the stem I and stem II forms of a verb have the same meaning, e.g.

    zry 'to sow, to plant'   *m-zry* 'to sow, to plant'

5. NOUNS

5.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Most nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular one of the following endings: (i) *-a*, which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic, (ii) *-ta* or its variants *-da* and *-la*, which are the reflexes of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic. A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular. Forms beginning with a vowel, which historically had an initial laryngal *ʾ* are classified together with forms with an initial consonant, e.g. *ara* 'ground' is classified as *CaCa*.

5.2. NOUNS WITH *-a* INFLECTION

5.2.1. Monosyllabic Pattern

The monosyllabic pattern *CCa* is attested in some nouns, e.g.

lwa	'lair'
šwa	'week'
tka	'place'

5.2.2. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) Caa

⁺*daa*	'mother'
⁺*šaa*	'soup'
zaa	'time, instance'

(2) CaCa

ara	'ground'
dada	'father'
kaka	'tooth'
tara	'door'
⁺*xasa*	'back'
⁺*yala*	'boy, child'

In words of Aramaic stock that have this pattern, the second consonant was sometimes originally geminated, e.g. *kaka* < **kakkā* 'tooth'. In some words the initial syllable has opened up through loss of a radical, e.g. *ara* < **ʾarʿā* 'ground', *tara* < **tarʿā* 'door', ⁺*xasa* < **ḥarṣā* 'back'.

(3) CeCa

bela	'house'
ena	'eye'
kepa	'stone'
reša	'head'

(4) CiCa

ida	'hand'
rixa	'smell'
⁺*siwa*	'wood'

(5) CoCa

gora	'man, husband'
goza	'nut'
koda	'liver'
mola	'death'
moxa	'brain'
qora	'grave'
yoma	'day'

In words of Aramaic stock, the /o/ in this pattern is generally derived historically from the diphthong **aw*, e.g. *goza* < **gawzā* 'nut'. In some cases the **aw* is, in turn, derived from **aḏ*, e.g. *koda* < **kaḇdā* 'liver', *qora* < **qaḇrā* 'grave'.

(6) CuCa

    duša   'honey'
    guda   'wall'
    nura   'fire'
    šula   'work, matter'
    tuna   'straw'

In words of Aramaic stock, the second consonant in this pattern was sometimes geminated at an earlier period, e.g. *guda* < **guddā* 'wall'.

(7) CCaCa

    ⁺*glala*   'thread'
    qrawa   'battle'
    xmara   'donkey'

(8) CCiCa

    xmira   'yeast'
    qlila   'key'

(9) CCuCa

    xlula   'wedding'

(10) CaCCa

    ⁺*ahra*   'city'
    garma   'bone'
    kalba   'dog'
    sahla   'witness'
    talga   'snow'
    xalwa   'milk'

(11) CəCCa

    ərba   'sheep'
    əzla   'yarn'
    ləbba   'heart'
    pəlga   'half'
    pənna   'mouth'

> ⁺qətta   'piece'
> xədya   'woman's breast'

This pattern contains forms with a geminated medial radical. In some cases the gemination is inherited from earlier Aramaic, e.g. *ləbba* 'heart', in other cases it has arisen secondarily, e.g. ⁺*qətta* < **qəṭʿā*.

(12) CeCCa

> behra   'light'
> dehwa   'gold'
> sehra   'moon'

(13) CuCCa

> duɡla   'lie'
> qulba   'bracelet'
> xulma   'dream'

(14) CoCCa

> kolɡa   'shade'
> ⁺nohra   'mirror'

5.2.3. Trisyllabic Patterns with Three Consonants

(1) CaCaCa

> ɡanawa   'thief'
> ⁺xayata   'tailor'

This pattern, which is the reflex of the **qaṭṭālā* pattern of earlier Aramaic with gemination of the medial radical, expresses professions or habitual activities. The gemination of this pattern has been preserved in some forms (see §5.2.4.).

(2) CăCăCa

This pattern with a short /ă/ in the penultimate open syllable, is found only in loanwords, e.g.

> măsăla   'proverb, anecdote'

qălăma	'pen'
⁺*tăbăqa*	'layer'

(3) CaCiCa

hakima	'physician'
⁺*hasira*	'mat'

(4) CaCuCa

⁺*baruxa*	'friend'
⁺*taluba*	'beggar'
tanura	'oven'
yatuma	'orphan'

(5) CaCoCa

raxoma	'lover'

(6) CiCaCa

ilana	'tree'
lišana	'tongue'
nišama	'soul'

(7) CuCaCa

kuraxa	'shroud'

(8) Other Vocalic patterns

kamera	'pear'
mewana	'guest'

5.2.4. Trisyllabic Patterns with Four Consonants

A number of nouns with three syllables, many of them loanwords, contain four consonants. These mostly have the pattern *CVCCVCa* or *CVCVCCa*:

(1) CVCCVCa

⁺*čarpaya*	'bedstead'
⁺*darmana*	'drug'

hawsăla	'patience'
panjăra	'window'
šəlwala	'trousers'

Some forms in this category are nouns expressing professions or habitual activities that preserve the historical gemination of the middle radical (< *qaṭṭālā*), e.g.

zaqqara   'weaver'

(2) CVCVCCa

abuqra	'mouse'
dabanja	'pistol'
banafša	'violet'

5.2.5. Trisyllabic Patterns with Five Consonants

qzanja	'cooking-pot'
spargla	'quince'
šaltalwa	'peach'
tfənka	'nostril'

5.2.6. Patterns with Four Syllables

Loanwords ending in –*a* with four syllables are sporadically found, e.g.

dalulara   'follower'

5.3. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-ta*

5.3.1. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) Cata

šata   'year'

(2) Ceta

beta   'egg'

(3) Cɔta

    bota   'roasted seed'
    sota   'grandmother'

(4) CaCta

    rafta   'shelf'

(5) CəCta

    məsta   'a hair'

(6) CoCta

    gorta   'stocking, sock'
    torta   'cow'

(7) CuCta

    gupta   'cheese'

(8) CCata

    brata   'daughter'
    šrata   'lamp'

(9) CCeta

    jreta   'provision'
    zreta   'sown land'
    [+]*šreta*   'judgement'

(10) CCita

    skita   'knife'

(11) CCota

    [+]*sbota*   'finger'

(12) CCaCta

     pqarta   'neck'
     šwawta   'neighbour (f.)'
     xmarta   'she-ass'

(13) CCəCta

     knəšta   'synagogue'
     sqəlta   'ring'
     xšəlta   'bridal jewelry'

(14) CCoCta

     ⁺*tloxta*   'lentil'
     mholta   'delay'

(15) CCuCta

     nšuqta   'kiss'

5.3.2. Trisyllabic Patterns

Trisyllabic nouns have the pattern *CVCVCta*, when they contain three strong radicals, or the pattern *CVCVta*, when the third radical is weak. This is attested with several different variations of vowels.

(1) CVCVCta

     amanta   'trust, deposit'
     basərta   'grape'
     ⁺*baruxta*   'friend (f.)'
     qanušta   'broom'
     zamurta   'song'
     qulašta   'earring'

(2) CVCVta

     arota   'Friday'
     balota   'throat'

     Trisyllabic nouns have the pattern *CVCCVCta*, when they contain four strong radicals, or the pattern *CVCCVta*, when the final radical is weak:

(3) CVCCVCta

dargušta	'cradle'
[+]*partenta*	'flea'
gəndorta	'melon'

In words of Aramaic stock the *-ta* ending is preceded either by a consonant or a vowel. It should be noted, however, that the patterns in which the ending is preceded by a vowel originally had a consonant before the feminine ending at an earlier historical period: *šata* < **šattā* 'year', *beta* < **beˁtā* 'egg', *arota* < **ˁarab̲tā* 'Friday', *skita* < **skintā* 'knife', [+]*armota* < **ˀarmontā* 'pomegranate'.

5.4. Other Patterns

Sporadically nouns ending in *–ta* with other patterns are found, e.g.

kartopita	'potato'
[+]*qaraxalta*	'playing-card'
zəngloqta	'bell'

5.5. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-da*

The ending *-da*, which is a voiced variant of *-ta*, is found in nouns whose base ends in one of the sonorant consonants /l/, /n/ or /r/, e.g.

arda	'rival wife'
arməlda	'widow'
kalda	'daughter-in-law'
[+]*qarda*	'cold'
salda	'basket'
šənda	'sleep'

This variant of the feminine marker is found only in a limited number of words. In the majority of words where the aforementioned phonetic condition exists, the regular *-ta* form is found, e.g. *xšəlta* 'jewelry', [+]*partenta* 'flea', *torta* 'cow'.

5.6. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-la*

The ending *-la* is derived historically from **-t̲ā*. It is found mainly in nouns whose base ends in a vowel, e.g.

klela	'chicken'
ksila	'hat'
lila	'sheep-tail's fat'
⁺*qaṭula*	'cat'
rala	'lung'
⁺*slola*	'prayer'
⁺*wərṭila*	'fart'
xmala	'mother-in-law'
zaṭila	'pitta bread'
zdela	'fear'

The word *klela* has a variant *klelta*, in which the common feminine ending *–ta* has been. Some nouns in this list, futhermore, form a plural by replacing the final *–a* with *–e* and retaining the /l/, e.g. *rala*, pl. *rale* 'lung', *zdela*, pl. *zdele* 'fear'. Both of these features reflect the fact that, although the *–la* is historically a feminine singular ending, the /l/ in the words in question is interpreted as a radical.

5.7. NOUNS ENDING IN *-e*

A few singular nouns of Aramaic stock end in *–e*. All are masculine in gender:

⁺*gare* m.	'roof'
lele m.	'night'
miye m.	'intestine'
suse m.	'horse'
⁺*xuyye* m.	'snake'

In the case of ⁺*gare* and *miye*, the *–e* was originally a plural ending (cf. JBA sing. *ʾiggārā*, Ṭuroyo *goro* < *gārā), but the words are now interpreted as singulars and form plurals by adding the plural ending *–awe*: ⁺*garawe* 'roofs'; *miyawe* 'intestines'.

5.8. NOUNS ENDING IN *-o*

A few words of feminine gender end in *–o*:

kalo	'bride'
⁺*sapyo*	'strainer'

Note also the *–o* combined with the /t/ of the feminine ending in the following words:

       amto   'paternal aunt'
       xalto   'maternal aunt'

These are vocative forms of the nouns *amta* and *xalta*.

5.9. NOUNS OF ARAMAIC STOCK WITH NO INFLECTIONAL ENDING

Nouns falling in this category include:

       ⁺*məndəġ*   'thing'
       ərxel   'water-mill'
       gərdol   'dish consisting of rice and curds'

Also the names of the days of the week Monday–Thursday:

       trušeb   'Monday'
       ⁺*tahušeb*   'Tuesday'
       arbušeb   'Wednesday'
       xamšušeb   'Thursday'

In the following nouns the inflectional ending is optionally omitted, predominantly when they are indefinite:

       naš ~ naša   'person'
       gab ~ gaba 'side, direction'

5.10. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES OF ARAMAIC BACKGROUND

5.10.1. *m-, ma-*

Derivational prefixes beginning with *m-* can be identified in some words, e.g.

       moma   'oath'   < *ymy* 'to swear'
       magreta   'razor'   < *gry* 'to shave'

In the word ⁺*xmata* 'needle' the *m-* has metathesized with the following /x/ (< **mxaṭa*; cf. ⁺*xyt* 'to sew').

5.10.2. –*ula*

This suffix is derived historically from *-ūṭā and nouns with the suffix are feminine in gender. It generally expresses an abstraction or an intangible phenomenon. Such nouns are derived (i) from an existing noun or adjective form, including loanwords, or (ii) directly from the verbal root, e.g.

arməldula	'widowhood'	<	*arməlda* 'widow'
bahurula	'light'	<	*bahura* 'bright'
basimula	'well-being'	<	*basima* 'healthy'
yarixula	'length'	<	*yarixa* 'long'
smoqula	'redness	<	*smoqa* 'red'
xaripula	'sharpness'	<	*xarupa* 'sharp'

Note that the vocalism of *xaripula* does not correspond exactly to that of the corresponding adjective. This may have come about by analogy with forms such as *yarixula*.

In some cases an additional –*an*- element is added before the –*ula* affix, e.g.

iqanula	'narrowness'	<	*iqa* 'narrow'
fəryanula	'wideness'	<	*fərya* 'wide'
gisanula	'tiredness'	<	*gisa* 'tired'
⁺*pəsxanula*	'joy'	<	⁺*psx* 'to rejoice'
xəlyanula	'sweetness'	<	*xəlya* 'sweet'

The ending –*ula* is added productively to loanwords, e.g.

⁺*arəxula*	'leanness'	<	⁺*arəġ* (Turk.) 'lean'
bekarula	'idleness'	<	*bekār* (Kurd.) 'idle'
⁺*bošula*	'emptiness'	<	⁺*boš* (Turk.) 'empty'
gogula	'light-greenness'	<	*gog* (Turk.) 'light green'

When added to nouns designating the practitioner of a particular profession, the construction expresses the profession in question, e.g.

askărula	'military service'	<	*askar* 'army'
baġwanula	'profession of gardener'	<	*baġwān* 'gardner'
⁺*čayčula*	'trade of tea-vendor'	<	⁺*čayči* 'tea-vendor'
⁺*hammalula*	'porter's trade'	<	⁺*hammāl* 'porter'

The ending –*ula* is occasionally used to refer to a concrete collectivity, e.g.

⁺*azizula*	'beloved ones (esp. one's children)'
xəlyanula	'sweets'

5.10.3. *–ana*

This suffix is used productively to form active participles from the present base of verbs. The feminine form is *-anta*, e.g.

axlana	'eater'
doqana	'catcher'
kalwana	'writer'
lešanta	'woman who kneads'
yapyanta	'baker woman'

The suffix is occasionally found also in other nouns, e.g.

kpana	'shoulder'	< **kappā* < **katpā*
molana	'plague'	< *mola* 'death'
pəsyana	'leper'	< *pisi* 'leprosy'
xəmyana	'father-in-law'	cf. *xmala* 'mother-in-law'

5.10.4. *–elta*

This affix, which appears to be a 'double' feminine ending in origin (< **eṭṭā*), usually has an individuating function, expressing a single item of a collectivity, e.g.

kəxwelta	'a star'	cf. *kəxwe* 'stars'
⁺xəttelta	'a grain of wheat'	cf. *⁺xətte* 'wheat'
dəmmelta	'a tear'	cf. *dəmme* 'tears'
dudulta	'a fly'	cf. *dudwe* 'flies'

5.10.5. *-lila*

This ending appears to be a 'double' feminine ending in origin (< **-ṭiṭā*), e.g.

dəmmalila	'milt'

5.10.6. *–na*

This expresses gentilic relationships and can have either masculine or feminine gender, e.g.

dhokna	'a person from Dohok'	< *Dhok*
šənoyna	'a person from Šino'	< *Šəno*
⁺urusna	'a Russian'	< *⁺Urusya*
urməžna	'a person from Urmi'	< *Urmi*

5.10.7. –aa

This is a gentilic ending found in the words for 'Jew' and '(Assyrian) Christian'. Its feminine form is –ayta:

> ⁺hudaa m., ⁺hudayta f.   'Jew'
> suraa m., surayta f.   'Christian'

5.10.8. –ona

In origin a diminutive suffix, this is a fixed feature of a number of nouns expressing family relations:

> amona   'paternal uncle'
> axxona   'brother'
> brona   'son'
> sona   'grandfather'

The feminine form of the affix, -unta, is found in:

> xalunta   'sister'
> pərtunta   'a little bit'

5.11. PLURAL FORMS

The plural of most nouns is formed by replacing the singular inflections -a and –ta (and its allomorphs –da and –la) with a plural inflection without any other changes to the morphology of the noun. There is no one-to-one correspondence between singular inflections and plural inflections and so the plural form of a singular noun is not predictable.

5.11.1. Plural Ending -e

This is the most common plural ending and is attached to a variety of singular forms.

5.11.1.1. Plurals in -e from Singulars in -a

Singular	Plural	
kalo	kalwe	'bride'
karma	karme	'vineyard'
⁺nohra	⁺nohre	'mirror'
qulba	qulbe	'bracelet'
sanduqa	sanduqe	'box'

In the following nouns the *–e* replaces the final *–a* of the feminine marker *–ta*, as if the /t/ of this marker were a radical:

⁺*amarta*	⁺*amarte*	'palace'
arota	*arote*	'Friday'
balota	*balote*	'throat'
garusta	*garuste*	'hand-mill'
gupta	*gupte*	'cheese'
jreta	*jrete*	'provision'
maydlanta	*maydlante*	'midwife'
nasita	*nasite*	'advice'
qarita	*qarite*	'beam'
⁺*sraxta*	⁺*sraxte*	'shout'
sota	*sote*	'grandmother'

The same applies to the feminine noun *zdela* 'fear', in which the /l/, although originally part of the feminine ending, is treated as a final radical:

zdela	*zdele*	'fear'

5.11.1.2. Plurals in -e from Singulars in –ta, –lta, -la

In a number of cases a feminine ending is used with an individuating function to express a single item from the collectivity of a plural in *–e*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
babita	*babye*	'almond'
baqta	*baqe*	'mosquito'
basərta	*basire*	'grape'
beta	*bee*	'egg'
bota	*boe*	'seed kernel'
dudulta	*dudwe*	'fly'
kartopita	*kartopye*	'potato'
kəxwelta	*kəxwe*	'star'
magreta	*magree*	'razor'
⁺*qaraxalta*	⁺*qaraxale*	'playing card'
⁺*qatula*	⁺*qatwe*	'cat'
⁺*qaxta*	⁺*qaxe*	'dried peach'
sbadila	*sbadye*	'cushion'
səmbulta	*səmbule*	'ear of corn'
sənjaqta	*sənjaqe*	'pin'
šrata	*šrae*	'lamp'
zaytunta	*zaytune*	'olive'

The noun *klelta* (variant *klela*) 'chicken' undergoes resyllabification:

klelta   *kəlle*   'chicken'

The plural form of ⁺*mxata* 'needle' indicates that the /⁺t/ is interpreted as part of the feminine singular ending, although it is historically part of the root (cf. Syr. *mḥaṭ*):

⁺*mxata*   ⁺*mxae*   'needle'

In the words *amta* 'paternal aunt' and *xalta* 'maternal aunt', the /t/ of the femininine ending –*ta* is treated as if it were a radical:

Singular	Plural	
amta	*amte*	'paternal aunt'
xalta	*xalte*	'maternal aunt'

5.11.2. The Plural Ending –*ane*

This ending forms plurals from singulars in –*a*:

Singular	Plural	
guda	*gudane*	'wall'
yoma	*yomane*	'day'
zaa	*zaane*	'time, instance'

Some of these nouns have alternative shorter plurals in –*e*, which are used after numerals (§9.13.), e.g. *yomane* ~ *yome* 'days', *zaane* ~ *zae* 'times'.

This plural ending is used also with the noun ⁺*məndəġ* 'thing', which has no singular inflectional ending:

⁺*məndəġ*   ⁺*məndəġane*   'thing'

5.11.3. The Plural Ending –*anye*

This ending forms plurals from singulars in –*a*:

Singular	Plural	
⁺*buxča*	⁺*buxčanye*	'packet'
ewa	*ewanye*	'cloud'
ena	*enanye*	'spring (of water)'

The plural ending –*anye* is only used with *ena* when this has the meaning of 'spring'. When meaning 'eye' *ena* has the plural *ene*.

5.11.4. The Plural Ending *-awe*

5.11.4.1. Plurals in *–awe* from Singulars in *–a*

Singular	Plural	
ara	*arawe*	'land, ground'
⁺*ahra*	⁺*ahrawe*	'city'
amona	*amonawe*	'paternal uncle'
axxona	*axxonawe*	'brother'
⁺*baruxa*	⁺*baruxawe*	'friend'
brona	*bronawe*	'son'
garma	*garmawe*	'bone'
kuča	*kučawe*	'street'
⁺*salma*	⁺*salmawe*	'face'
sona	*sonawe*	'grandfather'
⁺*sudra*	⁺*sudrawe*	'shirt'
⁺*šərma*	⁺*šərmawe*	'buttock'
⁺*šultana*	⁺*šultanawe*	'king'
⁺*tura*	⁺*turawe*	'mountain'
⁺*wərxa*	⁺*wərxawe*	'road'
yoma	*yomawe*	'day'

Some of these nouns have alternative shorter plurals in *–e*, which are used after numerals (§9.13.), e.g. *axxonawe* ~ *axxone* 'brothers', *bronawe* ~ *brone* 'sons', *garme* ~ *garmawe* 'bones', *yomawe* ~ *yome* 'days'. In a few cases there is a semantic difference between the two plural forms, e.g.

baxta	*baxte*	'woman'
baxta	*baxtawe*	'wife'

5.11.4.2.. Plurals in *–awe* from Singulars in *–e*

Singular	Plural	
⁺*gare*	⁺*garawe*	'roof'
lele	*lelawe*	'night'
suse	*susawe*	'horse'

5.11.5. The Plural Ending *–wawe*

This ending forms plurals from singulars in *–a*:

Singular	Plural	
mala	*malwawe*	'village'

5.11.6. The Plural Ending –*ye*

5.11.6.1. Plurals in –*ye* from Singulars in –*ta*

This is the normal plural ending for singulars ending in the feminine marker:

Singular	Plural	
apəšta	*apəšye*	'raisin'
baqurta	*baqurye*	'question'
dargušta	*dargušye*	'cradle'
dəndukta	*dəndukye*	'beak'
gorta	*gorye*	'sock, stocking'
qanušta	*qanušye*	'broom'
škalta	*škalye*	'testicle'
torta	*torye*	'cow'
xalunta	*xalunye*	'sister'

The –*ta* ending in the loanword *dašta* 'field' (< Kurd./Pers. *dašt*) is interpreted as the feminine ending and so forms a plural in the regular way:

dašta	*dašye*	'field'

In the following words the plural contains an /*n*/, which has disappeared in the singular by assimlation to the /*t*/ of the feminine marker:

armota	*armonye*	'pomegranate'
skita	*skənye*	'knife'

The plural of ⁺*sbota* 'finger' is formed with a non-etymological /*n*/ by analogy with such words:

⁺*sbota*	⁺*sbonye*	'finger'

5.11.6.2. Plurals in –*ye* from Singulars in –*da* or –*la*

Singular	Plural	
arda	*arye*	'rival wife'
armǝlda	*armǝlye*	'widow'
salda	*salye*	'basket'
ksila	*kǝsye*	'hat'

5.11.6.3. Plurals in –ye from Singulars in –a

Singular	Plural	
xlula	*xlulye*	'wedding'

5.11.7. The Plural Ending –*yawe*

This is attested as a plural of a singular in –*da*:

Singular	Plural	
kalda	*kalyawe*	'daughter-in-law'

5.11.8. Irregular Plurals

Singular	Plural	
baxta	*niše*	'women'
baxta	*nišawe*	'wife'
bela	[+]*bate*	'house'
brata	[+]*blane,* [+]*blanawe*	'daughter, girl'
gora	*gure*	'man'
gora	*gurawe*	'husband'
šata	*šənne*	'year'

The noun *šata* 'year' also has the plural form *šate*, which is found only in the idiomatic phrase *šənne šate* 'many years, ages' (§9.12.3.).

5.11.9. Pluralia Tantum

[+]*amraze*	'working tools'
doe	'yoghurt water'
dugle	'lies'
əxre	'excrement'
fəsse	'money
gərse	'groats'
hannuke	Hanukkah
[+]*hazərye*	'longing'
jore	'urine'
kašakile	'wooden clogs'
kaške	'dried yoghurt curds'
lalange	'Purim'
lappe	'hulled chick-peas'
makke	'maize'

maše	'beans'
mone	'soup'
patire	'Passover'
rire	'saliva'
roqe	'spittle'
⁺*sare*	'barley'
šǝmme	'heavens, sky'
šušme	'sesame'
xae	'life'

5.11.10. The Plural of Loanwords

When the singular form of a loanword is adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding the inflectional ending *-a*, the plural is generally formed by replacing the *-a* with the ending *–e*. The majority of loanwords do not take a singular Aramaic nominal inflection. In some cases these remain uninflected also in the plural, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
geja-quši	*geja-quši*	'bat'
tutu-quši	*tutu-quši*	'parrot'

In most cases, however, their plural is formed by the Aramaic plural ending *-e*:

Singular	Plural	
⁺*qašūġ*	⁺*qašuġe*	'spoon'
⁺*čaydān*	⁺*čaydane*	'tea-kettle'
zargar	*zargăre*	'goldsmith'

When the vowel of the final syllable of the singular form is short, the final consonant is sometimes geminated when the vowel of the plural is attached, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
⁺*haq*	⁺*haqqe*	'right'
⁺*top*	⁺*toppe*	'ball'

The vowel in the final syllable of the noun is sometimes elided when the syllable becomes open following the attachment of the plural ending. This is found mainly with high vowels, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
⁺*malǝm*	⁺*malme*	'teacher'

qayəš	*qayše*	'belt'
⁺*qatəġ*	⁺*qatġe*	'sour milk'
⁺*tajər*	⁺*tajre*	'merchant'
toxəm	*toxme*	'seed'
⁺*xanəm*	⁺*xanme*	'lady, mistress'

When this occurs in nouns with an initial consonant cluster in the singular, the cluster is broken by a process of resyllabification, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
fkər	*fəkre*	'thought'
qfəl	*qəfle*	'lock'
škəl	*šəkle*	'picture'

When the singular form of the word ends in the vowel *-i* or *-u*, these are pronounced as the homorganic glides /y/ and /w/ respectively before the vowel of the plural ending, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
⁺*awči*	⁺*awčye*	'hunter'
gami	*gamye*	'ship'
tăši	*tašye*	'spindle'
fətu	*fətwe*	'whistle'

In the word ⁺*doyi* 'maternal uncle' the final *–i* is simply replaced by *–e*

Singular	Plural	
⁺*doyi*	⁺*doye*	'maternal uncle'

When the loanword ends in an /a/ vowel in its original form in the source language, this is on some occasions retained before the plural ending *-e*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
⁺*aġa*	⁺*aġae*	'lord'
⁺*bala*	⁺*balae*	'misfortune'
⁺*məswa*	⁺*məswae*	'good deed'

On some occasions the /a/ is interpreted as the Aramaic nominal ending and is replaced by the plural ending, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
⁺*məswa*	⁺*məswe*	'good deed'
⁺*tora*	⁺*tore*	'Torah'

The plural of Hebrew loanwords sometimes combines the Aramaic plural ending –*e* with a Hebrew plural:

Singular	Plural	
+*banadam*	+*banyadame*	'human being'
+*haxam*	+*haxamime*	'rabbi'
kohen	*kohanime*	'priest'
+*malax*	+*malaxime*	'angel'
+*saddiq*	+*saddiqime*	'righteous man'

Loanwords that are unadapted in the singular occasionally have a plural ending other than –*e*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
damar	*damarye*	'artery, vein'
nokar	*nokărawe*	'servant'
quyi	*quyawe*	'well'
šabbat	*šabbawe*	'Sabbath'
šagərd	*šagərye*	'apprentice'

The final /t/ and /d/ in the words *šabbat* and *šagərd* are not treated as radicals and are replaced by the plural ending.

5.12. COMPOUND NOUNS

A number of nouns have been formed by combining two components. These compounds are fixed phrases and the components are inseparable, e.g.

bəgzare	'circumcision'	< *bə* + *gzare*
+*dəqna-xwara*	'old man'	< +*dəqna* 'beard' + *xwara* 'white'
pərča-xwara	'old woman'	< *pərča* 'hair' + *xwara* 'white'

5.13. GENDER

Nouns of Aramaic stock that end in -*ta* or its phonetic variants are feminine and most words that end in -*a* are masculine. Several nouns ending in -*a*, however, are feminine in gender. Some of these can be classified into semantic categories as follows:

5.13.1. Parts of the Body

aqla	'leg, foot'
+*dəqna*	'beard'

ena	'eye'
ida	'hand'
kaka	'tooth'
kasa	'stomach'
koda	'liver'
miya	'intestine'
[+]*nahala*	'ear'
nišama	'soul'
šura	'navel'
[+]*xana*	'lap'
[+]*xasa*	'back'
xpaqa	'bosom'
[+]*xəpna*	'two handfuls'
[+]*xərxra*	'Adam's apple'

Parts of the body ending in *-a* that are masculine include *reša* 'head', *poqa* 'nose', *kpana* 'shoulder', *ləbba* 'heart'.

5.13.2. Locations

[+]*ahra*	'town'
ara	'land, ground'
bira	'well'
karma	'vineyard'
mala	'village'
meša	'forest'
qora	'grave'
tka	'place'
tkana	'shop'
[+]*wərxa*	'road, way'

5.13.3. Verbal Infinitives and Verbal Abstract Nouns

kəxka	'laughter'
klawa	'writing, inscription'
maqoe	'talking'
mnaa	'counting'
qraa	'reading'
qrawa	'fighting, battle'
rəqla	'dance'
rotana	'tremor, trembling'

5.13.4. Other Nouns

There is a residue of feminine nouns that cannot be grouped together into clear semantic categories. These include the following:

ərxel	'water-mill'
bəzza	'hole, crack'
garoma	'rolling-pin'
məlxa	'salt'
nišama	'soul'
poxa	'wind'
qalma	'louse'
⁺*qənyana*	'domestic animal (bovine or equine)'
sepa	'sword'
šəmša	'sun'
tena	'fig'
⁺*warda*	'flower'
xlula	'wedding'
xulma	'dream'

5.14. Annexation of Nouns

One nominal may be annexed to another in a genitive relationship by attaching the enclitic [-əd] or [-ət] to the head nominal, which replaces the final inflectional vowel, e.g. [tarəd bela] 'the door of the house', [⁺blanət ⁺šultana] 'the daughters of the king'. The voiced and unvoiced variants are to some extent in free variation. The voiced one tends to be conditioned by contact with a following voiced consonant, especially /d/, e.g. [qórəd dadxùn] 'the grave of your father' (67). The unvoiced variant is used in all contexts, including before voiced consonants, e.g. [lélət xlùla] 'the night of the wedding' (78), [dáwrət ⁺arelè] 'the time of the Christians' (164), [qə́nnət gozè] 'kernels of nuts' (120). On account of orthographic consistency, a genitive enclitic suffixed to a head nominal is regularly transcribed by /t/, e.g. *tarət bela,* ⁺*blanət* ⁺*šultana.*

When the singular and plural forms differ only in the final inflectional vowel, there is no distinction in the annexed forms, e.g. *qulbət baxta* 'the bracelet (*qulba*)/bracelets (*qulbe*) of the woman'.

If the noun base ends in /a/, the annexation vowel stem optionally has the form *-at*, e.g. ⁺*daa* 'mother', ⁺*daət* ~ ⁺*daat brona* 'the mother of the boy', ⁺*hudaət* ~ ⁺*hudaat* ⁺*ahra* 'the Jews of the town'.

The annexation enclitic has arisen historically by the bonding of the genitive particle *d* with the head nominal of the annexation phrase, with the final inflectional vowel being attenuated *bela d > belət*. The enclitic is attached also to unadapted loanwords that do not have a final inflectional vowel, e.g. ⁺*ktāb* 'book', ⁺*ktabət gora* 'the book of the man'.

When the dependent nominal begins with a demonstrative pronoun or the interrogative paricle *emni/emnu* 'which', the genitive particle is generally attached to these and always retains its voice *d-*, e.g. *ni*⁺*šā́n d-o-pardá* 'the symbolic meaning of that curtain' (88), *áy xabúša d-émnu* ⁺*yalèle?* 'This is the apple of which child?' In such contexts the near deixis demonstrative regularly has the form *ay* rather than its allomorph *ya*, e.g. *bel d-ay gora* 'the house of this man'. Moreover the form *ay* generally substitutes for *ayne* before plural nouns, e.g. *bel d-ay naše* 'the house of these people'. Occasionally the annexation particle is retained as an enclitic and repeated before the demonstrative, e.g. *dádət d-ò broná*| 'the father of that son' (70).

For the sake of convenience the particle in the enclitic *-t* and the prefix *d-* will be referred to by the abstract form *D*, which is intended to embrace the voiced and unvoiced variant realizations.

If the dependent nominal does not begin with a demonstrative, the enclitic *-t* is occasionally elided completely from the head nominal, e.g. *brā́t* ⁺*šultanà* 'the daughter of the king' (29), *bron-dadxún* 'the son of your father' (69), *tār-šəmmé* 'the door of heaven' (52), *lel-xlulà*| 'the night of the wedding' (85), *yom-aròta*| 'the day of Friday' (85).

A genitive relation between two nominals may also be expressed by the particle *ay*. This is normally used in combination with the annexation clitic on the head nominal, e.g. *lélət ay-xlulà*| 'the night of the wedding' (93), ⁺*hudaát ay-Urmì*| 'the Jews of Urmi' (154), *madrasə́t áy doltà* 'the government school' (136). The consonant of the genitive enclitic may be syllabified with the *ay* particle. In such cases it always has its voiced form *d-*, e.g. *léle d-áy xlulà* 'the night of the wedding' (77), *sandúq d-áy jehèz*| 'the box of the dowry' (78). The final vowel of the head noun is often attenuated to /ə/, e.g. *šúlə d-áy* ⁺*bazazulà* 'the profession of the cloth trade' (152), *bélə d-áy flankás* 'the family of so-and-so' (72). The attenuated vowel may be elided altogether, e.g. *šəm-d-áy bratà*| 'the name of the girl' (15).

Sporadically the annexation clitic is omitted and the construction contains only the particle *ay*, e.g. *qàdi áy goymé*| 'the judge of the Muslims' (101), *dada-dáa ay-bronà*| 'the parents of the boy' (73), *zóra broná áy tmánya* ⁺*əčča šənnè*| 'the young boy of eight or nine years' (141). In some cases where this is found, there is an intonation group boundary between the head

nominal and the particle, e.g. *xa-danká* ⁺*torbà*⎮ *ay-ixalà*⎮ 'a bag of food' (22), *kúllu* ⁺*ktabè*⎮ *ay-dunyè*⎮ 'all the books of the world' (29).

The syllabification of the enclitic with the *ay* particle in constructions such as *léle d-áy xlulà* 'the night of the wedding' is characteristic of demonstrative pronouns. This suggests that the *ay* particle is a demonstrative in origin. It is, indeed, homophonous with the near deixis singular demonstrative *ay*. It is, however, fossilized in form, in that it does not inflect for number, as is the case with demonstratives, e.g. *b-ídə d-áy* ⁺*almannè*⎮ 'into the hands of the Germans' (173), *léle d-áy patirè*⎮ 'the night of Passover' (98). It is likely to have developed under the influence of the *izafe* construction in Iranian languages. It appears not to be a direct loan from Iranian, in which the *izafe* is in principle monosyllabic (*e, i, a*), but rather an imitation of the *izafe* using Aramaic morphological material.

If the dependent nominal begins with a demonstrative, the *ay* particle is connected to this by the clitic *d-*, e.g. ⁺*qaydət áy d-ò-tka*⎮ 'the custom of that place' (144).

6. ADJECTIVES

6.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Adjectives of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology are inflected for gender and number. In addition to the basic masculine singular form they are inflected for the feminine singular and the plural. They exhibit a relatively small number of morphological patterns. Many of the loanwords, however, are not adapted to Aramaic morphology and are invariable in form, without inflection for gender or number.

Adjectives are closely related morphologically to nouns and most can, indeed, stand independently and function as nouns, in which case they become referential rather than attributive expressions.

6.2. ARAMAIC ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS

(1) CaCa, fs. CaCta, pl. CaCe

paxa	'tasteless'	*paxta* (fs.)	*paxe* (pl.)
xala	'new'	*xalta* (fs.)	*xale* (pl.)
xaa	'alive'	*xayta* (fs.)	*xae* (pl.)

Note that in the ms. and pl. forms of the adjective *xaa* the second consonant of the pattern has a zero realization.

The adjective ⁺*rəwwa* 'big' is irregular, in that the fs. has the pattern of *CaCta*, whereas the ms. and pl. are formed on the base ⁺*rəww-*. Judging by other NENA dialects, the fs. form is more conservative of the original form of the adjective:

⁺*rəwwa*	'big'	⁺*rabta* (fs.)	⁺*rəwwe* (pl.)

(2) CoCa, fs. CoCta, pl. CoCe

koma	'black'	*komta* (fs.)	*kome* (pl.)

    zora   'small'   *zorta* (fs.)   *zore* (pl.)

(3) CuCa, fs. CuCta, pl. CuCe

    kupa   'bent'   *kupta* (fs.)   *kupe* (pl.)

(4) CCaCa, fs. CCaCta, pl. CCaCa

    xwara   'white'   *xwarta* (fs.)   *xware* (pl.)

(5) CCoCa, fs. CCoCta, pl. CCoCe

    smoqa   'red'   *smoqta* (fs.)   *smoqe* (pl.)

(6) CCiCa, fs. CCəCta, pl. CCiCe

This is the pattern of the resultative participle and can be used productively to create attributive expressions from verbal roots. In the case of transitive verbal roots, the form has a passive sense.

kpina	'hungry'	*kpənta* (fs.)	*kpine* (pl.)
⁺*qtila*	'killed'	⁺*qtəlta* (fs.)	⁺*qṭile* (pl.)
skira	'inebriated'	*skərta* (fs.)	*skire* (pl.)
twira	'broken'	*twərta* (fs.)	*twire* (pl.)
xriwa	'bad'	*xrəwta* (fs.)	*xriwe* (pl.)

(7) CiCa, fs. CəCta, pl. CiCe

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from middle */y/* and initial ∅ roots:

iqa	'narrow'	*əqta* (fs.)	*iqe* (pl.)
mila	'dead'	*məlta* (fs.)	*mile* (pl.)
qila	'burnt'	*qəlta* (fs.)	*qile* (pl.)
wiša	'dry'	*wəšta* (fs.)	*wiše* (pl.)
xila	'eaten'	*xəlta* (fs.)	*xile* (pl.)

(8) Ciya, fs. Cita, pl. Ciye

    šiya   'mad'   *šita* (fs.)   *šiye* (pl.)

(9) CəCCa, fs. CCita, pl. CCiCe

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from final */y/* roots. In the ms. and pl. forms the original syllabification **CCiya* and **CCiye* has been restructured.

The occurrence of the stop */t/* after the vowel in the feminine pattern *CCita* seems to have arisen by analogy with the occurrence of the stop in adjectival patterns that end in a consonant.[1]

bənya	'built'	*bnita* (fs.)	*bənye* (pl.)
kərya	'short'	*krita* (fs.)	*kərye* (pl.)
qəwya	'tough'	*qwita* (fs.)	*qəwye* (pl.)
⁺*səhya*	'thirsty'	⁺*shita* (fs.)	⁺*səhye* (pl.)
xəlya	'sweet'	*xlita* (fs.)	*xəlye* (pl.)

(10) CəCCa, fs. CCəCta, pl. CəCCe

The pattern *CəCCa* is attested in strong roots only marginally:

nəqla	'thin'	*nqəlta* (fs.)	*nəqle* (pl.)

(11) CuCCa, fs. CuCCta, pl. CuCCe

This pattern is, likewise, only marginally attested, e.g.

šulxa	'naked'	*šulxta* (fs.)	*šulxe* (pl.)

(12) CaCiCa, fs. CaCəCta, pl. CaCiCe

basima	'healthy'	*basəmta* (fs.)	*basime* (pl.)
rakixa	'soft'	*rakəxta* (fs.)	*rakixe* (pl.)
šamina	'fat'	*šamənta* (fs.)	*šamine* (pl.)
šaxina	'hot'	*šaxənta* (fs.)	*šaxine* (pl.)
yarixa	'long'	*yarəxta* (fs.)	*yarixe* (pl.)

(13) CayCa, fs. CayCta, pl. CayCe

When the second and the third radicals of a form with the pattern *CaCiCa* are identical consonants, the form in some cases undergoes a change in its phonetic shape. The original form **daqiqa* 'thin' contracts to the pattern *CayCa*:

dayqa	'thin'	*dayqta* (fs.)	*dayqe* (pl.)

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[1] In more conservative NENA dialects this analogy is not operative, e.g. Qaraqosh *xəlya* (ms.) 'sweet', *xliθa* (fs.), where the fricative */θ/* occurs after the vowel (Khan 2002: 214).

The final *r in the original forms *qarira 'cold' and *marira 'bitter' shifts to /l/:

qarila	'cold'	qarəlta (fs.)	qarile (pl.)
marila	'bitter'	marəlta (fs.)	marile (pl.)

The form *talila* 'wet', which consists of two /l/ consonants remains unchanged:

talila	'wet'	taləlta (fs.)	talile (pl.)

(14) CaCuCa, fs. CaCuCta, pl. CaCuCe

atuqa	'ancient'	atuqta (fs.)	atuqe (pl.)
bahura	'bright'	bahurta (fs.)	bahure (pl.)
fakura	'intelligent'	fakurta (fs.)	fakure (pl.)
maluxa	'salty'	maluxta (fs.)	maluxe (pl.)
⁺patuxa	'wide'	⁺patuxta (fs.)	⁺patuxe (pl.)
⁺pasuxa	'happy'	⁺pasuxta (fs.)	⁺pasuxe (pl.)
⁺qalula	'light'	qalulta (fs.)	qalule (pl.)
⁺xamusa	'sour'	⁺xamusta (fs.)	⁺xamuse (pl.)
yaqura	'heavy'	yaqurta (fs.)	yaqure (pl.)

The vocalism of this pattern is occasionally found in forms consisting of four consonants, e.g.

mabruqa	'shining'	mabruqta (fs.)	mabruqe (pl.)

6.3. ADJECTIVES WITH THE AFFIX *-ana* (FS. *-anta*, PL. *-ane*)

⁺rummana	'high'	⁺rummanta (fs.)	⁺rummane (pl.)
kušana	'low'	kušanta (fs.)	kušane (pl.)

Many adjectives are derived from nouns by means of this affix:

dardana	'suffering'	<	dard 'pain'
jəgrana	'angry'	<	jəgra 'anger'
məstana	'hairy'	<	məsta 'hair'
šəxtana	dirty'	<	šəxta 'dirt'
⁺xallana	'having a mole'	<	⁺xalla 'mole, birth-mark'

6.4. ADJECTIVES OF INVARIABLE FORM

Some adjectives of Aramaic stock are of invariable form, in that they have the same form irrespective of gender and number. These include the non-attributive modifier *xet* 'other':

o-xet gora (ms.)	'the other man'
o-xet baxta (fs.)	'the other woman'
ayne-xet naše (pl.)	'the other people'

Some other adjectives in this category are adverbials in origin, e.g.

aqərwa	'near'
lə́lya	'upper'
rəqqa	'far, distant'

6.5. LOANWORDS

Many adjectives that are loans from Turkish, Kurdish, Persian or Arabic are unadapted to Aramaic morphology and are of an invariable form. Some examples of these are as follows:

⁺*ajəz*	'feeble, miserable'
čəg	'raw, uncooked'
⁺*čolaġ*	'lame'
doydurməš	'tattooed'
durrak	'mixed'
duzgun	'straight, straightforward'
⁺*gočaġ*	'brave'
jwān	'good, beautiful'
kačal	'bald'
kor	'blind'
saqat	'invalid'
⁺*tambal*	'lazy'
tund	'strong (taste, colour)'

Several loaned adjectives are invariable for gender, but inflect for number, e.g.

faqir (ms./fs.)	*faqire* (pl.)	'poor'
⁺*kasəb* (ms./fs.)	⁺*kasbe* (pl.)	'miserable'
⁺*lāl* (ms./fs.)	⁺*lale* (pl.)	'dumb'
nawšir (ms./fs.)	*nawšire* (pl.)	insolent

6.6. COMPOUNDS

Some attributive expressions are compound forms beginning with the ele-
ments *mare-* (literally: 'master of') or *be-* 'without'. These are all invariable
in form, even when the second element has an Aramaic nominal ending, e.g.

mare-fəsse	'wealthy'	*fəsse* 'money'
mare-⁺namus	'polite'	*⁺namus* 'politeness, courtesy'
mare-rang	'colourful'	*rang* 'colour, appearance'
mare-šəmma	'famous'	*šəmma* 'name'
mare-⁺təmma	'tasty'	*⁺təmma* 'taste'
be-moxa	'brainless'	*moxa* 'brain'
be-kef	'moody, indisposed'	*kef* 'good mood, well-being'
⁺be-aql	'foolish' (invar.)	*⁺aql* 'sense, intelligence'

7. NUMERALS

7.1. CARDINALS

7.1.1. Numerals 1-10

These numerals are of invariable form and are not inflected for gender. They derive historically from the form used with masculine nouns in earlier Aramaic:

1	*xa*
2	*tre*
3	⁺*taha*
4	*arba*
5	*xamša*
6	*əšta*
7	*ušwa*
8	*tmanya*
9	⁺*əčča*
10	*əsra*

The form ⁺*taha*, which is pronounced velarized, has developed from **tlaṯa*. The velarization has developed from an original emphatic cluster **ṭl*, which occurs at the onset of the numeral in many NENA dialects. The medial **ṯ* has been weakened to the laryngal /*h*/. In some Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area the numeral has the pharyngal /*ḥ*/, e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *ṭlaḥa*, which may have been a secondary development from /*h*/ in an emphatic environment.

7.1.2. Numerals 11-19

These also are invariable and derive historically from the form that was originally used with masculine nouns:

11   *xessar*
12   *tressar*
13   *taltassar*
14   *arbassar*
15   *xamšassar*
16   *əštassar*
17   *ušwassar*
18   *⁺tmanessar*
19   *əččassar*

Unlike *⁺taha*, the numeral *taltassar* is pronounced without velarization. Conversely *⁺tmanessar* is pronounced velarized whereas *tmanya* is not velarized. Some Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area have the pharyngal consonant /ˤ/ in the form of the numeral '18', e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *ṭmaˤnisar*, which may have been a secondary development conditioned by the emphatic articulation of the word.

7.1.3. Tens

20   *əsri*
30   *⁺tahi*
40   *arbi*
50   *xamši*
60   *əšti*
70   *ušwoi*
80   *⁺tmoni*
90   *⁺əčči*

Note the velarization of *⁺tahi* and *⁺tmoni*. In some Jewish dialects on the eastern periphery of the NENA area the numeral '80' contains the pharyngal consonant /ˤ/, which has developed secondarily due to the emphatic environment, e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *tmaˤanyi*.

7.1.4. Hundreds

100   *əmma*
200   *tré-mme*
300   *⁺tahá-mme*
400   *arbá-mme*
500   *xamšá-mme*
600   *əštá-mme*
700   *ušwá-mme*

800   *tmanyá-mme*
900   ⁺*əččá-mme*

The form ⁺*tmané-mma* is pronounced velarized, in contrast to the unve-
larized pronunciation of the numeral *tmanya*. In ⁺*tmane-mma*, as in
⁺*tmanessar,* the *–ya* ending of the numeral *tmanya* is replaced by *–e.*

The stress is normally placed on the unit numeral rather than on the
'hundred'. The secondary gemination of the */m/* in the form *-mma* (< *mā*)
is likely to have arisen due to the occurrence of this preceding stress. The
gemination in the singular form *əmma* would have developed by analogy. In
the forms '200' and upwards the word *(ə)mma* has plural inflection, as is the
norm for nouns qualified by a numeral. This contrasts with many NENA dia-
lects, in which the numeral retains its singular form, e.g. J. Sulemaniyya *tré-*
mma 'two hundred', *ṭlaḥá-mma* 'three-hundred'.

7.1.5. Thousands

1,000   *alpa*
2,000   *tre alpe, tr-alpe*
3,000   ⁺*taha alpe,* ⁺*tah-alpe*
4,000   *arba alpe, arb-alpe*
5,000   *xamša alpe, xamš-alpe*

Unlike hundreds, the stress in these forms is generally placed in its ca-
nonical position at the end of the word, in both the contracted and uncon-
tracted forms (⁺*tah-alpé,* ⁺*tahá alpé*). The word *alpa* has plural inflection in
multiples.

7.1.6. Combination of Numerals

The numerals are combined in descending order, with final two items linked
by the conjunction *w*, e.g. *əsri-w xa* '21', *əsri-w tre* '22', *əmma xamši-w arba*
'154', ⁺*taha alpe xamša-mme əšti-w tre* '3,561'.

7.1.7. Cardinal Numerals with Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the cardinals 1–10 to form partitive
expressions. In such cases the numeral has one two forms.

(i) The numeral may be attached directly to the numeral base, separated, in
the case of all numbers except '8', by the glide */y/*:

xayan	'one of us'
treyan	'two of us'
⁺*tahayan*	'three of us'
arbayan	'four of us'
xamšayan	'five of us'
əštayan	'six of us'
ušwayan	'seven of us'
tmanyan	'eight of us'
⁺*əččayan*	'nine of us'
əsrayan	'ten of us'

(ii) Alternatively the numerals 2–10 may take an infix deriving historically from the preposition *mən* 'from' before the pronominal suffix. This has the form –*mn*- in the numerals 3–10. In the case of the numeral 2 the phrase undergoes further contraction:

tunnan	'two of us'
⁺*tahamnan*	'three of us'
arbamnan	'four of us'
xamšamnan	'five of us'
əštamnan	'six of us'
ušwamnan	'seven of us'
tmanmnan	'eight of us'
⁺*əččamnan*	'nine of us'
əsramnan	'ten of us'

The form *tunn-* 'the two of, both of' may be used independently without a suffix with the form *tu*, e.g. *tu xa škəl-ilu* 'The two are one form (= they are both exactly alike)'.

Pronominal partitive expressions above 10 must be expressed by un-contracted phrases such as *əsri mənnan* 'twenty of us'.

7.2. ORDINALS

Ordinals are formed by attaching the ending –*mənji* to the cardinal forms. The cardinal *xa* 'one' is replaced by the suppletive base *awwal-*.

1st	*awwalmənji*
2nd	*tremənji*
3rd	⁺*tahamənji*
4th	*arbamənji*
5th	*xamšamənji*

6th *əštamənji*
7th *ušwamənji*
8th *tmanyamənji*
9th ⁺*əččamənji*
10th *əsramənji*

This means of formation of ordinals is productive also for higher numbers, e.g. *arbassarmənji* '14th', *xamši-w xamšamənji* '55th'. In compound phrases ending in *xa*, the *xa* is retained and not replaced by *awwal-*, e.g. *arbi-w xamənji* '41st'.

The ordinal forms ending in *–mənji* are invariable for gender and number. They are either placed before the nominal that they qualify as an adjectival modifier or after the nominal in an annexation relationship, e.g.

awwalmənji gora ~ gorət awwalmənji   'The first man'
awwalmənji baxta ~ baxtət awwalmənji 'The first woman'
awwalmənji naše ~ našət awwalmənji   'The first people'

tremənji gora ~ gorət tremənji   'The second man'
tremənji baxta ~ baxtət tremənji   'The second woman'
tremənji naše ~ našət tremənji   'The second people', etc.

The ordinal 'first' may alternatively be expressed by combining the nominal with the form *awwal* in an annexation relationship, e.g.

gorət awwal   'The first man'
baxtət awwal   'The first woman'
našət awwal   'The first people'

Ordinals may also be expressed by conjoining cardinals to a head noun in an annexation relationship. This is particularly the case in higher numerals, e.g. *gorət əsri* 'the twentieth man', *belət arbi-w xa* 'the forty-first house'.

7.3. Fractions

Special words for fractions exist only for 'half' and 'quarter':

'half'   *pəlga*
'quarter'   *čarag,* ⁺*rub*
'three quarters' ⁺*taha čarage,* ⁺*taha* ⁺*rube*

7.4. DAYS OF THE WEEK

xošeba	'Sunday'
trušeb	'Monday'
⁺*tahušeb*	'Tuesday'
arbušeb	'Wednesday'
xamšušeb	'Thursday'
arota	'Friday'
šabbat	'Sabbath, Saturday'

The days Sunday—Thursday are derived historically from the phrases **xa b-šaba* 'the first in the week', **tre b-šaba* 'the second in the week', etc. The words for 'Monday'—'Thursday' are in the absolute state without the final nominal inflectional vowel -*a*.

7.5. SEASONS

sətwa	'Winter'
⁺*bahār*	'Spring'
⁺*qeta*	'Summer'
⁺*payəz*	'Autumn'

8. PARTICLES

8.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term 'particle' is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particle are termed 'prepositions' and 'clausal conjunctions' respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected.

8.2. ADVERBS

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives.

A feature that is exhibited by some adverbs is the regular occurrence of penultimate stress, e.g. +*rába* 'much', *báhro* 'the day after tomorrow', *bára* 'backwards, afterwards', *qáma* 'forwards'. Many adverbs, however, exhibit the stress patterns of nouns, with the default position on the final syllable and retraction in non-pausal contexts (§1.11.2.).

Some adverbials of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without a nominal inflectional ending. This applies, for example, to *ǝ́dyom, ǝ́dlel* 'tonight' and *áy-šat* 'this year'.

We present below a list of the adverbial particles that are used in the dialect.

8.2.1. Spatial Adverbs

laxxa	'here'
maxxa	'hence'

loka	'there'
moka	'thence'
mágab	'from this direction'
mógab	'from that direction'
ləlya	'above'
təxya	'below'
tara	'outside'
⁺*luwa*	'inside'
qáma	'forwards'
bára	'backwards'

8.2.2. Temporal Adverbs

atta	'now'
ədyo(m)	'today'
təmmal	'yesterday'
perana yoma	'the previous day'
lalúmmal	'the day before yesterday'
xa yoma qā́mol lalúmmal	'three days ago'
baqátta	'tomorrow'
báhro	'the day after tomorrow'
bahúro	'in three days time'
ədyo baqatyom	'this morning'
baqatyom tez	'in the early morning'
baqatyom mən-d-ó-reš	'at dawn'
ədyom mən-d-ó-reš	'at dawn'
ədlel	'tonight'
lél-xen	'last night'
lela-b-ó-xen	'two nights ago'
mədre lele	'tomorrow night'
o-xet lele	'the night after tomorrow'
awwal	'formerly; firstly'
bára	'afterwards'
tez	'early'
áy-šat	'this year'
šətqel	'last year'
peranta šata	'the previous year'
táldel	'two years ago'
qā́mol ⁺*taha šənne*	'three years ago'
heč ⁺*wada, aslan*	'never'

ya zaa	'this time'
o ⁺wada	'at that time'

8.2.3. Interrogative Adverbs

leka?	'where, whither?'
meka?	'whence?'
legab?	'in which direction?'
iman?	'when?'
má-jur?	'how?'
kəmma?	'how much? how many?'
bod-ma? bá-ma?	'why?'

8.2.4. Adverbs of Manner

axxa, haxxa	'thus'
tez	'quickly'
⁺yawāš	'slowly'
jwān	'well'

8.3. QUANTIFIERS

⁺rába	'much, many'
kulla	'all'
kud	'each, every'
xanči	'a few, 'a little quantity of'
heč	'no, none'

8.4. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are combined with nominals or pronominal suffixes. In some cases they may also be attached to adverbs. They are often combined with their complement in the same stress group, especially when they are mono-syllabic. This is obligatory in the case of vowelless prepositions such as *b-* and *l-*.

A few prepositions are inflected with the nominal annexation enclitic *-ət* when they have a nominal complement, though the majority do not use this enclitic. When, on the other hand, the complement is a demonstrative pronoun or a nominal phrase with an initial demonstrative, it is the norm for prepositions to be connected with the annexation particle *d-* attached to the demonstrative. The same applies to the interrogative pronoun *emni/emnu?* 'which?', which also takes the *d-* particle as a prefix. The pronominal suffixes that are attached to prepositions are the same as

nominal suffixes that are attached to prepositions are the same as those that
are attached to nouns (§2.3.). Examples of prepositions include the follow-
ing.

8.4.1. *b-* 'in, at, with'

This preposition is used only before nominals without demonstratives:

b-šəmme	'in the sky'
b-xulmi	'in my dream'
b-idew	'in his hand'

    Before a demonstrative, *emni/emnu* or a pronominal suffix it is replaced
by other prepositions such as *ga- / g-* and *gal*:

g-d-o xulma	'in that dream'
g-d-emnu tka?	'in which place?'
gaew	'in it'

8.4.2. *bod* 'because of'

bod-šuli	'because of my work'
bod-d-o-šula	'because of that work'
bod-d-emnu-šula	'because of which work?'

    This preposition does not take pronominal suffixes directly but rather
in combination with the independent genitive particle *did-*:

bod-didew	'because of him'

8.4.3. *bar* 'after, behind'

bar xa šwa	'after a week'
bar-d-o	'behind that one, behind him'
bar d-o gora	'behind that man'
bar d-emnu gora	'behind which man?'

    When it has the temporal sense 'after', it is combined with the preposi-
tion *mən* before a demonstrative:

bar-mən-d-o	'after that'

With pronominal suffixes:

barew	'behind him; after him'

8.4.4. *ba-* 'to, for'

Before a nominal without a demonstrative the preposition may be attached directly to its complement or by means of the annexation enclitic, in which case it has the form *baat*:

ba-dadew 'to his father'
báat ⁺kalo ⁺hatȁn˩ 'to the bride and groom' (93)

The annexation particle regularly occurs before demonstratives and *emni/emnu*:

ba-d-o 'to that one; to, for him'
ba-d-o gora 'to that man'
ba-d-une 'to those; to, for them'
ba-d-emnu gora 'to which man?'

With pronominal suffixes:

baew 'to for him'

8.4.5. *be* 'without'

be-šula 'without work'

Before demonstratives and *emni/emnu* it is combined with the preposition *mən* in addition to the annexation particle:

be mən-d-o 'without that'
be mən-d-o šula 'without that work'
be mən-d-emnu šula? 'without which work'

Likewise it does not take pronominal suffixes directly but rather in combination with the preposition *mən*:

be mənnew 'without it'

8.4.6. *əl-* 'to, for'

əl-dadew 'to his father'
əl-d-o 'to that one, to him'
əl-d-o gora 'to that man'
əl-d-emnu gora? 'to which man'

The */l/* is geminated before a pronominal suffix:

əlləw 'to him'

The initial /ə/ is elided when the preposition is preceded by a word ending with a vowel in the same intonation group, e.g.

là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra.| 'We do not want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

gezíwa belá l-belà.| 'They would go from house to house.' (105)

The annexation particle is omitted in the expressions *loka* 'there' (< **l-o-tka* 'to that place') and *l-a-gab … l-o-gab* 'in this direction … in that direction', in which the particle after the preposition is historically a demonstrative.

8.4.7. *dowr-* 'around'

dowrət bela	'around the house'
dowrət d-o	'around that one, around it'
dowrət d-o bela	'around that house'
dowrət d-emnu bela?	'around which house?'
dowrew	'around it (m.)'

8.4.8. *ga-, g-* 'in (spatial)', 'at, on (temporal)'

Before a nominal without a demonstrative the preposition may be attached directly to its complement or by means of the annexation enclitic, in which case it has the form *gaat*:

ga-bela	'in the house'
g-šuqa	'in the market'
ga-⁺səmha ilane	'at the festival of trees'
g-patire	'at Passover'
gáat knəštà|	'in the synagogue' (120)
gáat Urmì|	'in Urmi' (136)

The annexation particle regularly occurs before demonstratives and *emni/emnu*:

g-d-o	'in that one, in it'
g-d-o-tka	'in that place'
g-d-emnu tka?	'in which place?'

With pronominal suffixes:

gaew	'in it (m.), in him'

8.4.9. *gal* 'with'

gal dadi	'with my father'
gal d-o	'with him/her'
gal d-o gora	'with that man'
gal d-emnu gora?	'with which man?'
gallew	'with him'

8.4.10. ⁺*g-aralġ-* 'between'

⁺*g-aralġət tre-naše*	'between two people'
⁺*g-aralġə d-une*	'between those, between them'
⁺*g-aralġə d-emnu naše?*	'between which people?'
⁺*g-aralġan*	'between us'

8.4.11. *geb* 'at (the home of)'

geb baruxi	'at my friend's home'
geb d-o	'at the home of that one, at his/her home'
geb d-o gora	'at the home of that man'
geb d-emnu gora?	'at the home of which man?'
gebew	'at his home'

8.4.12. *g-pəlg-* 'in between'

g-pəlgət tre naše	'between two people'
g-pəlgə d-une	'between those, between them'
g-pəlgə d-emnu naše?	'between which people?'

8.4.13. ⁺*hal* 'until'

⁺*hal lel patire*	'until the night of Passover'
⁺*hal d-o lele*	'until that night'
⁺*hal d-emnu lele?*	'until which night?'

This preposition is not used with pronominal suffixes.

8.4.14. *m-, mən* 'from'

Before a nominal without a demonstrative the preposition may be attached directly to its complement or by means of the annexation enclitic, in which case it has the form *mənnət*:

m-šuqa	'from the market'
mən-bela	'from the house'
mənnət bela	'from the house'
mən-d-o-tka	'from that place'
mən-d-emnu tka?	'from which place?'

The annexation particle is omitted in the expressions *m-oka* 'from there' (< **m-o-tka* 'from that place') and *m-o-gab* 'from that direction', in which the */o/* is historically a demonstrative.

The short form *m-* is regularly pronounced *mə-* before a following *CC* cluster, e.g. *mə-xdúg* 'from worry' (17).

The */n/* is geminated before a pronominal suffix:

mənnew	'from him'

8.4.15. *magon* 'like'

Contracted forms of this preposition before nominals include *mago, mgo, mon* and *mo*.

magon dadi	'like my father'
magon d-o	'like that one, like him'
magon d-o gora	'like that man'
magon d-emnu gora?	'like which man?'
magonew	'like him'

8.4.16. ⁺*m-qulb-* 'instead of'

⁺*m-qulbət baruxi*	'instead of my friend'
⁺*m-qulbə d-o*	'instead of that one'
⁺*m-qulbə d-o gora*	'instead of that man'
⁺*m-qulbə d-emnu gora?*	'instead of which man?'
⁺*m-qulbew*	'instead of him'

8.4.17. ⁺*qabāġ* 'opposite'

⁺*qabāġ bela*	'in front of the house'
⁺*qabāġ d-o*	'in front of that one, in front of him'
⁺*qabāġ d-o bela*	'in front of that house'
⁺*qabāġ d-emnu bela?*	'in front of which house?'
⁺*qabaġew*	'in front of him'

8.4.18. *qā́mol* 'before (temporal)

    qā́mol xa-šwa   'before a week, a week ago'
    qā́mol d-ay zaa   'before this occasion'

This preposition is not used with pronominal suffixes.

8.4.19. ⁺*qanšar* 'in front of'

    ⁺*qanšar dadi*   'in front of my father'
    ⁺*qanšar d-o*   'in front of that one, in front of him'
    ⁺*qanšar d-o gora*   'in front of that man'
    ⁺*qanšar d-emnu gora?* 'in front of which man?'
    ⁺*qanšarew*   'in front of him'

8.4.20. *reš* 'upon'

    reš ⁺*stol*   'on the table'
    reš d-o   'on that one, on it'
    reš d-o ⁺*stol*   'on that table'
    reš d-emnu ⁺*stol?* 'on which table?'
    rešew   'on him, on it'

8.4.21. ⁺*salma-ba-salm-* 'opposite'

    ⁺*salma-ba-salmət bela*   'opposite the house'
    ⁺*salma-ba-salmət d-o*   'opposite that one, opposite him'
    ⁺*salma-ba-salmət d-o bela* 'opposite that house'
    ⁺*salma-ba-salmət d-emnu bela?* 'opposite which house?'
    ⁺*salma-ba-salmew*   'opposite him'

8.4.22. *tuš-ba-tuš* 'opposite'

    tuš-ba-tuš bela   'opposite the house'
    tuš-ba-tuš d-o   'opposite that one, opposite him'
    tuš-ba-tuš d-o bela   'opposite that house'
    tuš-ba-tuš d-emnu bela? 'opposite which house?'
    tuš-ba-tušew   'opposite him'

8.4.23. ⁺*mbul* 'apart from'

    ⁺*mbul baruxi*   'apart from my friend'

⁺mbul d-o	'apart from that one'
⁺mbul d-o gora	'apart from that man'
⁺mbul d-emnu gora?	'apart from which man?'
⁺mbulew	'apart from him'

8.4.24. *xel* **'under'**

xel ⁺stol	'under the table'
xel d-o	'under that one, under it'
xel d-o ⁺stol	'under that table'
xel d-emnu ⁺stol?	'under which table?'
xelew	'under it (m.)'

8.5. PREPOSITIONS COMBINED WITH THE PARTICLE *ay*

Prepositions may be linked to their complement by the annexation particle *ay*. In most cases where this occurs the preposition also has the annexation enclitic *-ət*, e.g.

(1) *zə́llu gébəd ay-⁺rəwwət ay-komsèr.│* 'They went to the chief of police.' (127)

(2) *⁺hudaé gáat ay-daxlà│ šúla là godíwa.│* 'The Jews did not work in (the cultivation of) crops.' (152)

(3) *abúlen ezén xa-dánka tapúk dahèn│ əl-d-áy ⁺amartèw.│* 'I want to go and kick his palace.' (45)

(4) *hiwálu ba-d-áy elčyè.│* 'They give it to the messengers.' (77)

(5) *batə́t ay-⁺hudaé kullù│ ni⁺šaná gal-dəmmà,│ gállə d-áy smoqà,│ idá smoqà,│ ni⁺šàn dréwalulu.│* 'They had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand.' (173)

Occasionally the annexation enclitic *-ət* is omitted, e.g.

(6) *⁺səmhá ilánə d-áy Urmì│ magón ay-láxxa là kawyáwa.│* 'The Festival of Trees (Ṭu bə-Shvaṭ) in Urmi was not like it is here.' (106)

8.6. MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED PARTICLES

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions. Many of them are loanwords.

Independent particles

afəllu	'even'
ăgar	'if'
albahāl	'immediately'
alhadda	'separately'
⁺anjaġ	'barely, only, just'
axča	'so (preceding adjectives)'
axči	'so much'
⁺axr	'at last'
⁺axrda	'finally'
bā́le	'but; yes'
balki	'perhaps'
bas	'only'
bərdān	'suddenly'
biš	'more (preceding adjectives)'
⁺čoxtān	'a long time ago'
čunki	'because'
əllah	'by all means'
gahtanbir	'from time to time'
geč	'late'
gena	'again, still'
golbara	'back'
hála	'still, yet'
hálag	'still, yet; meanwhile'
ham … ham	'both … and'
hamān, hamun	'the same'
hamkin	'equally'
hammeša	'always'
hamni	'alike'
har	'always; exactly, just'
heč	'nothing, no (nominal modifier)'
jurbajur	'all sorts of'
juwe	'a different one'
juwexet	'a different one'
ki	'that (relative and complementizer); don't you see?'
la	'no, not'
malūm	'certainly'
mar	jussive particle
naqafəldan	'suddenly, unexpectedly'

néysa	'however'
⁺*naxərda*	'finally'
⁺*way*	'woe'
xāš	'again'
ya … ya	'either … or'
⁺*yān*	'or'
⁺*yaqin*	'surely'
⁺*yawāš,* ⁺*jawāš* ⁺*yawāš*	'slowly'
⁺*yóxsan*	'or else'
zóda	'more'

Enclitic particles

-inan	'and'
-əš, -š (after vowel)	'too, also; as for'

9. THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

9.1. THE EXPRESSION OF INDEFINITENESS

The cardinal numeral 'one' (*xa*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal, i.e. when the speaker assumes that the hearer is not able to identify the referent of the nominal. The particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the pragmatic level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in an English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

The particle *xa* may also be combined with the word *danka*, a Kurdish word literally meaning 'grain', to express indefiniteness, e.g. *xá-danka bratà*⌐ 'a daughter' (1).

The distribution of the indefinite marker *xa* in comparison with zero marking will first be examined and subsequently the motivation for the use of the marker *xa-danka* rather than *xa* will be considered.

In general, the marker *xa* tends to occur with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way, whereas it tends to be omitted when these features are absent.

One factor that determines the individuation or salience of an indefinite nominal is whether the speaker is using it to refer to a specific referent in the class of items denoted by the word or whether it is being used in a less specific sense to refer to any item in the class. Referentially specific usages of indefinite nominals occur more frequently, as one would expect, in narratives than in expositional discourse concerning general customs.

In narrative contexts the specific referents of such indefinite nominals introduced by *xa* often play an important role in the subsequent context, which is reflected by the fact that they are referred to in subsequent clauses.

This, therefore, is a factor that further enhances the salience of the referent. Examples:

(1)   *ítwa létwa xa-⁺šultanà.*⌐ There was once a king. (1)

An indefinite nominal referring to a period that functions as an adverbial is typically combined with the particle *xa* when the reference is to one specific time. This is often found at the beginning of a narrative section, where the adverbial sets the temporal frame of what follows, e.g.

(2)   *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw.*⌐ 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room.' (44)

(3)   *xà-yoma*⌐ *ya-bratèw*⌐ … *fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.*⌐ 'One day this daughter of his … thought (to herself) saying "I shall not speak for a few days."' (2)

An individuating usage of *xa* is its placement before a nominal referring to a single, countable portion of something, which would otherwise be interpreted as an abstract noun or noun of mass, e.g.

(4)   *lá hamónen xa-pučulá b-rešáw ədyá hawè.*⌐ 'I do not believe that something evil could have come upon her.' (14)

The particle is used with this function also in contexts expressing habitual actions where the nominal does not have a specific referent, e.g.

(5)   *xa-sehmá gáat ⁺moè mandéwa.*⌐ 'They would put a piece of silver in the water.' (105)

(6)   *bára xa-musìk maxéwa.*⌐ 'Afterwards they would play a piece of music.' (96)

In (7) contrast the use of the particle in the phrase *xa-zora dehwa* 'a small piece of gold' with its omission before the noun *amān* 'vessel':

(7)   *ya **xa-zóra dehwà** madéwa.*⌐ *ya goryè madéwa*⌐ *ya parčá báat jullè madéwa.*⌐ *ya **amàn** madéwa.*⌐ 'They brought a small gold coin, or they brought stockings, or they brought material for clothes, or they brought a vessel.' (92)

Likewise it tends to be used before words denoting individual items or portions such as *⁺qətta* or *tika* 'piece' and *năfar* 'individual', e.g.

(8)   *xá-tika ləxmá antùle.*⌐ 'He takes a piece of bread.' (53)

(9) ⁺doyə́t áy ⁺kalò⌇ m-Tehrã̀n⌇ xá ⁺qətta parčà⌇ šdiré ba-⁺hatã̀n.⌇ '(It
      may happen that) the maternal uncle of the bride has sent a piece
      of material from Tehran to the groom.' (96)

In (10) note the contrast between the occurrence of the particle before
năfar and its omission before šammāš, which occurs in parallel to it:

(10) xà năfár⌇ m-famìl,⌇ ya šammã̀š,⌇ lélət ay-xlulà⌇ ayné kullú ⁺xleè⌇ kí
      madéwalu báat ⁺kalo ⁺hatã̀n⌇ ⁺masrə̀xwalu.⌇ 'Now, a member of the
      family or a beadle would announce all the gifts that they brought
      for the bride and groom on the night of the wedding.' (93)

In parallel contexts there is a greater tendency for the particle xa to be
used before a nominal whose reference is limited by a qualifying adjective
than one that lacks an adjective. This applies especially to cases where the
nuclear stress is on the adjective, drawing particular attention to one indi-
vidual item in contradistinction to other items within the class denoted by
the noun:

(11) mănì-t⌇ ⁺qətrà ⁺yəsíra hawé⌇ yán xa-pùč xábra míra hawé⌇ 'whoever
      had tied a knot or said a bad word' (90)

The particle is frequently used with an indefinite nominal that is quali-
fied by the word xet 'other', where a contrast between items of a class is
always implied, e.g.

(12) ó-jur xə́lye mə́lye godíwa kwìwa báaw⌇ kí xa-xèt-zaa⌇ ⁺xasàw qawé⌇
      bróna yadlà.⌇ 'They made all these types of sweets and gave them
      to her so that another time her womb (literally: back) would be
      strong and she would give birth to a boy.' (121)

The particle xa is placed before an indefinite noun when the speaker
wishes to focus upon its unity, e.g.

(13) xa-kălimá ⁺jwábi la-hwə̀llale.⌇ 'She did not reply a single word.'
      (11)

(14) āt-kullóx xa-⁺čangèlet.⌇ 'You in total are (no more than) a single
      handful.' (47)

In a similar manner it may be used to express the uniqueness of the
referent, e.g.

(15) bronán xá bronèle.⌇ … bratán-iš xa-bràtela.⌇ 'Our son is a unique
      boy. … And our daughter is a unique girl.' (74–75)

In such cases, in which the particle has its original function of a cardinal numeral, it sometimes bears the nuclear stress, e.g.

(16) *xà kắlima mqí!*ˈ 'Speak just one word!' (38)

(17) *ắgar šónnu xà-šata,*ˈ *zòda amráttu,*ˈ *maqè.*ˈ 'If you say their age is one year more (than it really is), they speak.' (42)

The particle *xa* tends to be omitted before a nominal with a non-specific referent in contexts other than those described above, e.g.

(18) *kullán kyéxwa xlulá g-Urmí rába áy xazoè-wela.*ˈ 'We all knew that a wedding in Urmi was well worth seeing.' (71)

(19) *áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawóxxa l-góra.*ˈ 'We do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

(20) *dáat ⁺kálo qyamà*ˈ *kalaġàn madulá.*ˈ 'The mother of the bride rises and brings a stick of sugar.' (77)

(21) *ba-nóšox tkanà palxét.*ˈ 'You can open a shop for yourself.' (52)

(22) *magón bulbúl maqyà.*ˈ 'She will speak like a nightingale.' (23)

An indefinite nominal that is predicative, the function of which is to assign the subject of the clause to a class rather than refer to a specific referent, generally lacks *xa*, e.g.

(23) *aná ⁺šultanà-hawen,*ˈ *āt-baí dúgle dagolèt!*ˈ 'I am a king and you are telling me lies!' (35)

(24) *átta xén àt*ˈ *gorà xdirét.*ˈ 'You have already become a man.' (89)

(25) *máre baxtà xdirét.*ˈ 'You have become the master of a wife.' (89)

The particle *xa* is sometimes omitted before a nominal with a specific referent when the referent plays an incidental role in the discourse and is lacking in prominence. This applies, for example, to (26), in which the servant plays a supportive role. His appearance on the scene, moreover, is an expected sequel to the act of the king's clapping his hands and so the event as a whole lacks prominence:

(26) *⁺šultaná čápke dhòlle.*ˈ *nokár ədyelè.*ˈ *mòre*ˈ *már maxyané-nan zamrané raqlane adè.*ˈ 'The king clapped his hands. A servant came. He said "Let the musicians, singers and dancers come."' (5)

In clauses referring to specific events with participants referring to specific referents that lack discourse prominence in what follows, the speaker typically draws attention to the event or situation as a whole rather than putting focus on an individual participant. Further examples of such cases where the particle is omitted:

(27) *xlulá wə̀dla.*⎮ 'She had a wedding.' (62)

(28) ⁺*šultaná dastúr hwə̀lle.*⎮ 'The king made a decree.' (43)

(29) *baáx* ⁺*čára gòd.*⎮ 'He will find a solution for you.' (17)

(30) *ána belà-tti,*⎮ ⁺*yalè-tti,*⎮ *baxtà-tti.*⎮ 'I have a home, I have children, I have a wife.' (36)

If the nominal is qualified by an adjective in such constructions, the nuclear stress is typically not placed on the adjective, e.g.

(31) *bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá.*⎮ 'Perhaps the girl has had a bad dream.' (4)

(32) *xayú báx puč-xàbra miré?*⎮ *yan-púč xulmà xzitát*⎮ *zə̀dyat,*⎮ *lišanàx dwíq?*⎮ 'Has one of them said a bad word against you? Or have you had a bad dream and have had a fright and your tongue has become tied?' (9)

This should be contrasted with constructions such as (11) above, in which the adjective takes the nuclear stress and the nominal has the particle *xa*.

The particle *xa* is omitted in (33) before *gora baxta* 'a husband and wife', despite the fact that they are the protagonists of the story, since the phrase is a compound and therefore lacks individuation:

(33) *ítwa góra baxtà*⎮ *wazyătú jwān-là-wela.*⎮ 'There were (once) a husband and wife. Their condition was not good.' (50)

The phrase *xa-danka* expresses individuation with heavier morphological coding than the particle *xa* alone. It tends to be used to express a greater degree of distinctness of the referent of the nominal.

One context in which it is typically used is where the nominal marked by the phrase has a referent that has particular discourse prominence, in that it plays an important role in what follows, e.g.

(34) *ya-*⁺*šultaná ə̀twale*⎮ *xá-danka bratà.*⎮ 'This king had a daughter.' (1)

(35) *izále ⁺g-wərxà,* xá-danka korpì-itwa.' *mən-d-ó korpì' ya-góra gắrag pèrwa.'* 'As he went along, on his way there was a bridge. The man had to pass by the bridge.' (54)

(36) *xá-danka pardá ⁺yasríwa m-gudà' ušwà yomé,' ušwà lelawé' ó pardá gắrág ⁺ysə̀rta hawyáwa.'* 'They would tie a curtain on the wall. For seven days and seven nights the curtain had to be closed.' (87)

The referent may be presented as prominent due to its unexpectedness or unusualness rather than its importance in the text. In (37), for example, the use of *xa-danka* with the noun 'shepherd' can be interpreted as expressing prominence due to the expectedness of the arrival of a shepherd at the court of the king. In (38), likewise, the 'bag of food' of the shepherd is given particular distinctness by the *xa-danka* construction on account of the surprising presence of a shepherd with this lowly appurtenance at the court:

(37) *máre ⁺šultaná basìma' xá-danka ⁺čobā́n ədyè.'* 'He said "(May) the king (be) well, a shepherd has come."' (19)

(38) *⁺čobā́n idàyle' gal-xa-danká ⁺torbà' ay-ixalà.'* 'The shepherd came with a bag of food.' (22)

On some occasions the heavy morphological coding of the *xa-danka* construction has the purpose of expressing a boundary in the discourse. In (39), for example, the appearance of the servant marks the onset of a distinct episode in the narrative:

(39) *máre xa-dankà' nokár idàyle.'* 'Now, a servant came in.' (19)

This should be contrasted with (40), in which the arrival of the servant is closely sequential to the preceding clause and the noun is not given any indefinite marker:

(40) *⁺šultaná čápke dhə̀lle.' nokár ədyelè.'* 'The king clapped his hands. A servant came.' (5)

In (41) and (42) the morphological ballast of the *xa-danka* construction is used more subjectively to give great force to an expression of deontic intention:

(41) *ắgar gallí là-maqya,' xá-danka səllí ⁺m-salmáw dahèn.'* 'If she does not speak to me, I'll give her face a slap.' (23)

(42) *abúlen ezén xa-dánka tapúg dahèn' əl-d-áy ⁺amartèw.'* 'I want to go and kick his palace.' (45)

In some cases *xa-danka* is used to give particular prominence to the unity of an item, e.g.

(43) *xá-danka məstá-rešá ⁺bassór la-hawyà.*ˈ 'May a single hair not be missing from her head.' (1)

(44) *xá-danka doktór là madétun.*ˈ 'Do not bring me a single doctor.' (20)

The phrase *xa-danka* may be connected to the following nominal by the preposition *mən/m-* in a partitive construction, e.g.

(45) *xá-danka ⁺m-baruxáwət ay-⁺hatə̀n*ˈ *dawtalàb xadə́rwa.*ˈ 'One of the friends of the groom would volunteer.' (85)

(46) *bára xa-dánka mən-d-áyne polisé ažə̀n*ˈ *mə́re ba-dadì*ˈ 'Then one of the policemen said to my father' (176)

When the indefinite marker *xa* is combined with the following word in the same stress group, the stress is put either on the *xa* or on the word with which it is combined. The retraction of the stress to the indefinite marker is particularly frequent in the phrase *xá-danka*, e.g. *xá-danka bratà* 'a girl' (1), and also in phrases with an expression of measurement, e.g. *xá-tika ləxmá* 'a piece of bread' (53), *xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm*ˈ 'a pair of silk stockings' (94). In all such cases the main focus of attention is on what follows the phrase (i.e. 'girl', 'bread', 'silk stockings').

9.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The demonstrative pronouns may function attributively by qualifying a nominal (*ay gora* 'this man', *o gora* 'that man') or may be used independently. When independent, they can substitute for nominals in most syntactic positions, e.g.

Subject and extraposition:

(1) *ó ⁺mar-aqə̀l-ile.*ˈ 'He is clever.' (58)

(2) *ya-mqèla gálli.*ˈ 'She spoke with me.' (32)

(3) *uné kəmrí suràye,*ˈ *ašurì,*ˈ *lišánət ašuryè.*ˈ 'They say *suraye*, Assyrians, the language of the Assyrians.' (191)

(4) *ayné zmə̀rru.*ˈ 'They sang.' (6)

(5) *balkí yá əlhà šdírele.*╎ 'Perhaps this one—God has sent him.' (21)

Predicate:

(6) *ò-ile brōn-dadxún.*╎ 'The son of your father is him.' (69)

In other syntactic positions the pronouns are complements of preposi-
tions, which are connected to the demonstrative by the particle *d-* (§8.4.),
e.g.

(7) *əl-d-áy* ⁺*masmoxulle ki-réšew* ⁺*qatèle.*╎ 'They make him stand up in
order to cut off his head.' (35)

(8) *bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé.*╎ 'Only this method would result
in her being made to talk.' (42)

(9) *gorá əl-d-áy mandùləlla.*╎ 'The husband throws her down.' (114)

(10) *əl-d-ó-š əmbə́llule komsèr.*╎ 'They took him to the police station.'
(148)

(11) *əl-d-úne m-óka surgùn wídilu kartwé.*╎ 'The Kurds banished them
from there.' (167)

(12) *idá reš-d-ày!*╎ 'Come and (deal with) this man!' (32)

(13) *gal-d-ó* ⁺*məssét kullà*╎ *šulòx,*╎ *belòx,*╎ *bənyanòx,*╎ *má-t ít lít duz-odə̀ttu.*╎
'With this you can put everything in order, your work, your
house, your family, whatever it is.' (52)

The demonstratives may be used deictically to point out referents that
are visible in the speech situation, the near deixis form being used to refer to
items near to the speaker and the far deixis form to refer to items distant
from the speaker. Some examples of near deixis forms in direct speech in the
text corpus used to refer to referents in the speech situation are the follow-
ing:

(14) *ó yomà*╎ *mə́ri xa-ení* ⁺*čemə̀nnu*╎ *perén xazèn*╎ ⁺*məssèn mən-d-áy korpí
perén.*╎ 'On that day I said "Let me close my eyes and cross, let me
see if I can cross this bridge."' (59)

(15) *ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttu*╎ *fãqàt*╎ *xayù*╎ *ày dadaxile.*╎ 'These broth-
ers of yours that you see, only one of them is from your father.'
(64)

(16) *tré xabušé smoqé kwíwa b-idèw.⌐ kəmrìwa⌐ əl-d-áy xabušé dhúllu g-reš-*
    ⁺kalò.⌐ 'They gave him in his hand two red apples. They said
    "Knock these apples on the head of the bride."' (80)

In the text corpus the majority of the demonstrative pronouns have an
anaphoric function. They do not point to a referent in the extralinguistic
situation but rather signal that the referent of the nominal is identifiable in
the surrounding context, typically in what precedes. Both the near deixis
and the far deixis sets of pronouns are used anaphorically.

In narratives the near deixis forms are generally used with nominals
whose referents are the centre of attention at that particular point in the
discourse. The nearness expressed by the demonstrative is not one of real
distance but rather a nearness in the virtual staging of the story. Examples of
near deixis pronouns used with the protagonists of narratives are the follow-
ing:

(17) *ítwa létwa xa-⁺šultanà.⌐ **ya-⁺šultaná** ə̀twale⌐ xá-danka bratà.⌐ … xà-*
    *yoma⌐ **ya-bratèw,**⌐ … fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kómma-yome ána*
    *b-là-maqyan⌐ … **ya-bráta** là-mqela.⌐* 'There was once a king. The
    king had a daughter. … One day the daughter of his … thought
    (to herself) saying "I shall not speak for a few days" … The girl
    did not speak.' (1–2)

(18) *čápke daholè,⌐ waziré idàylu.⌐ mə̀re⌐ waziré jwǻn šmìmun!⌐ … ⁺šultána*
    *⁺palóte tàra⌐ m-otǻ̈ġ.⌐ **ayné tre-waziré** gal-⁺dó́ġde màqulu.⌐* 'He
    clapped his hands and the ministers came. He said "Ministers, lis-
    ten well!" … The king went out of the room. The two ministers
    spoke with one another.' (11–12)

As can be seen, such anaphoric demonstratives are translated most
idiomatically by the English definite article.

The far deixis demonstrative is used anaphorically in a more neutral
sense, without expressing a prominent near perspective. Many examples are
found in the expository discourse of the text corpus, e.g.

(19) *madèwalu,⌐ elkyə́t áy belà⌐ léša gòdwa.⌐ **ó lešá** godíwale ⁺massè.⌐*
    'They would bring it back and the elder son of the household
    would make the dough. They made the dough into matzos.' (100)

(20) *rábta knəštá áy əlha-maníxət šéx Abdullà ⁺m-trosá-wele⌐ ⁺rába jwǻn*
    *knəštà-wela.⌐ àtta-š **ó knəštá** lóka pištéla⌐* 'The large synagogue of
    sheikh Abdulla, may he rest in peace, was truly very beautiful.
    That synagogue remains there even now.' (155)

(21) *qrawə́t áy Túrkine kí ədyèlu| əl-armanyè ⁺rába ⁺mjizìlu.| m-armanyé*
   *⁺rába ⁺qtə̀llu.| bàra| kartwè ədyélu.| əl-d-**úne** m-óka surgùn wídilu*
   kartwé.| 'When the army of the Turks came, they harassed the Ar-
   menians greatly. They killed many of the Armenians. Then the
   Kurds came. The Kurds banished them from there.' (167)

The independently standing demonstratives *o* and *une* have been classi-
fied in §2.1. also as 3ʳᵈ person independent personal pronouns. As we have
seen, however, the near deixis forms *ya* and *ayne* can perform the same ana-
phoric functions with the added dimension of expressing close perspective.

In (22), which comes from a narrative, near and far deixis demonstra-
tives are juxtaposed. The near deixis form is used with the man who is the
protagonist of the story, presenting him saliently with near perspective. The
far deixis form is used with the 'bridge', which has the effect of presenting it
with a lesser degree of prominence.

(22) *izále ⁺g-wərxà,| xá-danka korpì-twa.| mən-d-**ó korpì**| **ya-góra** gắrag*
   pèrwa.| 'As he went along, on his way there was a bridge. The man
   had to cross the bridge.' (54)

This difference in perspective expressed by the two demonstratives can
be used in contrastive expressions such as (23) to convey separation in the
virtual space of the discourse. The form *l-a-gab* exhibits a contracted form of
the near deixis demonstrative:

(23) *brata là-l-**a-gab** xə́rra,| là-l-o-gab.|* 'The girl did not look this side or
   that side.' (6)

When a speaker contrasts his community with another community ('us'
and 'them'), the other community is presented with a far deixis form, e.g.

(24) *axní kəmréx ba-lišanàn| márex aramìt| bắle **uné** kəmrí suràye,| ašurì,|*
   lišánət ašuryè.| 'We call our language "Aramaic", but they call
   (themselves) *suraye*, Assyrians, the language of the Assyrians.'
   (191)

The perspective with which a referent is presented may change in the
course of the narrative. In (25), for example, the shepherd is first presented
with non-prominent neutral perspective with the far deixis pronoun. At this
point he is in an audience with the king. Subsequently, however, when he is
left alone with the king's daughter and is in control of events, he is pre-
sented with a closer perspective by means of a near deixis demonstrative:

(25) **o-⁺čobā́n** *máre bod-mà la-maqulá bratóx?*ˈ *máre là-ayolen.*ˈ … *bratá madúlula* ⁺*luwà.*ˈ **ya-⁺čobā́n** *xyaré ǝlláw marè*ˈ *kə́mma sqə̀ltelat!*ˈ 'The shepherd said "Why does your daughter not speak?" He (the king) said "I do not know." … They brought the girl in. The shepherd looked at her and said "How comely you are!" (23-24)

Demonstratives used with temporal adverbials to express anaphoric connection to what precedes are generally from the far deixis set, e.g.

(26) *bắle ó yomà*ˈ *mə́ri xa-ení* ⁺*čemə̀nnu.*ˈ 'But on that day I said "Let me close my eyes."' (59)

(27) *ba-⁺də̀ġde-š*ˈ *o-yomà*ˈ *baqatyomèw*ˈ ⁺*bə́ldi* ⁺*bə̀ldi šadríwa.*ˈ 'They would send gifts to one another on that day and the next.' (108)

(28) *kí mǝn-d-ò lelé*ˈ *kalò*ˈ *ay-nošèw-ila.*ˈ 'because from that night the bride belonged to him.' (81)

Near deixis forms are generally used when the item with the demonstrative refers back to the propositional content of the preceding discourse rather than to a concrete referent. This is found in sections of discourse that supply a comment upon what precedes, e.g.

(29) *axnì*ˈ *bad-baxtulà ǝ́twalan*ˈ *kí xǎlifè*ˈ *kí ǝllàn*ˈ ⁺*g-mǝdrǎ̀š*ˈ *dàrs malpíwa*ˈ ⁺*rába dahìwalan.*ˈ *gal-kúd xabrà*ˈ *ki-là-ayǝxwa jwǎ́n amrǝxwalé*ˈ *ǝllàn dahíwa.*ˈ *aná awwál ǝl-d-**ày** amránna,*ˈ *bár-o azén amrén ki-má-jur dahìwa,*ˈ *má-jur godìwa.*ˈ 'We were unfortunate in that the teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot. For every word that we did not know how to say well they would beat us. Let me first say this, then I shall go onto say how they beat us, how they behaved.' (137)

(30) *bás **yà**-šula gdéwa ǝl-d-ó mamqoé.*ˈ *wa-yə̀lli*ˈ *wa-**ya**-šula wə̀dlile.*ˈ 'Only this (literally: this affair) would result in her being made to talk. I knew this and so this is what I did.' (42)

(31) *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá* ⁺*kaló maxǝlpiwalà,*ˈ ⁺*mǝssèwa.*ˈ ⁺*rába-š **ayne-šúle** xdìriwa.*ˈ 'If they wanted to change the bride even on the night of the wedding, they could. Many such cases happened.' (82)

Also in cases where the demonstrative refers to a concrete referent, the use of a near deixis form may be motivated by the fact that the section of discourse in which it occurs is an elaborative comment on what precedes.

This is seen in, for example, in (32), where the synagogues are referred to by far deixis pronouns in the main section of the discourse, but the speaker shifts to a near deixis form in the final clause, which supplies an elaborative comment regarding their location:

(32) *g-Urmí tré-danke knəšyè itwá,| xa-ràbta knəštá| xa-zùrta knəštá.| rábta knəštá áy əlha-maníxət šéx Abdullà ⁺m-trosá-wele| ⁺rába jwắn knəštà-wela.| àtta-š **ó knəštá** lóka pištéla| … **o-xét knəštá** zùrta-wela.| šéx Ruwèn kə́mriwa báaw.| kullú **ayné knəšyè**| g-mahállət áy ⁺hudaè kwéwa.|* 'In Urmi there were two synagogues, a large synagogue and small synagogue. The large synagogue of sheikh Abdulla, may he rest in peace, was truly very beautiful. That synagogue remains there even now. … The other synagogue was small. It was called (the synagogue of) sheikh Reuven. All of these synagogues were in the district of the Jews.' (155–157)

Near deixis demonstratives are used to express emotional engagement with a referent by a speaker. In (33), for example, the speaker introduces here the referent 'King Solomon' for the first time. The motivation to use the demonstrative, therefore, is not anaphoric, but rather expresses subjective emotional engagement:

(33) **ya-Šlómo ha-mélex** *xá-jur jəgrí madùlele!|* 'This King Solomon makes me so angry!' (45)

The far deixis demonstrives are occasionally used anaphorically with nominals whose referents have not been explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse. This is the case in (34) and (35):

(34) *kì| áxni ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi abùlexa,| **ó mar-béla** qèmwa.|* 'When we wanted some gifts, the owner of the house would rise.' (108)

(35) *bắle g-markàz-wele belú,| g-d-**úne** tkánət ⁺bujáġət áy Urmì* 'Their houses were in the centre, in the suburbs of Urmi.' (153)

Here these referents are not explicitly mentioned previously, but nevertheless are regarded by the speaker as identifiable due to their typical association with the content of the preceding discourse. Such 'associative anaphora' is not expressed idiomatically in English by a demonstative pronoun and so must always be translated by the English definite article.

Another context in which a far deixis pronoun is used with a nominal that has not been explicitly mentioned previously is with the head of a relative clause, as in (36) and (37):

(36) *dahólu xà-jur-wela kí*⌐ *bázi wáxt xazátwa **ó bronà,**⌐ *ó* ⁺***yalà***⌐ *ki-kotàk*
xíle⌐ *m-xălifà*⌐ *xa-kómma yomé naxòš xadórwa.*⌐ 'Their beating was
of such a nature that on some occasions you would see the boy,
the child who had received a blow from the teacher, become ill
for several days.' (140)

(37) ***úne náše*** *ki-lá-ayolu mar-ayì.*⌐ 'Those people who do not know, let
them know.' (136)

Here the demonstrative alerts the hearer to the fact that the referent of
the nominal is identifiable in the context, but this is by means of the de-
scriptive content of the following relative clause rather than the preceding
discourse. A similar analysis can be applied to (38), in which a demonstra-
tive occurs before an adjective. The anaphoric reference of the demonstra-
tive in *une* ⁺*kasbe* 'the poor' is internal to the nominal phrase and the con-
struction can be regarded as a contracted relative 'those (who are) poor.'
This explains the use of the demonstrative in this phrase, the referent of
which has not been referred to in what precedes:

(38) *kud-nắš kì*⌐ *doltà -twale*⌐ *ba-d-**úne*** ⁺***kasbè***⌐ ⁺*báldi* ⁺*bàldi šadòrwa.*⌐
'Anybody who was wealthy would send gifts to the poor.' (108)

The anaphoric reference of a demonstrative may likewise be bound to a
following complement clause as in correlative constructions such as (39)–
(41):

(39) *ána b-d-ò-fkər wádli*⌐ *ki-šənnáw zóda amrènnu,*⌐ *màqya.*⌐ 'I had the
idea of saying that her age was more (than it really was) so that
she would talk.' (42)

(40) *əl-d-áy mbáli zélle amrónwa baxún kí* ⁺*m-hudaé zargàr-əš kwéwa.*⌐ 'I
forgot to say to you that there were also goldsmiths among the
Jews.' (129)

(41) ⁺*g-mədrăš zdélew ó-wela kì*⌐ *xălifà*⌐ *là dahólle.*⌐ 'In the Jewish school
his fear was that the teacher would beat him.' (138)

When an attributive demonstrative is combined with its nominal com-
plement in a single stress group (§1.12.), the stress is normally put on the
nominal, e.g. *o-bratá* 'that girl' (13), *ayne-*⁺*xòtte* 'this wheat' (102). When the
stress is put on the demonstrative, the nominal tends to be one of low se-

mantic content, such as *jur* 'manner', *šula* 'matter, thing', *xabra* 'matter', e.g. *ó-jur* 'this way' (152), *yá-xabra* 'this matter' (161), *yà-šula* 'this thing (42).

9.3. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The reflexive pronoun *noš-*, which is inflected with pronominal suffixes, occurs in various syntactic positions in the clause.

9.3.1. Subject

When used in subject position or extraposition at the front of the clause, the reflexive pronoun either expresses contrastive assertion ('he himself', etc.) or exclusive assertion denoting that the subject referent is acting alone ('by himself', etc.). The pronoun either stands independently or is used in apposition to a noun or personal pronoun (e.g. *ana noši* 'I myself'):

(1) ⁺*šultaná nòšew,*ˈ *šaxsàn,*ˈ *nằš šdɛ́re*ˈ *geb-d-ó raísət áy komsɛ́rət áy Urmì.*ˈ 'The king himself, in person, sent a man to that chief of police of Urmi.' (134)

(2) ⁺*bassòr tré* ⁺*tahá baté ítwa*ˈ *ki-nóšu toryé-inan ərbè-itwalu gáat belá.*ˈ 'There were a very few, two or three, houses which had their own cows or sheep in the house (literally: which themselves had cows and sheep …).' (161)

(3) ⁺*massè-š*ˈ *nòšu yapéwalu.*ˈ 'They baked matzos by themselves.' (98)

9.3.2. Complement of a Preposition

When the reflexive pronoun is the complement of a preposition, it denotes the co-referentiality of the pronominal suffix with the subject of the clause, e.g.

(1) ất *gezét nóšox əl-nòšox* ⁺*tašét.*ˈ 'You should go and look after (literally: hide, shelter) yourself.' (89)

A common phrase is *ba-noš–*, which expresses isolation ('by himself' etc.):

(2) *ba-nòšox*ˈ ⁺*fəssè b-*⁺*haslét.*ˈ 'You must earn money by yourself.' (89)

(3) *ba-nóšu gupté-inan kàre godíwa.*ˈ 'They would make cheese and butter by themselves.' (161)

(4) *ba-nóšox tkanà palxét.*ˈ 'You can open a shop for yourself.' (52)

Other expressions of isolation are:

(5) *ó xá m-nòšew-ile.*[|] 'He is all alone.'

(6) *ó ták nòšew-ile.*[|] 'He is alone.'

9.3.3. Object Complement

The reflexive pronoun may be used to express a pronominal object that is co-referential with the subject of the verb, without a prefixed preposition:

(1) *ất nóšox* ⁺*tšíla bar-*⁺*stòl.*[|] 'You hide yourself behind the chair.' (33)

(2) *áxča nóšox là-mgusla!*[|] 'Do not tire yourself so much!' (29)

(3) *ána geb-báxti nóši pəqyàli.*[|] 'I puffed myself up (in boasts) with my wife.' (48)

(4) *ána nóši nóši* ⁺*b-qatlèn.*[|] 'I shall kill myself.' (149)

9.3.4. Genitive Complement

If there is co-referentiality between the subject of the clause and a genitive pronominal suffix in the same clause, the suffix is generally not attached directly to a noun but rather to the reflexive pronoun, to which the noun is annexed:

(1) *ána … * ⁺*mséli b-qəwyəttət nóši.*[|] 'I was able (to get by) by my own strength.' (151)

(2) *kullá má-t ít lét g-bel-nòšu godíwale.*[|] 'Everybody made whatever (they needed) in their own house.' (158)

(3) *čún áxni aqə́rwa welàn*[|] ⁺*b-jamátət nòšan*[|] 'since we were close together in our own community' (115)

(4) ⁺*hukmá əntyálu b-íd nòšu.*[|] 'They took the (reins of) government in their hands.' (168)

In (5) the genitive phrase is in predicative position:

(5) *batè*[|] *ki-gáwe yatwíwa ay-nòšu welú.*[|] 'The houses that they lived in belonged to them.' (154)

9.4. RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

The reciprocal pronoun ⁺dəǵde (§2.6.) may occur in various syntactic positions. Most attested cases in the text corpus are complements of prepositions:

9.4.1. Complement of a Preposition

(1) *ayné tre-waziré gal-⁺də́ǵde màqulu.*ˌ 'The two ministers spoke with one another.' (12)

(2) *xa-famíl gal-⁺də́ǵde kullú xayèwa.*ˌ 'A family used to live with one another (together).' (62)

(3) *ba-⁺də̀ǵde*ˌ *⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi šadorè.*ˌ 'They would send gifts to each other.' (106)

(4) *⁺hudaé ⁺rába aqə̀rwa-welu ba-⁺də́ǵde.*ˌ 'The Jews were very close to one another.' (53)

(5) *lišanán-ənan áy ⁺arelè*ˌ *rába əl-⁺dəǵde mašbè.*ˌ 'Our language and that of the Christians are very similar to one another.' (190)

(6) *bratá-inan broná-š əl-⁺də́ǵde ⁺hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.*ˌ 'The girl and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding.' (73)

(7) *əl-⁺də́ǵde našqìwa.*ˌ 'They kissed one another.' (105)

9.4.2. Genitive Complement of Noun

(1) *elá reš-šátət ⁺də̀ǵde*ˌ *g-patiré barxìwalu.*ˌ 'At Passover they gave each other blessings for the festival and for the New Year.' (104)

9.5. ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

This category includes various modifiers of head nouns that supply an attributive description.

9.5.1. Adjectives

The most common type of attributive modifier is an adjective. An adjective that can be inflected agrees in gender and number with the head noun.

There is a considerable degree of flexibility with regard to the position of the adjective relative to the head noun. Adjectives may be divided into three groups: (i) restrictive, (ii) evaluative, (iii) non-restrictive, non-evaluative.

A restrictive adjective supplies a description that limits the reference to one particular subset within the set of items denoted by the head noun. Such adjectives may be placed before or after the head noun, e.g. *zora bela ~ bela zora* 'a small house', *zorta knəšta ~ knəšta zorta* 'a small synagogue', *zore ⁺bate ~ ⁺bate zore* 'small houses'. When placed before the noun, the stress of multisyllabic adjectives is often retracted onto the penultimate syllable, which is a prosodic signal of the lack of completion of a linguistic unit (§1.11.1.). Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *xa-zóra dehwà madéwa.*| 'They brought a small gold coin.' (92)

(2) *bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá.*| 'Perhaps the girl has had a bad dream.' (4)

(3) *gal-zóra broná áy tmánya ⁺əčča šənnè*| 'with the young boy, who was eight or nine years old' (141)

(4) *átta báxti ⁺smíxa bar-syáme smoqè amblén.*| 'Now my wife is waiting for me to bring red shoes.' (36)

(5) *əlhà| awazyé šbirè| ⁺kaló ⁺hatā́n odílu gál amonà.*| 'Indeed the bride and groom should reciprocate the uncle well.' (95)

The flexibility of position applies also to restrictive compound attributes such as *dəqna-xwara* 'old (literally: white of beard)', which may be placed before or after a head noun, e.g.

(6) *xazéx balkì| naxpà| m-tré-danke yá-jur ⁺dəqna-xwaré našè.*| 'Let's see, perhaps she will be ashamed with two such senior people.' (13)

When a contrastive opposition is set up between two items in a class that are distinguished by their attributes, the restrictive adjectives expressing these distinctive attributes are typically placed before the head noun and given prominence with the nuclear stress of the intonation group, e.g.

(7) *g-Urmí tré-danke knəšyè itwá,| xa-ràbta knəštá| xa-zòrta knəštá.*| 'In Urmi there were two synagogues, a large synagogue and small synagogue.' (155)

Ordinal numerical attributes are regularly placed before the head noun and typically take the nuclear stress, e.g. *tmanyamənjì lélət ay elá*| 'on the

eighth night of the festival' (104). It is likewise the norm to place the temporal ordinal adjective *perana* 'previous' before the noun in adverbial expressions such as *perana yoma* 'the previous day', *peranta šata* 'last year'.

When two restrictive adjectives qualify a single head noun, one is generally placed before the head and the other after it, e.g. *zorta tkana šušaband* 'a small glass-covered shop' (G:84).

Evaluative adjectives express a subjective, emotion-driven evaluation of an item rather than an objective description of its properties. These typically include attributes such as 'good/nice/fine', 'bad', 'dear', 'clever', 'foolish'. When adjectives expressing such attributes are used evaluatively they are in principle placed before head noun, e.g.

(8) *lelè⌐ jwā́n ixàle bašlíwa.*⌐ 'They would cook nice food in the evening.' (106)

(9) *măsàl⌐ amrén baxùn⌐ xá-danka jwā́n măsălà.*⌐ 'I'll tell you an anecdote, a nice anecdote.' (172)

(10) *əlhá xa-jwā́n jwā́n xaznà hwíləllox.*⌐ 'God has given to you a very fine treasure.' (52)

(11) ⁺*rába špirà nášele.*⌐ 'He is a very fine fellow.'

(12) ⁺*azíze mewanè!*⌐ 'Dear guests!' (94)

A non-restrictive adjective is one that is used with a noun that is presupposed generally to have the property denoted by the adjective, i.e. it does not limit the reference to a subset of the class denoted by the noun. Such adjectives are in principle placed after the head noun rather than before. An example is the use of the adjective 'shining' (*bahura*) with the noun 'star' (*kəxwelta*). All items in the class denoted by the noun 'star' are presupposed to have the property of 'shining', so the adjective must be nonrestrictive. According to informants the only acceptable ordering of the components is *kəxwelta bahurta* 'a shining star'.

A pronominal suffix is attached to the head noun and not to the adjective, e.g. *axoni zora ∼ zora axoni* 'my younger brother'.

When an adjective qualifies a nominal phrase consisting of two nouns linked by annexation, the adjective is normally placed after this phrase and agrees with the head of the annexation phrase, e.g. *ilanət kətwe zora* 'a small thorn-bush' (G:86), *bronawət* ⁺*tajər* ⁺*rəwwe* 'the grown-up sons of the merchant' (G:86). In inanimate partitive expressions the adjective may agree with the dependent noun of the annexation phrase, e.g. ⁺*qəttət dehwa* ⁺*rəwwa* 'a large piece of gold' (⁺*qətta* f., *dehwa* m., G:86).

When placed after the noun, the adjective may be separated from its head noun by intervening material, e.g.

(13) *xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm*⌐ *áy šušà,*⌐ *áy awuršúm sqilè*⌐ *goryé mabruqé mdità*⌐ *báat* ⁺*kalò.*⌐ 'She has brought a beautiful pair of silk stockings, of nylon, of silk, shining stockings for the bride.' (94)

Compound adjectives consisting of the element *mare-* (§6.6.) have the same placement patterns as simple adjectives. They may be placed before or after the head noun when restrictive or evaluative, e.g. *xa mare-šə̄mma baxta ~ xa baxta mare-šə̄mma* 'a famous woman'.

An adjective may be modified by a prepositional phrase consisting of *ba* + infinitive, e.g. *ba-taltoe šbire naše* 'people good for hanging' (G:84). It may be connected to a following noun modifier by annexation, e.g. *ó* ⁺*torbá* ⁺*mlitə́t fəssé dehwé* 'the bag full of gold coins' (60), *aqərwət mola* 'near to death' (G:86).

Occasionally permutative type constructions are used in which an adjective is followed by a noun that has a pronominal suffix referring to the head noun, e.g. *kepe yaqure qəmtu* 'precious stones' (= stones precious—their value) (G:84).

9.5.2. Nouns in Apposition

A noun that stands in apposition to another noun in order to restrict its reference is placed after the noun it modifies, e.g.

(1) *qúš gorá ba-qúš baxtá marè*⌐ 'The male bird says to the female bird …' (45)

(2) *əsrà-š* ⁺*yále bronawé-twala.*⌐ 'She also had ten male children.' (63)

The noun in apposition may be introduced by the analytic annexation particle *ay*, e.g.

(3) *brona-ày*⌐ ⁺*hatǻn masqíwale reš-*⁺*garè.*⌐ 'They would take the boy, the groom, up onto the roof.' (79)

A noun denoting the title or degree of parentage of the head is placed before the head, e.g. ⁺*aġaan* ⁺*šultana* 'our lord the king' (G:84), *axxoni Frayəm* 'my brother Ephraim' (G:84), *amti* ⁺*Rəwqa* 'my aunt Rebecca' (G:84), ⁺*maləm Yosef* 'the teacher Joseph' (G:84). The order is reversed with some titles of Muslims, e.g. *Ahmad* ⁺*aġa* 'Ahmed Agha' (G:84), *Bejan Bag* 'Bejan Bek' (G:84), *Zeynab xanəm* 'Miss/Mrs Zeineb' (G:84).

9.6. ADVERBIAL MODIFIERS

Nouns may be modified by a following adverbial, e.g.

(1)   ⁺*yála qalandár lokà*⌐ ⁺*tahá juré zdéle àtwale gáat Urmí.*⌐ 'The poor
      child there in Urmi had three types of fear.' (138)

        When the head is an active participle, the adverbial is placed before
rather than after it, e.g. *loka hawyane* 'those present there' (G:84).

9.7. NON-ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

Nouns are also modified by a number of words that do not denote attributes.
These include quantifiers and determiners. Many of these are invariable in
form. We bring together a variety of words of this nature, many of which
can also be used in other syntactic positions.

9.7.1. *kud* 'each, every'

The particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive
sense ('each one of the items of the set named by the noun'), e.g. *kúd xléta-š*
'each gift' (96), *kúd gorá* 'every man' (48), *kud-šabbát* 'every Saturday' (74),
kúd ⁺*məndəǧ* 'everything' (163). The word *naša* is used in the absolute state
after this particle, e.g. *kúd-nāš* 'everybody' (37). The particle may be con-
nected to a plural complement by the preposition *mən* in constructions such
as (1), in which the verb is plural:

(1)   *kúd-mənnu xá-danka* ⁺*siwà antúlu.*⌐ 'Each of them takes a stick.'
      (68)

9.7.2. *kull-*

This quantifier is used with plural or singular head nouns with the sense of
'all'. It is placed either before or after the noun.

9.7.2.1. Before a plural head noun

The quantifier always has a pronominal suffix coreferential with the head
noun when this is definite, e.g. *ba-kullú mewané* 'to all the guests' (86), *kúllu
maxyané raqlané* 'all the musicians and dancers' (7). A demonstrative is
placed either before or after the quantifier, e.g. *ayné kullú* ⁺*xleè*⌐ 'all these
gifts' (93), *kullú ayné knəšyè*⌐ 'all these synagogues' (157).

9.7.2.2. After a plural head noun

The quantifier likewise always has a pronominal suffix co-referential with the head noun when it is definite, e.g. *bronawé kullú* 'all the sons' (63), ⁺*batất ay-*⁺*hudaé kullù*| 'all the houses of the Jews' (173). The head of the phrase may be a personal or demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *áxni kullán* 'we all' (17), *ayné kullú* 'all these' (136), *ayne-xét kullù*| 'all the others' (64).

9.7.2.3. With a singular head noun

When used with a singular head noun, the quantifier is generally placed before the noun without any pronominal suffix. When the singular noun is definite, the quantifier sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *kulla šata* 'all the year', *kúlla* ⁺*wadá* 'all the time' (65), *kullá yriwulá* 'all the confusion' (170). In (1) it is placed after the head:

(1) *má-t ayolèn*| *kúlla b-qǝwyǝttất nòši xdíra.*| 'Whatever I know has all come about through my own prowess.' (151)

The particle is attested after a singular personal pronoun, where it takes a coreferential pronominal suffix: *āt-kullóx* 'the whole of you' (47).

When the following singular noun is indefinite, the quantifier has the sense of 'every' (i.e. the entire set of items named by the noun). This is attested in the phrase *kul-lél* 'every night' (51), in which the particle has the shortened form *kul*.

Note the negative construction in (2) in which the head is singular but the quantifier has a plural pronominal suffix. This appears to be a blend between *kullu naše* 'all people' and *kul-nāš* 'every person':

(2) *kúllu nằš már la-maqé.*| 'Let nobody speak'. (39)

9.7.2.4. Independent

The particle may take a pronominal suffix without any nominal being directly dependent on it, e.g.

(1) *kullú* ⁺*palótu tarà.*| 'They all go outside.' (34)

(2) *kullxun xamèš xdúrun.*| 'All of you be quiet.' (39),

(3) *kullxùn dhə́llxun?*| 'Have you all beaten?' (69)

(4) *kullán kyéxwa xlulá g-Urmí rába áy xazoè-wela.*| 'We all knew that a wedding in Urmi was well worth seeing.' (71)

The particle *kulla* may stand alone, independent of a nominal or a pronoun. When it refers to humans it has plural concord and has the sense of 'everybody', e.g.

(5)   *kullá má-t ít lét g-bel-nòšu godíwale.|* 'Everybody made whatever (they needed) in their own house' (158)

9.7.3. ⁺*raba* 'many, much'

This modifies a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It is generally placed before the head noun, e.g.

(1)   ⁺*rába qwəttà ətwalé.|* 'He had a lot of power.' (1)

(2)   ⁺*rába našé ⁺talàn wə́dlu.|* 'They plundered many people.' (168)

(3)   ⁺*rába zaáne xadráwa kì|* 'many times it happened that …' (157)

(4)   ⁺*rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa.|* 'Many such cases occurred.' (82)

The quantifier is repeated for the sake of intensity, e.g.

(5)   ⁺*rába ⁺rába ⁺hudaè| mən-d-áy ⁺ará ⁺sàġ ⁺paltíwa.|* 'Many, many Jews escaped safely from the situation.' (171)

It may be connected to its complement by the preposition *mən*, forming a partitive expression, e.g.

(6)   *m-armanyé ⁺rába ⁺qtə̀llu.|* 'They killed many of the Armenians.' (167)

The particle ⁺*raba* may also function as a nominal itself, independent of a head noun, e.g.

(7)   ⁺*rába mə́nne maslahàt godíwa.|* 'Many took advice from him.' (189)

The particle ⁺*raba* may take a pronominal suffix (§2.3.). This is usually a plural suffix and the particle has the sense of 'most of, the majority of', e.g.

(8)   *bắle ⁺rabayù| šúlə d-áy ⁺bazazulà godíwa,| pàrča zabníwa.|* 'But most of them carried out the cloth trade and sold material.' (152)

(9)   ⁺*rabayú g-markàz-welu.|* 'Most of them were in the centre.' (153)

(10) *bắle ⁺rabayù| jwằn xayéwa.|* 'But the majority of them lived well.' (154)

(11) *muštaryàw| ⁺rabayú ⁺arelè-welu,| armanyè-welu.|* 'The majority of her clients were Christians and Armenians.' (186)

The particle is often used as the intensifier of a predicative adjective or other predicative expressions, e.g.

(12) *kəxwáw ⁺rába qwəltà⌐ rába bahurtelà.⌐* 'Her star is very strong, is very bright.' (14)

(13) *⁺rába məllətyè-š⌐ jur-ba-júr xlulyé əttù,⌐ bắle fkə́r wadén ki-didàn⌐ ⁺rába ⁺rába ay-xazoè⌐ ⁺rába ay-šamoè ilá.⌐* 'Many nations have different types of wedding, but I think ours is very much worth seeing and hearing about.' (71)

It may also function as an adverbial modifier, e.g.

(14) *⁺rába ⁺rába gbèwala.⌐* 'He loved her a great deal.' (1)

(15) *Šlómo ha-mélex ⁺rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà.⌐* 'King Solomon was very amused with this story.' (49)

9.7.4. *xanči* 'a little, a few, some'

This is placed before a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It may function as a quantifier expressing a small quantity ('a little, a few') or as a determiner with a partitive sense, which does not express the size of the set of items that is referred to but only identifies the referent:

(1) *xánči maxyané zamrané madéx laxxà.⌐* 'Let us bring here some musicians and singers.' (4)

It is occasionally combined with the particle *xa*, e.g. *xa-xanči ləxma* 'a little bread' (G:84).
The particle may stand independently and function as a nominal, e.g.

(2) *xánči g-d-ó ⁺yalə̀g⌐ ya g-d-ó ⁺torbá daréwa baèw.⌐* 'He put some in the scarf or in the bag.' (108)

It may take prononimal suffixes to form a partitive expression, e.g.

(3) *xančiyú ⁺baruxawalì-ilu⌐* 'A few of them are my friends.'

On some occasions it is used as an adverbial quantifier, e.g.

(4) *xánči ⁺samoxà.⌐* 'She waits a little.' (111)

(5) *abúlen xánči-š m-xlulə́t ay-gằ̀ban maqén.⌐* 'I want to talk a little about weddings in our community.' (71)

(6) *mar-xánči ǝl-bratà*| *kefáw xòš b-odíla.*| 'Let them cheer her up a lit-
     tle.' (4)

     When used adverbially, it may be modified by *xet*, e.g.

(7) *xanči xet xa l-xa b-goretun.* 'In a little while, you will marry one
     another.' (G:102)

     It may also modify an adjective, e.g.

(8) *ó xánči snitá bratèla.*| She is a rather ugly girl.'

9.7.5. *xet* 'other'

This is used to express 'other' both in the sense of 'different' and in the sense
of 'additional'. It is an invariable particle that is used with singular or plural
nouns. It is most frequently placed before the noun, but may also be placed
after it. Indefinite nouns that are modified by this particle also have the car-
dinal indefinite marker *xa*. This applies both to singular and, by analogy, to
plural nouns:

xa xet gora	*gora xa xet*	'another man'
xa xet baxta	*baxta xa xet*	'another woman'
xa xet naše	*naše xa xet*	'other people'

The cardinal *xa* may be replaced by other cardinal numerals:

tre xet gure	'two other men'
tre xet niše	'two other women'
tre xet naše	'two other people'

Definite nouns with the particle are modified by a demonstrative agree-
ing in number:

o xet gora	*gor o xet*	'the other man'
o xet baxta	*baxta o xet*	'the other woman'
une xet naše	*naše une xet*	'the other people'

Examples from the text corpus:

(1) *kí xa-xèt-zaa*| ⁺*xasàw qawé*| 'so that another time her womb (liter-
     ally: back) would be strong' (121)

(2) *o-xét wazír idàyle.*| 'The other minister comes.' (18)

(3) *o-xét knǝštá zùrta-wela.*| 'The other synagogue was small.' (156)

(4) *ayne-xét kullù*⌐ *m-jùwe gure-ilu.*⌐ 'All the others are from different men.' (64)

It may be used independently of a head noun in combination with the indefinite marker, a demonstrative or a numeral, e.g. *xa xet* 'another one', *o xet* 'the other one', *əmma-w əčči xet* 'another 190'.

9.7.6. *juwe* 'another, different'

This particle is used before indefinite nouns, singular or plural, in the sense of '(an)other', '(a) different'. Unlike *xet* it is not used in combination with the indefinite marker *xa* with singular nouns, e.g.

(1) *jùwe nə̃́š əntyalé.*⌐ 'Another man took it.' (60)

(2) *ba-xátrət ki-juwé-⁺wada broná yadlà*⌐ 'in order that she would give birth to a boy another time' (120)

(3) *jùwe šúla-š godíwa.*⌐ 'They did something different.' (120)

(4) *g-juwè məllətyé-š ya-xábra šəmyə́nne.*⌐ 'I have heard about such a thing in other countries.' (115)

(5) *wa-magoní-š ⁺rába ⁺rába juwé ⁺yalé ítwa gèna.*⌐ 'There were many many other children like me.' (151)

When the noun is quantified by a numeral, the particle *juwe* is placed after the noun, e.g.

(6) *tré ⁺əstkané juwé aráq drì!*⌐ 'Pour me two more glasses of arak!'

The particle *juwe* is occasionally combined with *xet*, e.g. *juwe-xet amān* 'a different tool' (G:84).

9.7.7. ⁺*bassor* 'a few'

This is used as an independently standing quantifier in the sense of 'a few, a very small number', e.g.

(1) ⁺*bassór ítwa ki-b-krè yatwíwa.*⌐ 'There were only a few who dwelt in a rented property.' (154)

(2) ⁺*bassòr ítwa lóka kì*⌐ *jùwe šúla kwéwalu.*⌐ 'There were only a few who had another profession.' (123)

When it is combined with the comparative particle *biš*, it has the sense of 'less, a smaller quantity', e.g.

(3) *reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex*᠊ *xánči biš-⁺bassór kè m-balí.*᠊ 'Concerning King Solomon I remember rather less.'

It can be used as a adjective with the sense of 'lacking', e.g.

(4) *gbéwa kì*᠊ *xa-enèw*᠊ *əlhá la-òd*᠊ *ya-tunù enéw*᠊ *kór xadrí bắle əl-bratèw*᠊ *xá-danka məstá rešá ⁺bassór la-hawyà.*᠊ 'He wanted one of his eyes—God forbid—or both of his eyes to become blind rather than have a single hair lacking from the head of his daughter.' (1)

(5) *mənnan biš ⁺bassor naše* 'people more lacking (destitute) than us' (G:84)

It is used in mathematical operations such as *əšta ⁺bassor tre* 'six less two' (G:85).

9.7.8. *zoda, biš-zoda, bi-zoda* '**more**'

The modifier *zoda* is optionally combined with the comparative particle *biš*, or its contracted form *bi-*. When placed after the noun the expression is used with the sense of 'more by' the quantity expressed by the nominal, e.g.

(1) *ắgar šə́nnu xà-šata*᠊ *zòda amrə́ttu,*᠊ *maqè.*᠊ 'If you say their age is more by one year (than it really is), they speak.' (42)

In (2) it has a numerical phrase as a complement:

(2) *táfqa má-t ána ə́dyom ayolèn*᠊ *⁺táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa.*᠊ 'Perhaps I would have known more by three times (= three times as much) as I know today.' (145)

It may be used adverbially, e.g.

(3) *əlhá llxún biš-zóda àbule.*᠊ 'God loves you more.' (192)

In a comparative construction the sense of 'than' is conveyed by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

(4) *⁺hudaé m-kúllu məllətyé bi-zóda azyàt grišú.*᠊ 'The Jews suffered more damage than other communities.' (170)

9.7.9. *kəmma*

This is a quantifier that is used before plural nouns or singular nouns of mass as follows:

9.7.9.1. Interrogatively ('how much? how many?')

(1) *kəmmá xabušé ə̀tlux?*⌐ 'How many apples do you have?'

(2) *kəmmá ⁺moe ə̀tlux?*⌐ 'How much water do you have?'

9.7.9.2. Indicatively ('a few', 'several')

(1) *bár-kəmma yárxe dwə́qleli gáat xiyawə̀n.*⌐ 'After a few months he caught me in the street.' (147)

When used in this sense, it is usually combined with the particle *xa*, e.g.

(2) *xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.*⌐ 'I shall not speak for a few days.' (2)

(3) *xa-kə́mma yomé naxɔ̀š xadə́rwa.*⌐ 'He would become ill for several days.' (140)

(4) *ítwa xá-kəmma ⁺kàsbe kí*⌐ *bélu jwə́n là-wele axčá.*⌐ 'There were a few poor people, whose houses were not so beautiful.' (154)

When used pronominally with no head noun specified, it is combined with *danke*, the plural of the unit marker *danka*, e.g.

(5) *xa-kə́mma dánke-š ítwa xánči ⁺dərdiyè-welu.*⌐ 'Some were rather scattered (in different areas).' (153)

9.7.9.3. Exclamatorily

(1) *kə́mma sqɔ̀ltelat!*⌐ *kə́mma jwə̀n-ilat!*⌐ 'How comely you are! How beautiful you are!' (24)

9.7.10. *ma*

This particle may be used as an interrogative modifier of a noun, e.g.

(2) *má šulá-xdir ki-ə́t la-maqulàt?*⌐ 'What event has happened that you do not speak?' (17)

(3) *ə́t gal-má-fkər əl-d-ay-bratá məmqiyàlox?*⌐ 'With what scheme did you make this girl talk?' (42)

(4) *mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?*⌐ 'What business have you with him?' (45)

It may also be used in an exclamatory function, e.g. *ma jwān xulma!* 'What a good dream!' (G:84)

9.7.10. *axxa, haxxa* 'such, like this'

This particle has the function of a qualitative demonstrative. When used as a nominal modifier, it is placed before the noun and is usually combined with the particle *xa*, e.g.

(1) *xà axxa-šulá b-reší ədyé.* 'Such a thing has happened to me.' (58)

(2) *áxni xá axxa-xabrá šəmyéx m-daàn.* 'We have heard such a thing from our mother.' (66)

The particle may be used independently, e.g.

(3) *bod-má haxxà xdirá.* 'Why has she become like this.' (7)

9.7.11. *axča, axči* 'so, so many'

This is used as a quantitative demonstrative, often with an exclamatory function. When used as a nominal modifier, it is placed before the noun, e.g.

(1) *áxča-š abyané əttà máyle.* 'Indeed, she has so many suitors.' (76)

(2) *áxča šənnéle ki-ána gwiràn, ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttu fắqàt xayù ày dadaxile.* 'It is so many years that I have been married, but these brothers of yours that you see, only one of them is from your father.' (64)

(3) *g-Urmí áxča ⁺aréle la-pə̀šle.* 'There did not remain so many Christians in Urmi.' (193)

It is also used in predicative position, e.g.

(4) *⁺hudaé áxča là-welu* 'The Jews were not so many.' (124)

The particle may be used as a modifier of adjectives, e.g.

(5) *bélu jwắn là-wele axčá.* 'Their house was not so beautiful.' (154)

(6) *unè-š axčá gallán jwắn lá-welu.* 'They were not so good to us.' (184)

The form *axči* is used when the particle is used adverbially, e.g.

(7) *ána áxči gal-bráti mqèli xa-kălimá ⁺jwábi la-hwə̀llale.* 'I spoke so much with my daughter, but she did not reply a single word.' (11)

9.7.12. *heč* 'none'

This negative particle may be used as a modifier of a noun, e.g.

(1) *héč-⁺məndəġ là-yəllan.*| 'We did not learn anything.' (68)

(2) *axní héč-⁺wada šabbát šúla là godéx.*| 'We never work on Saturday.' (128)

It may be linked to a plural complement with the preposition *mən* in partitive constructions such as (3):

(3) *atxún héč mənnxún bronéw lewètun.*| 'None of you are his son.' (69)

9.8. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Comparative constructions are generally formed by placing the particle *biš* before an adjective or adverb. The item with which it is compared, if this is mentioned, is introduced by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

(1) *yá xabušá mən-d-ó xabušá biš-⁺rəwwèle.*| 'This apple is bigger than that apple.'

(2) *atxún hammešà*| *šulxún biš-⁺qàbaġ-ile.*| 'Your business is always more successful.' (192)

(3) *gal-⁺arelé axní biš-jwàn xayə́xwa.*| 'We got on better with the Christians.' (189)

(4) *yá bíš kritá ⁺wərxà-ila*| 'This is a shorter way.'

Occasionally the particle *biš* is omitted, e.g.

(5) *broní m-bratá ⁺rə̀wwa ba-hawé.*| 'My son will be older than the girl.' (76)

If the compared item is a clause, this may be introduced by the relative construction *ma-t* 'that which', as in (6), where the verb of the clause is gapped:

(6) *gáat Urmì*| *gal-⁺arelé áxni bìš-jwān*| *xaà-welan*| *m-má-t gal-goymè.*| 'In Urmi we got on better with the Christians than (we did) with the Muslims.' (184)

The particle *biš* may also be used as an intensifier without any comparison being intended, e.g.

(7) *kyétun kí gal⁺arelé axnì˥ lišanú-š bíš maqə̀xwale.˥* 'You know that we often spoke with the Christians in their language.' (190)

The superlative may be formed by annexing an adjective to a noun denoting a class of referents, e.g. *sqəltət niše* 'the most beautiful of women' (G:86), or by constructions such as (8):

(8) *yá baxtá ⁺ga-ahrá mən-kullù nišé bíš sqəltá-ila.˥* 'This woman is more beautiful than all women in the town = This is the most beautiful woman in the town.'

9.9. ANNEXATION CONSTRUCTIONS

Various forms of construction are used to express annexation between two nominal phrases. These can be classified broadly as the 'synthetic type' with the annexation clitic, e.g. *belət ⁺šultana* 'the house of king', and the 'analytic type' with the particle *ay*, e.g. *belət ay ⁺šultana, bela d-ay ⁺šultana, bela ay ⁺šultana*.

Either the head or the dependent nominal may consist of two coordinated nouns, e.g. *dada-dáa ay-bronà˥* 'the father and mother of the boy' (73), *šúlət góra baxtá* 'the affairs of a husband and wife' (48). When the head consists of two nouns, each noun may take the annexation inflection, e.g. *idət rešət goraw* 'the hands and the head of her husband' (G:86), *našət xəzmawət ⁺hatān* 'the family and relations of the bridegroom' (G:86). If the head of the annexation consists of a phrase in which one noun is dependent on another, the annexation inflection is placed only on the head of this phrase, e.g. *ixala bašlanət ⁺šultana* 'the cook (literally: the food cooker) of the king' (G:86).

The head nominal may be qualified by a relative clause. In such cases the analytic construction is used, e.g.

(1) *ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhə̀m-ile˥ áy xlulə́t áy Urmì m-báli zə́lle amrənwà.˥* 'I forgot to tell a feature of the weddings in Urmi that is very important.' (92)

Annexation may be recursive, e.g. *dəmmát ay-⁺yálət áy gomè˥* 'the blood of the children of the Muslims' (101), *ó raísət áy komsérət áy Urmì˥* 'the head of police of Urmi' (134).

A head nominal may take a prepositonal or adverbial phrase as its dependent, e.g. *⁺ktabət b-idew* 'the book in his hand' (G:87), *našət baru* 'the people behind them' (G:87), *xlulə́t ay-gằban* 'weddings in our community' (71), *⁺qaydət ay-lòka˥* 'the custom of that place (literally: there)' (151). This

applies also to active participles, e.g. ⁺*samxanət təxya* 'those standing below' (G:84).

A nominal is connected to a following ordinal numeral by annexation (§7.2.), this may be synthetic or analytic, e.g. *o-gorət tremənji, o-gorət ay tremənji* 'the second man'.

There is a certain degree of free variation between the synthetic and the analytic types of constructions. Some motivating factors can, nevertheless, be identified in their distribution.

The tighter synthetic construction is preferred when certain types of semantic relationship hold between the components of the annexation. These include:

(i) Certain types of inalienable relationships, such as parts of the body, e.g. *ídət malaxé* 'the hand of angels' (171), *dəmmət enì* 'the tears of my eyes' (188), parts of flora, e.g. *qə́nnət gozè*⎟ 'kernels of nuts' (120), or languages, e.g. *lišánət ašuryè*⎟ 'the language of the Assyrians' (191). A contracted form of the synthetic construction is sometimes used in such cases, e.g. ⁺*xās ena* 'upper eyelid (literally: back of the eye)'.

(ii) Some family relationships, especially where the head nominal is 'son' or 'daughter'. A contracted form of synthetic construction is sometimes used in such cases, e.g. *brā́t* ⁺*šultanà* 'the daughter of the king' (29), *bron-dadxún* 'the son of your father' (69).

(iii) Constructions such as *yómət arotà*⎟ 'the day of Friday' (85), *yómət šabbàt* 'the day of Saturday' (130), in which the two components are not referentially distinct.

(iv) Cases where the dependent component is a reflexive or reciprocal pronoun, e.g. ⁺*b-jamátət nòšan*⎟ 'in our own community' (115), *reš-šátət* ⁺*də̀ġde*⎟ 'the New Year of one another' (104).

(v) Constructions in which the dependent component is an interrogative pronoun, e.g. *ki-baqrex mə́nne èmnyan bronéw-ilex,*⎟ *o-dádət èmnyan-ile*⎟ 'that we may ask him which of us is his son or of which of us is he the father' (66).

(v) Qualifier relationships such as *pə́lgət* ⁺*wə́rxa* 'half the way' (157).

(vi) Attributive relationships such as *əlhá maníxət dadì*⎟ 'my father, to whom (I pray that) God imparts rest' (143).

The choice between the synthetic and analytic construction is sometimes conditioned by the degree of prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the referent of the overall nominal phrase at a particular point in the discourse. The morphologically 'heavier' analytic construction is sometimes used to mark a boundary in a discourse section, especially a climax. Consider the following passages:

(2) **lélət xlulà**⌐ mewanè⌐ fəssè,⌐ čĕk,⌐ là madéwa.⌐ ya xa-zóra dehwà madéwa.⌐ ya goryè madéwa⌐ ya parčá báat jullè madéwa.⌐ ya amằn madéwa.⌐ ò-jur⌐ ⁺xleè madéwa.⌐ bằle ayné-š kí madewalù⌐ xà năfár⌐ m-famìl,⌐ yá šammằš,⌐ **lélət ay-xlulà**⌐ ayné kullú ⁺xleè⌐ kí madéwalu báat ⁺kalo ⁺hatằn⌐ ⁺masrə̀xwalu.⌐ 'On the wedding night the guests did not bring money or cheques. They brought a small gold coin, or they brought stockings, or they brought material for clothes, or they brought a vessel. They brought gifts such as these. Now, a member of the family or a beadle would announce all the gifts that they brought for the bride and groom on the night of the wedding.' (92–93)

(3) ⁺azíze mewanè⌐ xzímun **xáltət** ⁺**kaló** mà wɔ́tta!⌐ xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm⌐ áy šušà,⌐ áy awuršúm sqilè⌐ goryé mabruqé mdità⌐ báat ⁺kalò.⌐ əlhá manté ⁺kaló ⁺hatằn⌐ gal-**xaltə̀t**⌐ áy ⁺**kalò**⌐ ⁺talafyé šbirè odílu.⌐ 'Dear guests, see what the aunt of the bride has done! She has brought a beautiful pair of silk stockings, of nylon, of silk, shining stockings for the bride. God willing the bride and groom will reciprocate well to the aunt of the bride.' (94)

In (2) the analytic construction *lélət ay-xlulà*⌐ 'the night of the wedding' occurs in the final sentence of the passage. This expresses the main point that the speaker wishes to draw attention to and on which he elaborates in what follows. The first clause, which contains the morphologically leaner synthetic construction *lélət xlulà* provides preliminary background. This is non-assertive, indicating what did not happen, and is clearly lower in prominence. In (3) the speaker first introduces the referent 'the aunt of the bride' with a synthetic construction, but in the final clause, which is the closure of the speech, the analytic construction is used.

The synthetic annexation construction with *ay* that occurs after prepositions likewise has a discourse motivation in some cases. In (4), for example, the phrase *gáat áy patirè* 'at Passover' occurs at the onset of a discourse section. In (5) the synthetic construction is used in the second of two conjoined items, marking closure of the list:

(4) *gáat áy patirè-š,*⌐ *yá-xabra zɔ́lle báli amrənwále baxùn,*⌐ ⁺*hudaè*⌐ *məšxà,*⌐ *guptè,*⌐ *xalwè,*⌐ ⁺*qatǧé là kxlíwa.*⌐ 'At Passover—I forgot to tell you this—the Jews did not eat oil, cheese, milk or yoghurt.' (161)

(5) *bod-ód m-qardà-inan*⌐ *mɔ́nnət áy talgà,*⌐ ⁺*wərxawé magdəlìwa.*⌐ 'The roads would freeze on account of the cold and the snow.' (159)

The dependent component of an annexation construction may be used in an ascriptive predicate without a head noun. In such cases it is regularly introduced by the particle *ay*, e.g.

(6) *kalò⌇ ay-nošèw-ila.⌇* 'The bride belongs to him.' (81)

(7) *⁺batè⌇ ki-gáwe yatwíwa ay-nòšu welú.⌇* 'The houses in which they dwelt belonged to them.' (154)

In constructions in which the depend noun expresses an attribute of the head noun the head may take a pronominal suffix, in which case the dependent noun must be linked to the head analytically by *ay*, e.g. *kpanaw ay ⁺rast* 'her right shoulder' (G:87).

In some rare cases the head has a proleptic pronominal suffix that is coreferential with the dependent noun. Here also the analytic construction is obligatorily used, e.g. *tarew ay d-o gora* 'the gate of that man' (G:87).

9.10. THE INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PARTICLE

Certain nouns that do not end in the usual –*a* inflectional vowel cannot take pronominal suffixes directly but must attach them to a juxtaposed independent genitive particle (§2.3.), e.g. *kalo didew* 'his bride', *⁺kuhu didew* 'his lettuce', *toxəm didi* 'my seed'.

Nouns that may take pronominal suffixes directly use the 1pl. independent genitive *didan* to express exclusive 1pl. reference. This is found in expressions relating to the community of the speaker, to which the hearer does not belong, e.g. *nāš-didan* 'our people'.

The independent particle may be used independently without a head when referring to a non-specific indefinite item, as in (1):

(1) *⁺rába məllətyè-š⌇ jur-ba-júr xlulyé əttù,⌇ bắle fkə́r wadén ki-didàn⌇ ⁺rába ⁺rába ay-xazoè⌇ ⁺rába ay-šamoè ilá.⌇* 'Many nations have different types of wedding, but I think (one of) ours is very much worth seeing and hearing about.' (71)

It is regularly used in predicate position, e.g.

(2) *ma-t ə́tti lə́tti kúllu didàx-ilu.⌇* 'Whatever I have is all yours.' (8)

9.11. JUXTAPOSITION OF SPECIFIERS

Terms denoting quantitative measurements are juxtaposed to the following nominal rather than being annexed, e.g. *xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm⌇* 'a pair of

silk stockings' (94), ⁺*tahá yomé mholtà*ˈ 'three days delay' (11), *tre daste julle* 'two sets of clothes' (G:85), ⁺*taha* ⁺*salxume basire* 'three bunches of grapes' (G:85), *arba gaze awrúšum* 'four ells of silk' (G:85), *əsra* ⁺*tene dehwa* 'ten loads of gold' (G:85), *xa šuša xamra* 'a bottle of wine' (but *xa šuš xamra* 'a wine-bottle'). The unit term *danka* can be included here, which is juxtaposed with the nominal, e.g. *xa-danka gora* 'a man'.

A juxtapositional relationship is also used after the word *jur* 'type', e.g. ⁺*tahá juré zdéle* 'three types of fear' (138).

9.12. CONJOINING OF PHRASES

9.12.1. *w*

This conjoining particle has become more restricted in its usage than in earlier forms of Aramaic. It is still regularly used in the combination of numerals, e.g. *əsrí-w xà* 'twenty-one' (41), *əmmá-w əsrì*ˈ 'one hundred and twenty' (164). It is rarely found, however, in other contexts.

9.12.2. *–inan*

In phrases other than those containing combinations of numerals the particle that is most commonly used to conjoin elements in a co-ordinative relationship is the enclitic *–inan*. The /i/ vowel of this is often elided when the item to which it is suffixed ends in a vowel, e.g.

(1)   *ba-nóšu gupté-inan kàre godíwa.*ˈ 'They would make cheese and butter by themselves.' (161)

(2)   ⁺*rába pùč mapiríwala*ˈ *sə́twu-inan qèṭu.*ˈ 'They had a very wretched life, both in winter and in summer.' (154)

(3)   ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába ay-xazòe-inan*ˈ *áy trəngà welá.*ˈ 'It was well worthwhile to see and very merry.' (96)

(4)   ⁺*ánjaġ* ⁺*məsséwa kì*ˈ *báat* ⁺*yaléw-inan báat baxtèw*ˈ *xà-tika lóxma* ⁺*hasə́lwa.*ˈ 'He could barely manage to obtain a piece of bread for his children and for his wife.' (50)

(5)   *gal xəlyanulà*ˈ *ki-*⁺*yani yá šatà*ˈ *idaylà*ˈ *báan gal-baraxà-inan*ˈ *gal-xəlyanulà adyá.*ˈ 'This signified that the (new) year would come with sweetness, that it would turn out to be for us blessings and sweetness.' (105)

In (6) and (7) there are three conjoined members, with the –*inan* en-
clitic attached to only the first of the series:

(6) *már maxyané-nan zamrané raqlane adè.*⎮ 'Let the musicians, singers
     and dancers come.' (5)

(7) *gal-⁺pasoxè-nan*⎮ *gal-ràqla,*⎮ *gal-zamòre,*⎮ *izalù,*⎮ *⁺hal-kì*⎮ *léle d-áy
     xlulà.*⎮ 'They go off with merriment, dancing and singing, until the
     night of the wedding.' (77)

In (8) the head noun in the second member of the conjoined pair has
been gapped:

(8) *lišanán-inan áy* *⁺arelè*⎮ *⁺rába əl-⁺dəġde mašbè.*⎮ 'Our language and
     that of the Christians are very similar to one another.' (190)

Occasionally the particle stands independently with its own stress,

(9) *⁺hatằn*⎮ *ínan* *⁺kálo béhra* *⁺palotù.*⎮ 'The groom and the bride go out
     into the light.' (91)

(10) *făqàt*⎮ *aná inán* *ằd-ilex.*⎮ 'We are only I and you (= we are alone).'
     (27)

9.12.3. Asyndetic Conjoining

A few sets of tightly-knit nouns are conjoined asyndetically, e.g. *gora baxta*
'husband and wife', *dada* *⁺daa* 'father and mother', *⁺kalo* *⁺hatān* ~ *⁺hatān*
⁺kalo 'bride and groom', *dehwe xšəlta* 'pieces of gold and jewelry'. Examples
from the text corpus:

(1) *ắt bod-mà b-šúlət góra baxtá yarowèt?*⎮ 'Why are you interfering
     with the affairs of a husband and wife?' (48)

(2) *ítwa góra baxtà*⎮ *wazyắtú jwān-là-wela.*⎮ 'There were (once) a hus-
     band and wife. There situation was not good.' (50)

(3) *hiwálu ba-d-áy elčyè,*⎮ *báat dáda* *⁺dáa d-áy bronà.*⎮ 'They give it to
     the messengers and to the father and mother of the boy.' (77)

(4) *əlhá manté* *⁺kaló* *⁺hatằn*⎮ *gal-xaltə̀t*⎮ *áy* *⁺kalò*⎮ *⁺talafyé šbirè odílu.*⎮
     'God willing the bride and groom will reciprocate well to the aunt
     of the bride.' (94)

In (5) and (6) the use of the singular particles *xa* and *o* reflect the interpretation of the phrase *dada ⁺daa* as singular, although the verb in (6) has the expected plural agreement:

(5)   *axní m-xá dada-⁺dàa iléxa.*ˡ 'We are (descended) from one (= the same) father and mother.' (191)

(6)   *o-dada-⁺dáat bráta baqrìwa*ˡ *m-dada-⁺dáa ay-bronà*ˡ 'The mother and father of the girl asked the mother and father of the boy.' (73)

Occasionally asyndetic conjoining is used with other sets of nouns that are closely related in meaning, e.g.

(7)   *xánči maxyané zamrané madéx laxxà.*ˡ 'Let us bring here some musicians and singers.' (4)

In these phrases there is often a phonetic similarity between the two forms. In some cases the second member is a unique form that is not used in other contexts:

> *dewe dəbbe* 'wolves bears' (= wild beasts)
> *belew bnew* 'his house children' (= his household)
> *dabre dəqqe* 'maintenances goods' (= household goods)
> *gəlle ⁺glale* 'grasses strands' (= vegetables)
> *ləxme ixale* 'breads foods' (= different kinds of food)
> *našu nəšwu* 'their people their wives' (= their kith and kin)
> *⁺nare šaqe* 'shouts roarings' (= loud clamour)
> *⁺qaše ⁺daše* 'precious stones'
> *šule wale* 'matters ?' (= various matters)
> *šənne šate* 'years years' (= ages)
> *wazir wakil* 'minister lieutenant' (= dignitaries)

Adjectives may be paired together asyndetically in this way, e.g.

> *gisa jəhya* 'tired weary' (= worn out)
> *⁺mad mahtal* 'upset confused' (= greatly upset)

Asyndetic combinations of nouns sometimes consist of the repetition of the noun with the replacement of the first consonant by /m/. The effect of this is to make the class denoted by the noun more general, e.g.

> *xəlye məlye* 'all kinds of sweets'
> *ləxme məxme* 'bread and other foodstuffs'
> *damure mamure* 'pieces of iron and the like'

The construction may also have a pejorative sense, e.g.

fəsse məsse 'miserable money'

Repetition of identical nouns expresses an augmented quantity, e.g.

(8) *wədlele ⁺qətte ⁺qətte* 'He broke it into many pieces'

Repetition of adjectives or adverbs expresses intensity, e.g.

(9) *dayqe dayqe ⁺qatqtilu* 'They mince them very fine.' (G:92)

(10) *harzān harzān šqəllanu* 'We bought them very cheaply.' (G:92)

9.13. NUMERALS

A noun that is the complement of a numeral above 'one' is in the plural, e.g. *tré xabušé* 'two apples' (80), *⁺tahá yomé* 'three days' (11). After compound numerals that end in *xa*, however, the noun is singular, e.g. *əsrí-w xà šatá* 'twenty-one years' (41).

The noun following the numeral may have a preposed adjective, e.g. *tre-jwắn ləxmè* 'two fine loaves of bread' (176).

The numeral may be combined with *danka* (pl. *danke*) 'unit'. This heavier morphological coding tends to be used to introduce referents that play a central role in the section of discourse in question, e.g.

(1) *tré-danke wazír ə̀twale.|* 'He had two ministers.' (4)

(2) *g-Urmí tré-danke knəšyè itwá.|* 'In Urmi there were two synagogues.' (155)

(3) *àtta-š ó knəštá lóka pištéla| gal-tréssar dánke sáfre ⁺torè.|* 'That synagogue remains there even now, with twelve Torah scrolls.' (155)

If a compound numeral ends in *xa*, the singular form *danka* is used, e.g.

(4) *əsrí-w xà-danka ⁺šamalé mar-madè.|* 'Let them bring twenty-one candles.' (40)

A number of nouns have two plural forms, one of which ends in *-e* and the other in a longer ending such as *–awe* or *–ane*. In such cases the short plural form ending *-e* is preferred after numerals, e.g.

axxona 'brother'	*axxonawe* 'brothers'	*tre axxone* 'two brothers'
brona 'son'	*bronawe* 'sons'	*tre brone* 'two sons'
yoma 'day'	*yomawe* 'days'	*tre yome* 'two days'
zaa 'time'	*zaane* 'times'	*tre zae* 'two times'

If the noun is definite, the numeral must take a pronominal suffix co-referential with the noun or the phrase must be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

> ⁺*tahamnu axxone*   'the three brothers'
> *ayne* ⁺*taha axxone*   'these three brothers'

Both these strategies can be combined, in which case the numeral with the suffix is placed after the head, e.g.

> *ayne axxone* ⁺*tahamnu*   'these three brothers'

When the number of items is left imprecise, two or more numerals are placed together asyndetically, e.g.

(5) *xa-trè-kălime gáli mqí!*| 'Speak one or two words to me!' (8)

(6) ⁺*bassòr tré* ⁺*tahá* ⁺*baté ítwa*| *ki-nóšu toryé-inan ərbè-itwalu gáat belá.*| 'There were a very few, two or three, houses that had their own cows or sheep in the house.' (161)

(7) *bára ušwá tmanyá yomé ki-elá* ⁺*masse kəxlìwa,*| *tmanyamənjì lélət ay elá*| *biqqùr godíwa,*| *əl-*⁺*dóġde xazoè.*| 'After seven or eight days of eating matzos at the festival, on the eighth night of the festival they made visits, in order to see one another.' (104)

Repetition of identical numerals expresses distribution, e.g.

(8) *xa xa əntyilu* 'They took them one by one.' (G:93)

(9) ⁺*taha* ⁺*taha ədyelu* 'They came three by three.' (G:92)

Asyndetic juxtaposition is used to convey approximation also in numerical expressions such as (10):

(10) *tré-zae* ⁺*tahá-zae ya-šúla godìwale.*| 'They did this two or three times.' (90)

In (11) two parallel numerical phrases are put together asyndetically:

(11) *xlulá godíwa ušwá yomé ušwá lelawè.*| 'They would hold a wedding for seven days and seven nights.' (78)

A group of numbered items may be presented as a single whole by placing *xa* before the phrase. This also conveys approximation, e.g.

(12) *xa-əsrì našé itwá.*| 'There was a group of about twenty people.' (176)

Multiples corresponding to 'twofold', 'threefold', etc. may be expressed by the quantitative demonstrative particle *axča*, e.g.

(13) *táfqa má-t ána śdyom ayolèn*ˈ *⁺táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa.*ˈ 'Perhaps what I know today—I would have known threefold (= I would have known three times as much as I know today).' (145)

They may also be expressed with the word *⁺qāt* 'layer', e.g.

(14) *əmma ⁺qate m-Moše zodelen.* 'I am a hundredfold more than Moses.' (G:103)

Some expressions of mathematical operations include: *əšta ⁺bassor tre* 'six minus two', *əsri pəlye b-arba* 'twenty divided by two'.

A phrase containing a numeral followed by a plural noun with a pronominal suffix has a partitive sense, e.g. *xa-enèw* 'one of his eyes' (1). The numeral *xa* followed by a singular noun with a pronominal suffix emphasizes the unity of the referent, e.g.

(15) *gal-xá ⁺sbotí ⁺məssén əllox ⁺qatlén.*ˈ 'I can kill you with a single finger of mine.' (47)

When the numeral is combined with a plural noun with a pronominal suffix to express a multiple of the noun rather than a part of it, the numeral must have a pronominal suffix or the phrase must be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

tre axxonawew	'two of his brothers'
tunnu axxonawew	'his two brothers'
ayne tre axxonawew	'these two brothers of his'

When the word *pəlga* is used after the word *⁺sata* 'hour', the final *–a* is replaced by *–e*, which appears to be a fossilized vestige of a pronominal suffix, e.g. *⁺sata pəlge* 'one hour and a half', *arba ⁺sate pəlge* 'four hours and a half'.

A phrase consisting of a numeral and a noun may stand in apposition to another noun and function as its modifier, e.g. *naša tre reše* 'the two-headed man' (G:86).

Various idioms relating to time and age are as follows:

(16) *⁺satá kə̀mmela?* 'What time is it?'

(17) *⁺satá trè-ila*ˈ 'It is two o'clock.'

(18) *⁺satá tré pə̀lge-ila*ˈ 'It is half past two.'

(19) ⁺*satá* ⁺*tahá* ⁺*bassór xa-*⁺*rùb-ila*| 'It is a quarter to three.'

(20) *tressár xančí pìra.*| 'It is a little after twelve.'

(21) *axní* ⁺*tangé báat awwalmənjì-zaa xzèlan.*| 'We saw tanks for the first time.' (172)

(22) *kud šwa xa zaa* 'once a week'

(23) *kə́mma šənnè ə́ttox?*| 'How old are you?'

(24) *ána əsrì šənné-tti!*| 'I am twenty years old.' (41)

(25) *ána əsrì šənnéle m-ó-ka raxšén*| *gal-éni plixè.*| 'I have been walking across there for twenty years with my eyes open.' (59)

(26) *g-šátət ày*| *əmmà-w*| *arbassàr,*| ⁺*hal əmmá-w əsrì*| *ayné ətfaqé lóka pirì.*| 'These events took place there in the years (19)14 to (19)20.' (164)

(27) *kúlla əsrà šənné tafáat ə́ttu.*| 'In all they have a difference (in age) of ten years.' (76)

Idioms with the numeral *xa*:

(28) *xzí xà!*| 'Have a look!' (26)

(29) *xá əl-l-d-ó škə́l xyarè.*| 'He has a look at the picture.'

(30) *xá danká* ⁺*marotə̀lla.*| 'He lets off a fart.'

(31) *xaí tré la-xdìr.*| 'My one has not become two (= I have not advanced in life).' (51)

(32) *xá danká gállət idéw dhə̀lle.*| 'He whacked me one with his hand.'

(33) *xá* ⁺*naré xá g-rešéw daholé zə̀lle.*| 'He went off, shouting and beating his head.'

9.14. GENDER

We shall draw attention here to some uses of the feminine gender.

9.14.1. Propositional Content

In various constructions pronominal and inflectional elements referring to the propositional content of the preceding discourse are 3fs., e.g.

(1) *⁺massé-š yapéwa lòka-š⏐ ⁺rába ⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.⏐* 'They baked matzos there and this was very worthwhile seeing.' (98)

(2) *yà⏐ baáw kəmrìwa⏐ ⁺hatä́n masxoè.⏐* 'They called this the washing of the groom.' (85)

(3) *yá-wela kí m-otáǵ partfíwale tàra.⏐* 'This is why they threw him out of the room.' (90)

(4) *axnì⏐ bad-baxtulà ɔ́twalan⏐ kí xălifè⏐ kí əllàn⏐ ⁺g-mədrä̀š⏐ dàrs malpíwa⏐ ⁺rába dahìwalan.⏐ gal-kúd xabrà⏐ ki-là-ayəxwa jwä́n amrəxwalé⏐ əllàn dahíwa.⏐ aná awwál əl-d-ày amrɔ́nna,⏐ bár-o azén amrén ki-má-jur dahìwa,⏐ má-jur godìwa.⏐* 'We were unfortunate in that the teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot. For every word that we did not know how to say well they would beat us. Let me first say this, then I shall go onto say how they beat us, how they behaved.' (137)

The propositional content of a following embedded clause is referred to as 3fs. in constructions such as (5) and (6):

(5) *bắle yomɔ́t šabbàt⏐ ⁺rába zaɔ́ne xadráwa kì⏐ ⁺hudaé m-pɔ́lgət ⁺wɔ́rxa kí knəštá izalà⏐ deríwa gòl-bara⏐ bod-ód góyme ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatèwale.⏐* 'But on Saturday many times it happened that when the Jews were half way to the synagogue they would turn back, since the Muslims would block their way.' (157)

(6) *bod-ó wéla kì⏐ kullàn⏐ ⁺hudáe lòka⏐ pàrča zabníwa.⏐* 'It was for this reason that all of us, (all) the Jews there would sell material.' (125)

In (7) and (8) the content of a generic relative clause is construed as feminine:

(7) *má-t ayolèn⏐ kúlla b-qəwyəttɔ́t nòši xdíra.⏐* 'Whatever I know has all come about through my own strength.' (151)

(8) *má-t kyéna əl-d-ó ána ⁺məssén báew amrɔ̀nna.⏐* 'Whatever I know—I can tell him that.'

9.14.2. Impersonal Pronominal Reference

An impersonal 3fs. pronominal element is used in some constructions, such as (1)–(5):

(1)   ⁺*rába pùč mapiríwala.*[|] 'They spent it very badly (= They had a very wretched life).' (154)

(2)   *gal-fəssé là xdə́ra.*[|] 'It did not work with money.' (130)

(3)   ⁺*lázəm lá-wela m-šuqá ba-šaqolè.*[|] 'There was no need to buy (things) from the market.' (163)

(4)   ⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába* ⁺*hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.*[|] 'It was very easy for the Jews to go to synagogue.' (157)

(5)   *mato pəra baox g-d-o olka?* 'How did it fare with you in that city?' (G:100)

The verbs *yrq* 'to run', *kxk* 'to laugh' and ⁺*mrt* 'to break wind' generally take a redundant 3fs. object suffix, e.g. *yarəqla* 'He runs', *yaroqulla* 'He is running', *yərqale* 'He ran'; *kaxəkla* 'He laughs', *kaxokəlla* 'He is laughing', *kəxkale* 'He laughed'; ⁺*mərtale* 'He broke wind'.

9.14.3. Infinitive

When an infinitive is treated syntactically as a nominal (§10.10.3.), it has feminine gender, e.g.

(1)   *pardín šaroè*[|] *lélə d-áy xošằba godíwala.*[|] 'They would perform the releasing of the curtain on the Saturday night.' (87)

(2)   *dahólu xà-jur-wela kí*[|] *bázi wáxt xazə́twa ó bronà,*[|] *ó* ⁺*yalà*[|] *ki-kotàk xíle*[|] *m-xắlifà*[|] *xa-kə́mma yomé naxòš xadə́rwa.*[|] 'Their beating was of such a nature that on some occasions you would see the boy, the child who had received a blow from the teacher, become ill for several days.' (140)

9.15. ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

Many nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yomá* 'one day' (44), *ó yomà* 'on that day' (59), *lelé* 'at night' (58), ⁺*qéta* 'in the summer' (160), *sə́twa* 'in the winter' (160).

In some cases parallel expressions are used with prepositions, e.g. *g-sətwá* (158), *g-šátət ày*[|] *əmmà-w*[|] *arbassàr*[|] (164).

On some occasions nominals without prepositions occur with verbs of movement to express the place of destination, e.g.

(1) ⁺*matúle belà.*| 'He arrives home.' (57)

(2) *idá ezéx bèla.*| 'Come, let's go home.' (181)

(3) *géna m-knəštá gal-mùsika madəríwale belà.*| 'They again brought him back from synagogue to the house with music.' (86)

(4) *amblíwale* ⁺*hamằm.*| 'They took him to the baths.' (85)

(5) *kut-šabbát knəštà gezél.*| 'Every Saturday he goes to synagogue.' (74)

(6) ⁺*hatằn*| *ínan* ⁺*kálo béhra* ⁺*palotù.*| 'The groom and bride go out into the light.' (91)

Some adjectives are used adverbially to express the manner of action. This applies especially to *jwān* 'well' and *puč* 'badly', e.g.

(7) *waziré jwā́n šmìmun!*| 'Ministers, listen well!' (11)

(8) *jwằn bráta* ⁺*mərwítat.*| 'You have brought the girl up well.' (117)

(9) *jwā́n šəftè godá.*| *jwā́n marqayè godá,*| *jwā́n tòz antyá.*| 'She makes dumplings well. She patches (clothes) well. She dusts well.' (75)

(10) ⁺*rába-š pùč dahíwa.*| 'They would beat (the children) very badly.' (140)

Note the idiomatic usage in (11), in which the adverbial is combined with the particle *xa*:

(11) *xa-jwā́n dhə̀lleli.*| 'He gave me a sound beating.' (147)

Nominal phrases may also be used as adverbial specifiers of a verb, e.g.

(12) ⁺*taha* ⁺*tabaqe* ⁺*tamret.* 'You will sink three layers (deep).' (G:93)

(13) *əšta alpe dehwe šqəllele.* 'He bought it for six thousand gold pieces.' (G:93)

10. THE SYNTAX OF VERBS

10.1. Preliminary Remarks

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The categories include the forms derived from the present base ($^+$*qatəl,* $^+$*qatəlwa*), the forms derived from past bases ($^+$*qtəlle,* $^+$*qtelwale,* $^+$*dmix,* $^+$*dmixwa*), the compound forms containing a resultative participle and contracted copula ($^+$*qtile*) and the compound forms containing the infinitive and contracted copula ($^+$*qatole*). For convenience of reference, these designations, which are the patterns of stem I forms of the strong roots $^+$*qtl* 'to kill' (transitive) and $^+$*dmx* 'to go to sleep' (intransitive) are used to refer also to equivalent structures in weak and irregular verbs and to stem II and quadriliteral verbs.

10.2. The function of Verb Forms Derived from the Present Base

10.2.1. $^+$*qatəl*

This form expresses both the realis and irrealis moods. Some weak verbs, including verba primae /∅/ and commonly occurring irregular verbs, make a formal distinction between realis $^+$*qatəl* and irrealis $^+$*qatəl* by prefixing to the realis form the particle *k-* or its voiced counterpart *g-*, e.g. *kxəl* 'He eats' (∅*xl*), *kwəl* 'He gives' (*hwl*), *god* 'He makes' (∅*wd*), *gbe* 'He wants' (∅*by*). In the majority of verbs, however, no such particle is attached to the form $^+$*qatəl* when it expresses realis so there is no structural distinction between the moods.

10.2.1.1. Irrealis $^+$*qatəl*

As remarked, the irrealis $^+$*qatəl* form is formally distinct from the realis form only in a few verbs with an initial weak consonant and in some irregular

verbs. The following description of its function, therefore, is based primarily on the distribution of formally distinct irrealis forms. In general terms, it can be said that the irrealis *⁺qatəl* expresses an action that has not been realized in the perception of the speaker but is only potential or an action whose reality is not fully asserted by the speaker. It is used in a variety of contexts. Most of its occurrences are found in syntactically subordinate clauses, though it is also used in main clauses. It expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to an unbounded situation.

(i) Deontic Modality in Main Clauses

When the form occurs in main clauses, it usually expresses deontic modality, i.e. it contains an element of will, and in most cases the verb has a volitive ('I wish to …') or an exhortative sense ('Let me, let us,' etc.). Such verbs can be used in all persons:

(1) *xánči maxyané zamrané raqlané adè.*| 'Let a few musicians, singers and dancers come.' (43)

(2) *⁺rahmàx adé.*| 'May your mercy come (=Have mercy).' (38)

(3) *əlhá la-òd*| 'May God not do so (= God forfend).' (1)

(4) *ezétun reš-qórət dadxùn.*| 'You should go to the grave of your father.' (67)

(5) *măsàl*| *amrén baxùn.*| 'Let me tell you a story.' (172)

(6) *amréx mắsălan xaltə̀t*| *⁺kalò*| *goryè mditá.*| 'Let us say, for example, that the maternal aunt of the bride had brought stockings.' (93)

When a 2ⁿᵈ person verb is negated it expresses a prohibition, e.g.

(7) *xá-danka doktór là madétun.*| 'Do not bring me a single doctor.' (20)

(8) *héč la-maqyàt.*| 'Don't say anything.' (57)

A number of particles are optionally used before the irrealis *⁺qatəl* form to express deontic modality. These include *mar* and *xa*, e.g.

(9) *bráta mar-adyà.*| 'Let the girl come.' (14)

(10) *már maxyané-nan zamrané raqlane adè.*| 'Let musicians, singers and dancers come.' (5)

(11) *kə́mma-t láxxa našé mar-⁺pálti tàra.*|̓ 'Let the people who are here go outside.' (25)

(12) *már la-xazyàlox.*|̓ 'Let her not see you.' (33)

(13) *kúllu nə̀š már la-maqé.*|̓ 'Let nobody speak.' (39)

(14) *xá adè.*|̓ 'May he come.'

(15) *xa-ení ⁺čemə̀nnu*|̓ 'Let me close my eyes.' (54)

The particle *xa* is placed either before or after the subject of the clause, e.g

(16) *xa-ána m-aqə̀rwa*|̓ *bratá xazə̀nna,*|̓ *maqén gallàw.*|̓ 'Let me see the girl from close up and speak with her.' (14)

(17) *ana-š xa-gallaw maqén xazèn*|̓ *bod-mày o-bráta la-maqulá.*|̓ 'Let me also talk with her and see why the girl is not talking.' (15)

The two deontic particles may be combined, e.g.

(18) *xá bratóx mar-adyà.*|̓ 'Let your daughter come.' (33)

Irrealis ⁺*qatəl* is used in some main clause questions expressing deontic necessity (must, ought to, should) or deontic possibility, i.e. permission (may, might, can, could):

(19) *ma-òdex?*|̓ *mà amréx ba-⁺šultaná?*|̓ 'What should we do? What should we say to the king?' (12)

(20) *ə́t ba-ma-yà maqét?*|̓ Why should you say such a thing? (48)

Note also the idiomatic usage of the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* in constructions with the verb ∅*mr* 'to say' such as (21), which express a possible rather than a real event:

(21) *amrét kí aslàn*|̓ *⁺m-trosá kí ídət malaxé rešù-wela.*|̓ 'You would definitely say that, truly, the hand of angels was over them.' (171)

(ii) Habitual

The irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form is occasionally used to express a habitual situation, e.g.

(1) *ya-xabrá báli la-ezél kì*|̓ *kyétun kí gal-⁺arelé axnì*|̓ *lišanú-š bíš maqə̀xwale.*|̓ 'I do not forgot this—you know that we often spoke with the Christians in their language.' (190)

(2) *ya-xabrá m-báli la-ezél* 'I do not forget this thing.' (190)

(iii) Conditional Constructions

The irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form is sometimes used in the protasis of conditional sentences that refers to a possible situation in the future, e.g.

(1) *ắgar ắd mənní xoìš odét,ǀ aná gdèn.ǀ* 'If you ask me, I shall come.'

(2) *ắgar šə́nnu xà-šataǀ zòda amrə́ttu,ǀ maqè.ǀ* 'If you say their age is one year more (than it really is), they speak.' (42)

(3) *ắgar-əš bratá abyá ⁺jahə́l hawè,ǀ ábya gállew gorà,ǀ aná qablèn.ǀ* 'If the girl wants and he is young, if she wants to marry him, I would agree.' (22)

The irrealis form is used also in relative clauses with an indefinite generic head, many of which have a conditional sense, e.g.

(4) *mắni-t áde báew fəssé palèn.ǀ* 'Whoever comes, I shall hand out money to him.' (22)

(5) *má-t abyát aná ⁺məssen baáx odèn.ǀ* 'Whatever you want, I can do it for you.' (10)

(iv) Temporal Constructions

The irrealis form is also used in a subordinate temporal clause referring to a situation in the future which is presupposed to take place, e.g.

(1) *imánət adè,ǀ aná ixalà kwén baéw.ǀ* 'When he comes, I shall give him food.'

(2) *imánət adyà,ǀ aná baóx kəmrèn.ǀ* 'When she comes, I'll tell you.'

(3) *wáxtət baxtí adyà,ǀ aná g-belà kwén.ǀ* 'When my wife comes, I shall be at home.'

(v) Subordinate Complements

The irrealis ⁺*qatəl* occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb. The form is used not only with present tense main verbs, but also with main verbs that have past time reference, in which the form takes the past reference of the main verb as its deictic centre.

In a number of cases the clause expresses some kind of deontic modality (wish, intention, permission, obligation), e.g.

(1) *abúlu našé adé elčulà.*˺ 'Some people want to come to request a betrothal.' (72)

(2) *áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra.*˺ 'We do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

(3) *xoíšt wadèn,*˺ *dastúr hòl.*˺ 'I request you to give an order.' (40)

(4) *xà-yoma*˺ *ya-bratèw,*˺ … *fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.*˺ 'One day this daughter of his … thought to say (= decided) "I shall not speak for a few days."' (2)

(5) ⁺*hal-attá là-qbəltan*˺ *dadáx ayèl.*˺ 'Until now I have not allowed our father to know.' (64)

(6) *əllí majbúr b-lá-odet ána ezén* ⁺*mədrə̀š.*˺ 'You will not force me to go to school.' (149)

Necessity, deontic or epistemic, may be expressed by the impersonal particle *gărag,* e.g.

(7) *gə́rag ə̀t-ayet báa la-maqulá.*˺ 'You should know why she does not speak.' (23)

(8) *ána fkə́r wadén ki-gărág maqyàt.*˺ 'I think you should talk.' (18)

The irrealis form is used in clauses expressing purpose. In some cases these are introduced by subordinating particles and expressions such as *ki* and *ba-xatrət ki*, though in many cases purpose clauses are placed after the clause on which they are dependent without a linking conjunction, e.g.

(9) *ána b-ezén àtta šúla odə́nne.*˺ 'I shall go to do this job right now.' (47)

(10) *dhúlun g-qorèw.*˺ *bára idámun gebì,*˺ *ána báxun amrèn*˺ *atxún emnixún bronèw-iletun.*˺ 'Beat on his grave. Then come to me in order that I tell you which of you is his son.' (67)

(11) *ána yasoqán reš-*⁺*garè*˺ *xazyán tār-šə́mme paloxè.*˺ 'I am going up onto the roof to see the heavens open.' (110)

(12) ⁺*doyə́t áy* ⁺*kalò*˺ *m-Tehrə̀n*˺ *xá* ⁺*qətta parčà*˺ *šdiré ba-*⁺*hatə̀n*˺ *ki-ódlu jarkèt-inan*˺ *šalwalè.*˺ 'The maternal uncle of the bride has sent a

piece of material from Tehran to the groom for him to make into a jacket and trousers.' (96)

(13) *ba-xátrət ki-juwé-⁺wada broná yadlà,*| *jùr ba-júr ixále báaw kwíwa.*|
'In order that she would give birth to a boy another time they would give her all kinds of food.' (120)

The irrealis form is also used in a variety of other subordinate complement clauses in which the action or situation expressed in the subordinate clause is potential in relation to the main verb rather than one that actually exists. It is commonly attested, for example, in clauses that are the complement of the verb ⁺*mssy* 'to be able':

(14) ⁺*məssén amrèn.*| 'I can say.' (123)

(15) ⁺*məssát bái amràt.*| *aná* ⁺*məssén baáx* ⁺*čarà-oden.*| 'You can tell me. I can sort it out for you.' (10)

It is used in complements of expressions of 'fearing'. In this context the verb of the complement is sometimes negated, e.g.

(16) *zadúlan gorí ayèl.*| 'I am afraid that my husband will know.' (62)

(17) *g-kučá zdélew ó-wela kí* ⁺*hál belá* ⁺*maté* ⁺*yāl-goymè*| *azyàt la-odíle*| *la-árqi baréw la-dahìle.*| 'In the street his fear was that before he arrived home Muslim boys would harm him, would run after him and beat him.' (138)

It also occurs in various other contexts where the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of the clause, e.g.

(18) *bálki adé baqàtta.*| 'Perhaps he will come tomorrow.'

(19) *mumkún adé baqàtta.*| 'It is possible that he will come tomorrow.'

(20) *lá xadə́r kí adé baqàtta.*| 'It could not be that he will come tomorrow.'

(21) *lá hamonén ezél lòka.*| 'I do not believe he will go there.'

(vi) Generic Relative Clauses

The irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads with generic reference, e.g.

(1) *má-t nə́š m-əlhá abè*| *əlhá baéw kwə̀l.*| 'Whatever a person wants from God, God would will give to him.' (109)

10.2.1.2. Realis ⁺qatəl

(i) Habitual

The realis form may express an imperfective habitual aspect, presenting an activity as a characteristic property of the subject referent, it being either an iterative or permanent situation. It has present tense reference, i.e. the deictic centre of the tense is the time of speaking, e.g.

(1) *jwā́n šəftè godá.ˈ jwā́n marqayè godá,ˈ jwā́n tòz antyá.ˈ* 'She makes dumplings well. She makes good patches (of clothes). She dusts well.' (75)

(2) *āt-kyát ki-áxni kullán əllàx gbéx.ˈ* 'You know that we all love you'. (17)

When the subject has a generic reference, the predicate expresses a permanent generic property of the class denoted by the subject nominal, e.g.

(3) *kúd gorá geb-báxta nóšew paqèla.ˈ* 'Every husband puffs himself up (in boasting) to his wife.' (48)

It is used in constructions expressing an ongoing habitual situation, as in (4):

(4) *ána əsrì šənnéle m-ó-ka raxšénˈ gal-éni plixè.ˈ* 'I have been walking across there for twenty years with my eyes open' (59)

(ii) Future

The realis ⁺qatəl form may be used with a future tense reference. In such cases it may have a perfective or imperfective aspect. Most cases attested in the text corpus are perfective and refer to a single specific event, e.g.

(1) *ána gal-dadáx maqènˈ baáx ⁺čára gòd.ˈ* 'I shall talk to your father and he will find a solution for you.' (17)

(2) *ā́t-əš má-t àbulet,ˈ má-t míren ána godén baox-kwèn.ˈ* 'Whatever you want, whatever I promised, I shall give to you.' (43)

It may be used in the apodosis of a condition referring to a possible future situation, e.g.

(3) *ā́gar ā́d mənní xoìš odét,ˈ aná gdèn.ˈ* 'If you ask me, I shall come.'

When the subject is 2ⁿᵈ person, it may have deontic force, e.g.

(4) *ất gezét nóšox əl-nòšox ⁺tašét.*ˈ 'You should go and look after your-
     self.' (89)

(iii) Actual present

The compound ⁺*qatole* form is normally used to express the progressive as-
pect, i.e. an activity that is taking place in the present or, in the case of sta-
tive verbs, a state that holds at the present moment ('actual present'). In the
case of the irregular verb ⁺*mssy* 'to be able' (§4.13.12.), however, the actual
present is generally expressed by the ⁺*qatəl* form, i.e. ⁺*məsse* 'he can', ⁺*məssa*
'she can'. Examples:

(1) ⁺*məssát baí amrát mà-xdir?*ˈ 'Can you tell me what happened?' (17)

(2) ⁺*hudáət Urmì*ˈ ⁺*məssén amrèn*ˈ ⁺*əččí g-əmmà,*ˈ *šulú* ⁺*bazazulà-wele.*ˈ
     'The Jews of Urmi, I can say, ninety percent of them were in the
     cloth trade.' (123)

10.2.2. ⁺*qatəlwa*

As is the case with ⁺*qatəl*, the past form ⁺*qatəlwa* has both a realis and an
irrealis function. This distinction is formally marked in the same group of
verbs as mark it in the ⁺*qatəl* form.

10.2.2.1. Irrealis ⁺*qatəlwa*

The ⁺*qatəlwa* form may be used to to express the irrealis mood in past con-
texts. The various type of irrealis function parallel those of the ⁺*qatəl* form.
As is the case with the ⁺*qatəl* irrealis, the ⁺*qatəlwa* irrealis expresses either a
perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect,
referring to a continuous activity.

      The past irrealis is most commonly attested in subordinate clauses that
are complements of past tense verbs and express actions that are unrealized
at the time referred to by the main verb.

      It is used after deontic main verbs. Note in (1) the action is imperfec-
tive (habitual) whereas in (2) it is perfective, referring to a single event:

(1) *lá qablíwa ezìwa.*ˈ 'They did not allow them to go.' (157)

(2) *ebélu ya-šúla* ⁺*hudáe sabə̀t odíwale*ˈ *kí ya-šúla dūs-lèwe.*ˈ 'The Jews
     wanted to prove that this was not true.' (101)

It is used to refer to a potential situation in clauses that are complements of the verb ⁺*mssy* 'to be able', e.g.

(3) *lá-⁺msele amərwalè.*⌐ 'He could not say it.' (141)

(4) *ayné šulé ⁺hudaé là-⁺msewa odíwalu.*⌐ 'The Jews could not do these jobs.' (124)

(5) *xălifá là-⁺msele*⌐ *g-klàs*⌐ *⁺g-mədrằš*⌐ *əllí dahə̀lwa.*⌐ 'The teacher could not beat me in the class.' (147)

In (6) the form is used in a verb that expresses an action that failed to place:

(6) *ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhə̀m-ile*⌐ *áy xlulə́t áy Urmì m-báli zə́lle amrənwà.*⌐ 'I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important.' (92)

It is used in the protasis of conditional constructions denoting either a possible situation in the past (7–8), a counterfactual situation in the past (9–10), or an impossible situation in the future (11), e.g.

(7) *ăgár mewanì odíwa g-belá,*⌐ *kúd ⁺məndə̀g g-béla kwéwalu.*⌐ 'If they entertained guests in the house, they would have everything in the house.' (163)

(8) *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá ⁺kaló maxlpiwalà,*⌐ *⁺məssèwa.*⌐ 'If they wanted to change the bride even on the night of the wedding, they could.' (82)

(9) *ăgár ána ayènwa*⌐ *ə́d belà-ilet,*⌐ *gdénwa ba-xazoòx.*⌐ 'If I had known that you were in the house, I would have gone to visit you.'

(10) *ăgàr*⌐ *magón našé əllán malpìwa*⌐ *táfqa má-t ána ə́dyom ayolèn*⌐ *⁺táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa.*⌐ 'If they had taught us like human beings, perhaps I would have known three times as much as I know today.' (145)

(11) *ăgár ⁺adènwa*⌐ *baqàtta godénwale, bắle là-gden.*⌐ 'If I were to come, I would do it tomorrow, but I shall not come.'

The form is used after the particle *takla* 'if only!' to express a counterfactual wish, e.g.

(12) *taklá adyàwa!*⌐ 'If only she had come!'

In (13) the form is used in an asyndetic type of conditional construction without a particle introducing the protasis. It refers to a factual situation in the past and so can be translated with either an 'if' or 'when' clause in English:

(13) *mə́re bái ya-náša kí əl-⁺Balqə́z kyèlwala*| *kí m-malwawé ⁺arelé adéwa gezéwa gebàw.*| 'That man said to me that he knew Balqəz, because (if/when) Christians came from the villages, they would go to her.' (189)

The irrealis ⁺*qatəlwa* is found in indirect questions expressing deontic necessity or deontic possibility that are complements of past tense verbs, e.g.

(14) ⁺*hudaé là-yəllu ma-odíwa.*| 'The Jews did not know what they should do.' (130)

(15) ⁺*šultaná mə-xdúg la-ayolá-wele ma-òdwa.*| 'The king out of his worry did not know what he should do.' (7)

The form is used in relative clauses after after a head with generic reference, e.g.

(16) *gal-kúd xabrà*| *ki-là-ayəxwa jwán amrəxwalé*| *əllàn dahíwa.*| 'For every word that we did not know how to say well they would beat us.' (137)

10.2.2.2. Realis ⁺*qatəlwa*

(i) Habitual

The form is most commonly used to refer to habitual or iterative actions in the past, e.g.

(1)   *əl-bratéw ràba gbéwala.*| 'He loved his daughter very much.' (1)

(2)   *tré xabušé smoqé kwíwa b-idèw.*| 'They would give him in his hand two red apples.' (80)

When the action is iterative, the verbs with this form may be linked to express a series of sequential events, e.g.

(3)   *góra baqatyóm gezə̀lwa,*| *léle gdèwa.*| 'The man went out in the morning and came back at night.' (50)

(4) $^+$*kálo madewalà.*$^|$ $^+$*masəmxíwa gáat* $^+$*hayàt*$^|$ 'They would bring the bride. They would make her stand in the courtyard.' (78)

(5) *yasə́qwa reš-*$^+$*garè.*$^|$ *xabušé dahə̀lwalu*$^|$ *g-reš-*$^+$*kalò.*$^|$ *kullú čapkè dahíwa.*$^|$ *kullú raqlìwa.*$^|$ 'He would go up onto the roof. He would knock the apples on the head of the bride.' (81)

The iterative activities expressed by the $^+$*qatəlwa* form may have taken place within a delimited space of time, constituting components of a single overall event, e.g.

(6) $^+$*rába* $^+$*rába* $^+$*hudaè*$^|$ *mən-d-áy* $^+$*ará* $^+$*sàġ* $^+$*paltíwa.*$^|$ 'Many, many Jews escaped safely from the situation.' (171)

(7) *broná dahə̀lwale.*$^|$ *dahə̀lwale.*$^|$ *kwə́lwale əl-dadà.*$^|$ *dadá dahə̀lwa,*$^|$ *kwə́lwale əl-bronà.*$^|$ 'The son beat him and beat him. Then he gave him to the father. The father beat him and gave him to the son.' (142)

(ii) Future in the past

The realis form is used in contexts where it express an action in the past that is presented as future from the viewpoint of another past action, e.g.

(1) *ána b-d-ò-fkər wə́dli*$^|$ *ki-šənnáw zóda amrə̀nnu,*$^|$ *màqya.*$^|$ *bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé.*$^|$ 'I had the idea of saying that her age was more (than it really was) so that she would talk. Only this method would result in her being made to talk.' (42)

10.2.3. $^+$*b-qatəl*

This form expresses future action. It may be perfective or imperfective in aspect. The future sense may be predictive, e.g.

(1) $^+$*g-wərxá b-xazə̀tta.*$^|$ 'You will see it on the way.' (52)

(2) *tār-šə́mmé b-pàləx.*$^|$ 'The door of heaven will open.' (110)

(3) *attá* $^+$*hatə́n b-adé aqlàx* $^+$*lečlá.*$^|$ 'Now the groom will come and tread on your foot.' (83)

(4) *gallàn b-maqyá?*$^|$ 'Will she speak with us?' (12)

It may be used in a past context to express a predicted future event in the past, e.g.

(5) *yálli čún* ⁺*arèl-ile*⌐ *hatmán sotí b-ayə̀lla.*⌐ 'I knew that he was a Chris-
tian and would definitely know my grandmother.' (188)

With 1ˢᵗ person subjects, it may express intention, e.g.

(6) *ána b-ezén àtta šúla odánne.*⌐ 'I shall go and do this job right now.'
(47)

(7) *xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan,*⌐ *xazyán dadí ma-b-òd.*⌐ 'I shall not
speak for a few days in order to see what my father will do.'

It may have a deontic sense, e.g.

(8) *ba-nòšox*⌐ ⁺*fəssè* ⁺*b-haslét.*⌐ 'You must earn money by yourself.' (89)

In (9) the deontic future is combined with a deontic particle:

(9) *mar-xánči əl-bratà*⌐ *kefáw xòš b-odíla.*⌐ 'Let them cheer her up a lit-
tle.' (4)

The ⁺*b-qatəl* form used in the apodosis of conditional constructions re-
ferring to a situation in the future, e.g.

(10) *ăgar aná məllì,*⌐ *bar-mənnì*⌐ ⁺*šultantá b-xadràt.*⌐ 'If I die, after me you
will become queen.' (8)

(11) *ăgár la-maqyantá hawyá* ⁺*šultána rešàn* ⁺*b-qatéle.*⌐ 'If she does not
speak, the king will cut off our head.' (12)

Likewise it is used in relative clauses with an indefinite generic head,
which often have a conditional sense, e.g.

(12) *mănì-t*⌐ *əl-bratí* ⁺*məssé mamqelà*⌐ *baèw*⌐ *fəssè-nan*⌐ *dehwè ba-hawén.*⌐
'Whoever can make my daughter talk, I shall give him money and
gold.' (22)

(13) *mắni-t émnu* ⁺*hudaá tkanéw dwəqtá hawyà,*⌐ *b-mandéxe gáat*
⁺*dussằx.*⌐ 'If the shop of any Jew from among them is shut, we
shall throw him into prison.' (130)

As remarked in §10.2.1.2. (ii), the ⁺*qatəl* form without the *b-* prefix
may also refer to future events. In principle the ⁺*b-qatəl* form is a more
forceful expression of the future than ⁺*qatəl* alone. This is reflected by the
fact that by using ⁺*b-qatəl* in assertive context the speaker commits himself
to the truth of the assertion whereas this is not necessarily the case when
⁺*qatəl* is used. In the context of the particle *balki* 'perhaps', where there is
uncertainty, or in clauses that are complements of expressions such as *la*

hamonen 'I do not believe', which explicitly deny commitment to the truth of what follows, the ⁺*b-qatəl* form is not used, the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form being preferred, e.g.

(14) *b-adé baqàtta.│* 'He will (certainly) come tomorrow.'

(15) *gdé baqàtta.│* 'He will come tomorrow (as far as I know).'

(16) *bálki adé baqàtta.│* 'Perhaps he will come tomorrow.'

(17) *lá hamonén adé baqàtta.│* 'I do not believe he will come tomorrow.'

Likewise a negated ⁺*b-qatəl* form, viz. *b-la* ⁺*qatəl*, is a more emphatic denial than a negated ⁺*qatəl* form referring to a future event, e.g.

(18) *b-lá adé baqàtta.│* 'He will not at all come tomorrow.'

(19) *lá gde baqàtta.│* 'He will not come tomorrow (as far as I know)'.

(20) *bálki lá adé baqàtta.│* 'Perhaps he will not come tomorrow.'

10.2.4. ⁺*b-qatəlwa*

This form is used to express the immediate future in a past context in constructions such as (1), in which it is rendered idiomatically 'about to …':

(1) *măsàl│ amrén baxùn│ xá-danka jwắn măsălà│ wáxtət kí ⁺urusné g-d-áy qráwət dunyé g-arbi-w xà│ kí **b-adéwa** gáat Urmì,│ arbi-w-xá arbi-w-trè.│* 'I'll tell you an anecdote, a nice anecdote, from the time the Russians were about to come into Urmi, in the World War in (19)41, (19)41 or (19)42.' (172)

It is used deontically with past time reference ('should have …'), in constructions such as (2):

(2) *xá yomà│ xălifá gal-bronèw│ kí əl-⁺yále dárs maqrèwa│ əl-axonì│ zorà│ o-reš-xá-danka xábra ki-pằtax **b-amárwale**│ lá-⁺msele amərwalè,│ əl-d-aynè│ gal-zóra broná áy tmánya ⁺əčča šənnè│ magòn│ ⁺tòp gállew,│ gállə dadá g-klàs ⁺tə́lwalu.│* 'One day a teacher with his son, who were teaching children, (beat) my young brother, on account of a word in which he should have said *pataḥ*, which he was not able to say (correctly), and played in the class with the young boy, who was eight or nine years old, as if (he were a) ball, he (the son) together with the father.' (141)

Another usage is in the apodosis of a conditional construction with past time reference, e.g.

(3) *yá dádət ⁺hatə̀n sandáq xdíra hawéwa,ˈ dádət áy ⁺kalò b-xadə́rwa.ˈ*
    'Or, (if) the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion).' (119)

10.3. THE FUNCTION OF VERB FORMS DERIVED FROM PAST BASES

10.3.1. ⁺*qtəlle* (General Past Base)

(i) Preterite

This form is most commonly used with transitive and intransitive verbs as a preterite to refer perfectively to specific events at a particular time in the past. It is typically used to express the sequential events of a narrative, e.g.

(1) *⁺šultaná ya-xabrá qbə̀llele.ˈ ⁺šultaná čápke dhə̀llele.ˈ nokár ədyelè.ˈ*
    'The king agreed. The king clapped his hands. A servant came.' (5)

(2) *maxyané zamrané ə̀dyelu,ˈ bratá mədyàlu.ˈ bráta ədyéla yətəwlà.ˈ* 'The musicians and singers came and they brought the girl. The girl came and sat down.' (5)

(3) *čápke dhə̀lleˈ kúllu maxyané raqlané zə̀llu.ˈ əl-bratàˈ mqimàle.ˈ* 'He clapped his hands and all the musicians and dancers went away. He raised the girl up.' (7)

The form may express a single event that had an inception and an end in the past but had a duration that extended over a period of time. This period may be specified and can be of considerable length, e.g.

(4) *aná tasmìm dwəqtán,ˈ inàd dwə́qtan,ˈ ⁺tahà yoméˈ là maqyán,ˈ ki-ga-kúllu ⁺ktabèˈ ay-dunyèˈ kalwìˈ ki-brát ⁺šultanàˈ Marjáne Xatùn,ˈ là-mqela.ˈ* 'I have decided and am determined not to talk for three days, so that in all the books of the world they write that the daughter of the king, Marjane Xatun, did not speak.' (29)

In (5) three such events overlap with one another temporally and are not sequential:

(5) *ayné zmə̀rru,⌐ rqə̀llu,⌐ mxèlu.⌐* 'They sang, danced and played (music).' (6)

The occurrence of the event expressed by the ⁺*qtəlle* form may be in the recent past, so that it should generally be translated idiomatically with the English perfect of recent past, e.g.

(6) *tār-šə̀mmé pláxle baòx.⌐ … əlhá xa-jwán jwán xaznà hwíləllox.⌐* 'The door of heaven has (just) opened for you. … God has given to you a very fine treasure.' (52)

The endpoint of an event expressed by ⁺*qtəlle* can, in fact, coincide with the present. If you see somebody arrive at the door, you would say *ədyele*, which is most idiomatically translated by the English perfect of recent past 'He has come'. In such cases the verb expresses an event but, due to its recent occurrence, there is an implicature of a resultant state in the present. Unlike the resultative perfect (§10.3.3.2.), the ⁺*qtəlle* verb form itself does not assert this resultant state.

Verbs that have a telic lexical meaning expressing the entering into a state have an ingressive sense in the ⁺*qtəlle*, e.g. *ytw* 'to sit down'—*ytəwle* 'He sat down', ⁺*smx* 'to stand up'—⁺*smaxle* 'He stood up', ⁺*dmx* 'to go to sleep'—⁺*dməxle* 'He went to sleep'. Occasionally the ⁺*qtəlle* form is used with an ingressive function also in verbs that do not have a telic lexical meaning. This applies, for example, to (7), where the verb expresses the entering into a the situation of 'not speaking' without imply an endpoint:

(7) *xà-yoma⌐ ya-bratèw,⌐ … fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan,⌐ xazyán dadí ma-b-òd.⌐ ya-bráta là-mqela.⌐* 'One day, this daughter of his, … thought (to herself) saying "I shall not speak for a few days and see what my father will do." The girl did not speak (= started not to speak).' (2)

3fs. or 3pl. person pronominal objects on ⁺*qtəlle* forms may be expressed either by incorporating them into the past base or by L-suffixes (§4.16.1., §4.16.2.), e.g.

xəzyale	*xzelela*	'He saw her'
xəzyile	*xzelelu*	'He saw them'

According to informants, these alternative forms are not functionally equivalent in conversational discourse from the point of view of tense. The forms with incorporated objects are typically used to express events that happened in the recent past whereas the forms with L-suffixes relate to events in the more remote past.

(ii) Conditional Constructions

The ⁺*qtəlle* form is sometimes used in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the past or future that is temporally and/or logically anterior to the situation described in the apodosis, e.g.

(1) *q**ắ**mol* ⁺*urusné idàa,*⌐ ⁺*batət ay-*⁺*hudaé kullù*⌐ *ni*⁺*šaná gal-dəmmà,*⌐ *gállə d-áy smoqà,*⌐ *idá smoqà,*⌐ *ni*⁺*šằn dréwalulu*⌐ *kí ăgár Hítler* ⁺*mtèle*⌐ ⁺*almắn* ⁺*mtéle Urmì,*⌐ *kí ayé* ⁺*hudaé leka ità*⌐ *kì*⌐ ⁺*məssé tèz* ⁺*maspélu b-ídə d-áy* ⁺*almannè.*⌐ 'Before the Russians came, they had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand, so that if Hitler came, the Germans came to Urmi, they would know where the Jews were and could quickly hand them over into the hands of the Germans.' (173)

(2) *ắgar aná məllì,*⌐ *bar-mənnì*⌐ ⁺*šultantá b-xadràt.*⌐ 'If I die, after me you will become queen.' (8)

(3) *ăgár* ⁺*čarà wə́dlxun,*⌐ ⁺*msèlxun bratí mamqetunwalá,*⌐ *ki-hèč.*⌐ *ắgar là,*⌐ *rešət-tùnnxun*⌐ ⁺*qətyà b-xadə́r.*⌐ 'If you find a solution and can make my daughter speak, then nothing (will happen to you). If not, the head of both of you will be cut off.' (11)

(iii) Deontic

The ⁺*qtəlle* form is used deontically in the context of specific expressions such as as (1)

(1) *qurbànew xdə́rri,*⌐ *ắt mà šulá-ttox?*⌐ 'May I become his sacrifice (= with respect), what is this to do with you? (48)

10.3.2. ⁺*qtəlwale*

(i) Relative Anteriority in the Past

This form may be used to express an event in the past that was temporally anterior from the viewpoint of another event in the past occurring in the surrounding context. It is generally idiomatically translated by the English past perfect. The past event(s) to which the event in question is anterior may be expressed by the ⁺*qtəlle* form, e.g.

(1) *ó ⁺torbá ⁺mlitə́t fəssé dehwé əlhá baóx ki-**šədràwale**ꞌ čún ə́t enóx ⁺čimé zə̀llox*ꞌ *jùwe ná̃š əntyalé.*ꞌ 'Since you went with your eyes closed, another person took the bag full of gold coins, which God had sent for you.' (60)

(2) *⁺rába ⁺psə̀xlan kí ədyélu,*ꞌ *čapké dhə̀llan.*ꞌ *bod-mà ⁺psóxlan?*ꞌ *bod-òd*ꞌ *qə̆mol ⁺urusné idàa,*ꞌ *⁺batə́t ay-⁺hudaé kullù*ꞌ *ni⁺šaná gal-dəmmà,*ꞌ *gállə d-áy smoqà,*ꞌ *idá smoqà,*ꞌ *ni⁺šə̀n **dréwalulu**ꞌ kí ăgár Hítler ⁺mtèle*ꞌ *⁺almə́n ⁺mtéle Urmì,*ꞌ *kí ayé ⁺hudaé leka ità*ꞌ *kì*ꞌ *⁺məssé tèz ⁺maspélu b-ídə d-áy ⁺almannè.*ꞌ 'We were very happy that they came and we applauded. Why were we happy? Because before the Russians came, they had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand, so that if Hitler came, the Germans came to Urmi, they would know where the Jews were and could quickly hand them over into the hands of the Germans.' (173)

A crucial factor is viewpoint, since anteriority of an action alone does not necessarily condition the ⁺*qtəlwale* form. Indeed, in a chain of sequential events in a narrative, each event is anterior to what follows but the ⁺*qtəlle* form would normally be used for each event (see §10.3.1. i examples 1–3). The explanation is that that in such narrative chains each event has equal focus and one is not presented from the viewpoint of another.

The ⁺*qtəlwale* form may be used to express an action that is anterior from the viewpoint of a resultative perfect form (⁺*qtile*, ⁺*dmix*). Such cases are idiomatically translated into English with the simple past rather than the past perfect, e.g.

(3) *ána ayné kəmmá qəsməttə́t áy xlulá kí mirilì*ꞌ *kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí.*ꞌ *làxxa teatrù widená.*ꞌ 'I wrote a play about these aspects of a wedding that I have described. I have staged it here in a theatre.' (97)

In (4) the negated ⁺*qtəlwale* form *là xəzyáwale* 'He had not seen her (the bride)' expresses a situation that held anterior to the time in the past referred to by the adverbial 'that night', at which point the situation ended, since he finally saw the bride:

(4) *⁺hál ki-d-o-lelé-š ⁺kaló hála là xəzyáwale.*ꞌ 'Until that night he had not yet seen the bride.' (82)

(ii) Absolute Anteriority in the Past

The ⁺*qtəlwale* form is also used to narrate a past event without expressing any anteriority relative to another event in the context but rather absolute anteriority. The ⁺*qtəlwale* form in such cases expresses only remoteness from the present. In principle it expresses a greater remoteness than the ⁺*qtəlle* form, which can be used to denote an event in the recent past. The main events in the narrative of (1) are expressed in the ⁺*qtəlwale* form:

(1)   *xá yomà˩ xălifá gal-bronèw˩ … əl-axonì˩ zorà˩ o-reš-xá-danka xábra ki-pằtax b-amə́rwale˩ lá-⁺msele amərwalè,˩ … gal-zóra broná áy tmánya ⁺əčča šənnè˩ magòn˩ ⁺tòp gállew,˩ gállə dadá g-klàs ⁺tálwalu.˩ … **mdéwalule** belà.˩ šwawán … škaytà **wə́dwalu** m-idéw.˩ bắle əlhá maníxət dadì,˩ … fəssè **hwə́lwale,**˩ ršutà,˩ ⁺m-dussắx ⁺**plə̀twalele.**˩* 'One day a teacher with his son, … (beat) my young brother, on account of a word in which he should have said *pataḥ*, which he was not able to say (correctly), and played in the class with the young boy, who was eight or nine years old, as if (he were a) ball, he (the son) together with the father. … They sent him home. Our neighbours … made a complaint against him. But my father, may he rest in peace, … gave him (the teacher) money as a bribe and got him out of jail.' (141–143).

10.3.3. ⁺*qtile*/⁺*dmix*

10.3.3.1. Morphological Coding of Transitivity

The basic function of these forms is to express a resultative perfect. Before examining their function in greater detail, some remarks are necessary regarding the distribution of the two forms across the lexicon.

As indicated in the chapter on verbal morphology (§4.1.), the morphological dichotomy between these two forms corresponds to the transitivity of the verb, in that the ⁺*qtile* form, consisting of the resultative participle inflected by a contracted copula, is used when the verb is transitive and the ⁺*dmix* form inflected by S-suffixes is used when the verb is intransitive. Whereas this characterization captures the functional distinction between the forms in broad terms, the distribution of the forms in the lexicon is not wholly predictable.

Many stem I verbs may be conjugated with both forms. In such cases the ⁺*qtəlle* form is used when the verb is transitive, whereas the ⁺*dmix* form is used when the verb is intransitive. This is found mainly in verbal forms in

which the alternation in transitivity is transitive—unaccusative intransitive, the subject of the latter being non-volitional. They are used transitively with a volitional subject and an object complement that is the undergoer of the action or alternately intransitively with the non-volitional undergoer being made the grammatical subject. Examples:

xa-gora ⁺plite	'He has brought out a man'
gora ⁺plit	'The man has come out'
xa tara plixe	'He has opened a door'
tara plix	'The door has opened'
xa ⁺siwa twire	'He has broken a piece of wood'
⁺siwa twir	'The piece of wood has broken'
xa ⁺siwa ⁺qətye	'He has cut off a stick'
⁺siwa ⁺qə́te	'The stick has been cut off'
talga pšire	'He has melted snow'
talga pšir	'The snow has melted'
xa bela pqele	'He has blown up a house'
bela pə́qe	'The house has blown up'
xa kepa gəndire	'He has rolled a stone'
kepa gəndir	'The stone has rolled'

Transitive—intransitive alternation in which both alternants are volitional are normally expressed also by a distinction in stems, with stem I being used for the intransitive and stem II for the transitive, e.g.

gora sə́xe	'The man has washed (of his own accord)'
xa gora məsxye	'He has washed a man'

Several pairs of verbs are treated in the verbal morphology as transitive in both stem I and stem II, although the stem I form may be used without an object, e.g.

gora xile	'The man has eaten'
xa gora mxile	'He has made the man eat'
gora šətye	'The man has drunk'
xa gora məštye	'He has made the man drink'

gora šəmye	'The man has heard'
xa gora məšmye	'He has made a man hear'
gora +rkiwe	'The man has mounted'
xa gora +mərkiwe	'He has caused a man to mount'
gora fkire	'The man has understood'
xa gora məfkire	'He has made a man understand'
gora yəmye	'The man has sworn'
xa gora məmye	'He has made a man swear'
+yala lwiše	'The child has dressed'
xa +yala məlbəšle	'He has dressed a child'
gora məqye	'A man has spoken'
xa gora məmqye	'He has made a man speak'
gora rqile	'The man has danced'
xa gora mərqile	'He has made a man dance'
gora npixe	'The man has vomited'
xa gora mənpixe	'He has made a man vomit'

In some cases the stem I verbs in the list may be considered to have a generic, unspecified object, e.g. *xile* 'He has eaten (food)', or an object referent that is recoverable from the context, e.g.

(1)   A: *xa-qalà ít.*ˈ B: *šəmyèn.*ˈ 'A: There is a noise. B: I have heard.'

In some cases, however, the existence of such a latent object that is distinct from the verbal activity is not obvious, as in verbs such as the following, all of which are treated as transitive:

bəlbile	'He has searched'
+jire	'He has urinated'
məqye	'He has spoken'
ndire	'He has vowed'
riqe	'He has spat'
rqile	'He has danced'
xšiwe	'He has thought'

yəmye   'He has sworn'
zmire   'He has sung'

All these verbs share the feature of having a volitional subject. Conversely, some verbs that may *prima facie* be thought to have an implied object referent are treated as intransitive. This applies, for example, to the verb *yld* 'to give birth', e.g.

baxta ylida   'The woman has given birth'

The subject of the verb *yld* is not obviously volitional, which suggests that volitionality of the subject has a tendency to cause the verb to be coded as transitive. Not all verbs with volitional subjects, however, are treated as transitive, as we have seen in cases such as *sə́xe* 'He has washed', *šlix* 'He has undressed'. There are also inconsistencies in other areas of the verbal lexicon, such as animal noises, e.g.

kalba nwix (intr.)   'The dog has barked'
xmara zənzir (intr.)   'The donkey has brayed'
xorəz məkrize (tr.)   'The cock has crowed

The production of several noises is expressed by phrasal verbal forms consisting of a nominal object and verb. These are regularly coded as transitive, although they are idiomaticallly translated into English by intransitive verbs, e.g.

šoba wide   'He has coughed'
⁺*nare dhile*   'He has shouted'
⁺*nahala msile*   'He has listened'
dewa zuza məgriše   'The wolf has howled'

In conclusion it can be said that the existence of an explicit object component with a verb is not a crucial factor for the morphological coding of transitivity. Several verbs in the lexicon are coded as transitive when they lack an object. In some cases the verb may be interpreted as having a latent object, but in others volitionality of the subject appears to be the determining factor. This is only a tendency, however, since not all verbs with volitional subjects are coded as transitive.

As remarked in §4.3., some Jewish NENA dialects make a morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in the past preterite, transitive verbs being expressed by the ⁺*qtəlle* with L-suffix inflection and intransitive ones by the ⁺*dmix* form with S-suffix inflection. It is worth noting that the division in the lexicon between the two categories is not identi-

cal across the dialects. Some verbs that are coded as transitive in J. Urmi are coded as intransitive in other dialects, and vice versa:

	Transitive	Intransitive
rql 'to dance'	J. Urmi (*rqile*)	J. Sulemaniyya (*rqil*)
		J. Sanandaj (*rqil*)
nwx 'to bark'	J. Sulemaniyya (*nwəxle*)	J. Urmi (*nwix*)
	J. Sanandaj (*nwəxle*)	
	J. Kar Hasan (*noxle*)	
phr 'to yawn'	J. Sulemaniyya (*phərre*)	J. Urmi (*phir*)
	J. Sanandaj (*pəhre*)	
tpl 'to sneeze'	J. Sulemaniyya (*tpəlle*)	J. Urmi (*tpil*)
	J. Tikab (*tpəlle*)	
	J. Sanandaj (*təple*)	J. Qar Hasan (*tpil*)

10.3.3.2. Resultative Perfect Function

In the majority of cases the $^+$*qtile*/$^+$*dmix* form expresses a resultative perfect. This expresses a state in existence in the present that has come about as the result of a previous action. It is the resultant state that is the focus of the verb rather than the action, e.g.

(1) *xá-danka* $^+$*čobā́n ədyè.*⌐ 'A shepherd has come.' (19)

(2) *bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá.*⌐ *balkí ləbbàw m-xayán píš.*⌐ *balkí ešìqa əl-xa-dánka broná lá-mara.*⌐ 'Perhaps the girl has had a bad dream. Perhaps she is angry with one of us. Perhaps she has fallen in love with a boy and does not tell.' (4)

(3) *xayú báx puč-xàbra miré?*⌐ *yan-púč xulmà xzitát*⌐ *zə̀dyat,*⌐ *lišanàx dwíq?*⌐ 'Has one of them said a bad word against you? Or have you had a bad dream and have had a fright and your tongue has become tied?' (9)

(4) *áxča našé ə́dye* $^+$*čára là-widu*⌐ *balkí yá əlhà šdírele.*⌐ 'So many people have come and not found a solution. Perhaps God has sent this one.' (21)

(5) *áxni xá axxa-xabrá šəmyéx* $^+$*m-daàn.*⌐ 'We have heard such words from our mother.' (66)

(6) *ằt| gorà xdirét.|* 'You have become a husband.' (89)

(7) *xá-gora məšlifə̀lli,| zílan gàllew.|* 'A man has seduced me and I have gone with him.' (62)

(8) *tār-šə̀mmé attá plìx.|* 'The door of heaven has opened.' (112)

The difference in focus between the resultative perfect and the ⁺*qtəlle* form is illustrated by a pair of constructions such as:

(9) *təmmál ədyè.|* 'He came yesterday.'

(10) *təmmál ədyèle.|* 'He came yesterday.'

Construction (9) asserts the present resultant state and can only be used by a speaker if the person in question is still with him. In (10), on the other hand, it is the past event that is asserted without any necessary implication that the resultant state of his 'having come' still exists in the present. The ⁺*qtəlle* form, therefore, can be used in a context in which it is explicity stated that he subsequently left, whereas this would not be possible with the resultative perfect:

(11) *təmmál ədyèle,| u-ədyóm m-belá ⁺plə̀tle.|* 'He came yesterday and left the house today.'

The endpoint of an event expressed by a ⁺*qtəlle* form can be in the recent past, in some cases coterminous with the present moment. In the case of the resultative perfect, on the other hand, there is always a certain temporal disjunction between the present resultant state that is expressed by the form and the past event that the form implies. This is shown by the contextual usage of construction such as (12) and (13):

(12) *broní xzèloxe?|* 'Have you seen my son?'

(13) *broní xəzyə̀tte?|* 'Have you seen my son?'

Construction (12) would be used to refer to a situation in the recent past, for example a few minutes ago. This is translated idiomatically by the English perfect of recent past. Construction (13) would not be appropriate in this context. Rather the event implied by the question is assumed by the speaker to have taken place at some point earlier in the day or in the more remote past.

The difference of focus is reflected also by the different contextual usage of a pair of clauses such as (14) and (15):

(14) *šwawé ədyè.|* 'The neighbours have come.'

(15) *šwawé ədyèlu.*⌐ 'The neighbours have come.'

Both of these clauses could be used to report the arrival of the neighbours after they had arrived. Construction (14) with the perfect would be typically used if their coming was unexpected, the focus being on the state of their having come, which is deemed to be informative for the hearer. Construction (15) would be used if the coming of the neigbours was expected at some time. The focus here is on the report of the event of their coming, which is bound to a particular point in time. This link to a particular temporal point makes the assertion of the event informative.

The resultative perfect is regularly used in the syntactic frame *hallag la/hala la* 'not yet', when there is an expectation that the event in question will happen in the future, e.g.

(16) *hallág lá ədyè.*⌐ 'He has not yet come.'

(17) *hallág čáy lá šətyɛ̀tta.*⌐ 'You have not yet drunk your tea.'

The same event may be expressed by a resultative perfect form and by a preterite form (⁺*qtəlle*) according to the perspective with which it is presented. In (18), for example, the first two verbs marked in bold focus on the current state resulting from the occurrence of the event in question. In the third verb, however, the speaker puts the focus on the event itself, in the context of the preceding sequential narrative of its various component events, and uses the preterite ⁺*qtəlle* form.

(18) *ò kyél bod-má ya-šulá **xdír**.*⌐ *baqatyóm qyamè,*⌐ *izalé geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*⌐ *máre aġái Šlómo ha-mèlex*⌐ *máre xà axxa-šulá b-reší **ədyé**.*⌐ *lelé Elyáhu ⁺hannawí ədyéle g-xulmì.*⌐ *zə́lli g-wərxà.*⌐ *korpí piràli.*⌐ *dyarí-š ədyèli,*⌐ *g-wərxá héč-⁺məndəġ là-xzeli.*⌐ *ána là hamónen əlhá dúgla dagə́l.*⌐ *bod-mà ya-šúla **xdə́rre**?*⌐ '"He (King Solomon) will know why this thing **has happened**." In the morning he got up and went to King Solomon. He said "My lord, King Solomon, such-and-such a thing **has happened** to me. At night the prophet Elijah came (to me) in my dream. I went on my way. I crossed the bridge. When I came back on my return I saw nothing on the way. I do not believe that God lies. Why **did this happen**?" (58)

In principle the resultative form asserts the existence in the present of the result of an event without referring directly to a specific event at any specific point in time. In negated clauses this generic temporal reference can be exploited to express a more emphatic denial ('at no time in the past'). In (19), for example, the preterite form *šmelox* refers to a specific event,

whereas the resultative form *la šəmyen* has generic reference (= 'I did not hear this event nor any other'):

(19) *máre* ⁺*šultaná basimà,*[|] **šmélox** *xzélox má-jur mqèla?*[|] ⁺*šultaná máre ána là šəmyén.*[|] 'He said "(May) the king (be well), did you hear and witness how she spoke?" The king said "I have not heard."' (31)

The resultative form may be combined with a temporal adverbial. In such cases it is not idiomatic to translate the verb by an English present perfect, e.g.

(20) *ana-lél-xen g-kəxwè xirén.*[|] 'Last night I looked at the stars.' (14)

(21) *lél-xen b-xulmí ədye.*[|] 'Last night he came in my dream.' (56)

When the lexical meaning of a verb is telic, i.e. it expresses an inherent endpoint of the action, the resultative perfect expresses a present state that is often most idiomatically translated by an English present. This is illustrated in the following examples by the verb ⁺*smx*, which has the basic lexical meaning of 'to stand up, to stop':

(22) *xayú* ⁺*smix kanár̃ là daholé.*[|] 'One of them is standing, not beating.' (68)

(23) *ya-qalandàr*[|] ⁺*smíx ba-réšew* ⁺*qatoè.*[|] 'This poor man is waiting for his head to be cut off.' (37)

(24) *átta báxti* ⁺*smíxa bar-syáme smoqè amblén.*[|] 'Now my wife is waiting for me to bring red shoes.' (36)

The English present perfect is used when the resultative of telic verbs occurs in constructions expressing a continuing situation such as (25):

(25) *áxča šənnéle ki-ána gwiràn.*[|] 'It is so many years that I have been married' (64)

The resultative ⁺*qtile/*⁺*dmix* is sometimes used at the onset of a section of discourse to set the background for what is to come. It often takes its temporal deictic centre from verbs in the adjacent context with past time reference. This is the case, for example, in (26), where it occurs at the onset of a chain of habitual events in the ⁺*qatəlwa* form, and in (27), where it occurs before a ⁺*qtəlwale* form. The background set by the resultative form is often idiomatically translated by a perfect participle ('having …') or a 'when' clause in English:

(26) *amréx mắsălan xaltə̀t*ˈ ⁺*kalò*ˈ *goryè* **mditá**.ˈ *goryé dóqwalu b-idèw*ˈ *kmə̀rwa*ˈ 'Let us say, for example, that the maternal aunt of the bride had brought stockings. He would hold the stockings in his hand and say …' (3)

(27) *yá axóni zóra ləbbéw* **zì**ˈ *mdéwalule belà.*ˈ 'When this young brother of mine fainted/this young brother of mine having fainted, they took him home.' (142)

In (28) the resultative form *piri* occurs in a clause that supplies pre-liminary background for the description of the events that follow by indicating the dates when they occurred. The main events themselves are presented with the habitual/iterative form (⁺*qatəlwa*) and by the punctual preterite (⁺*qtəlle*).

(28) *g-Urmì*ˈ *magón kyétun kì*ˈ *kəmróxwa dàwre,*ˈ *dáwrət* ⁺*arelè,*ˈ *dáwrət kartwè,*ˈ *dáwrət jəllonè,*ˈ *dáwrət* ⁺*urusnè,*ˈ *ayné kullù*ˈ *g-šátət ày*ˈ *əmmà-w*ˈ *arbassàr,*ˈ ⁺*hal əmmá-w əsrì*ˈ *ayné ətfaqé lóka* **pirì**.ˈ ⁺*arelé gdèwa*ˈ *g-xákma* ⁺*wáda gáat Urmì,*ˈ ⁺*hukmà godíwa.*ˈ ⁺*talàn godíwa.*ˈ *əl-*⁺*hudaé azyàt godíwalu.*ˈ *bára jəllonè gdéwa.*ˈ *jəlloné ədyélu gáat Urmì*ˈ ⁺*rába azyàt wə́dlu.*ˈ *əl-*⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába* ⁺*mjizìlu.*ˈ ⁺*rába* ⁺*talàn wə́dlu l-*⁺*hudaé.*ˈ 'In Urmi, as you know, we would say times, the time of the Christians, the time of the Kurds, the time of the Jəllone, the time of the Russians, all these events took place there in the years (19)14 to (19)20. The Christians came for some time in Urmi and held power. They plundered. They harassed the Jews. Then the Jəllone came. The Jəllone came to Urmi and caused a lot of damage. They harassed the Jews a great deal. They plundered the Jews a lot.' (164–165)

In (29) the resultative form presents the temporal background to a piv-otal event that will take place in the future:

(29) ⁺*tahà yomé*ˈ *xaaxun pišì*ˈ *əl-kúllxun laxxà*ˈ *axnì*ˈ *masmərèx.*ˈ 'Your life having lasted three days (= Your life will last for three days, then), we shall destroy all of you here.' (177)

In (30) the resultative form is used in a section that functions as an el-aborative background comment on a preceding section of discourse that narrates a historical incident:

(30) *ána* ⁺*məssén amrén baxún kì*ˈ *g-kullá yriwulá kəmmə́t* **xdíra** *g-Urmì* ⁺*hudaé m-kúllu mələtyé bi-zóda azyàt* **grišú**.ˈ 'I can tell you that in

all the confusion that happened in Urmi, the Jews suffered more damage than other communities.' (170)

The result expressed by the resultative form may be an experiential property of the subject referent rather than a perceptible situation, e.g.

(31) *aná ərbè məmqyén.* | 'I have made sheep talk.' (23)

Note the idiomatic usage of the resultative of the verb *pyš* in (32):

(32) *ayolát ki-dadáx mə-xdúg xánči-piš šàydən.* | 'You know that your father has almost gone mad with worry.' (17)

10.3.4. ⁺*qtilewa/*⁺*dmixwa*

The past resultative form ⁺*qtilewa/*⁺*dmixwa* is used in narrative to express past events that lay the background for the following pivotal events. In some cases they can be translated idiomatically into English by perfect participles ('having …') or a 'when' clause. This is illustrated in the passage in (1) where the pivotal events are expressed by the ⁺*qtəlwale* form (§10.3.2. ii):

(1) *šwawán **zíliwa** škaytà wə́dwalu m-idéw.* | *bắle əlhá maníxət dadì,* | *ləbbèw **qílwa,** | magón bod-ki l-bróna adè* | *ambálle doktòr* | *ya bàew xa-doktór,* | *awwál awwál **zílwa** əl-d-o xǎlifà,* | *fəssè hwə́lwale,* | *ršutà,* | ⁺*m-dussắx* ⁺*plə̀twalele.* | 'Our neighbours went and made a complaint against him. But my father, may he rest in peace, having had pity (for the teacher who had been jailed), in such a way that instead of coming and taking the boy to the doctor or (bringing) a doctor to him, having first gone to the teacher, he gave him money as a bribe and got him out of jail.' (142–143)

In (2) the past resultative form is used to express a habitual situation in the past that supplies the background for the ensuing narrative.

(2) *axní xá-yomane gal-dádi **zilə̀xwa** | g-tkánə d-áy ləxmá zabonè,* | *ləxmà šaqlóxwa.* | … *zállan gal-dádi géb* ⁺*šatə̀re.* | … *zállan* ⁺*smə̀xlan.* | ⁺*rába-š lá* ⁺*smə̀xlan,* | *xa-əsrì našé itwá.* | *téz mdéle tré sangagè* | *trejwắn ləxmè,* | *hwə́lle ba-dadì.* | *bára xa-dánka mən-d-áyne polisé ažần* | *mə́re ba-dadì* | … 'Some days we went with my father to the shop that sold bread to buy bread. … We went with my father to the bakers. … We went and waited. We did not wait for long, there were about twenty people. He quickly brought two loaves, two nice loaves of bread and gave them to my father. Then one of the policemen said to my father …' (174–176)

In (3) the form is used in a background clause that is marked by the subordinating particle *ki*:

(3)   *⁺kaló ki-**ədyáwa** gáat belà,ˈ ⁺rába əntəzằr kwéwalu ki-bratá,ˈ ya-⁺kalò,ˈ bronà yádla.ˈ* 'When the bride had come into the home, people had great expectation that the girl, the bride, would give birth to a son.' (115)

The past resultative is also used to supply a background comment on a a situation described in the preceding discourse, e.g.

(4)   *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá ⁺kaló maxlpiwalà,ˈ ⁺məssèwa.ˈ ⁺rába-š ayne-šúle **xdìriwa**.ˈ* 'If they wanted to change the bride even on the night of the wedding, they could. Many such cases happened.' (82)

When the verb has telic lexical meaning, the past resultative form may express a continuous state in the past that forms the background against which a following event occurs, e.g.

(5)   *bronawé kullú **ytíwiwa** ya-jùrˈ g-⁺otằġˈ … šmèlu … xaluntú mà-məra ba-⁺dàa.ˈ* 'The sons were all sitting together in the room … They heard what their sister said to their mother.' (63)

(6)   *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex **ytíwwa** ⁺g-otaġèwˈ* 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room …' (44)

10.3.5. ⁺*qtila hawe*

This form is the irrealis equivalent of the resultative perfect. It consists of the resultative participle and the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form of the verb *hwy* 'to be'. The resultative participle is inflected for gender but not for number (§4.8.1.3.), e.g.

3ms.	⁺*qtila-hawe*	'He may have killed'
3fs.	⁺*qtəlta-hawya*	'She may have killed'
3pl.	⁺*qtila-hawe*	'They may have killed'

This construction is used for both transitive and intransitive verbs. It is found in the same contexts as the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* is used (§10.2.1.1.), namely where the action has not been realized in the perception of the speaker but is only potential or where the reality of the action is not fully asserted by the speaker, e.g.

(1) *zadúlen əl-d-ay bratì‖ xa-púč šulá b-rešàw ə́dya hawé.‖* 'I am afraid that something untoward has happened to her.' (11)

(2) *lá hamónen xa-pučulá b-rešáw ədyá hawè.‖* 'I do not believe that something evil could have come upon her.' (14)

(3) *lá hamonén axxonawí tkanú dwiqà hawéla.‖* 'I do not believe that my brothers have closed their shop.'

(4) *lá hamonén baxtí əl-axxonawí xzità hawyálu.‖* 'I do not believe that my wife has seen my brothers.'

It is also used after a verb with past time reference, e.g.

(5) *la hamnə́nwa bratóx zəltà hawyá.‖* 'I did not believe that your daughter had gone.'

It occurs in the protasis of conditional constructions, e.g.

(6) *+hál attá-š mănì-t‖ +qətrà +ysíra hawé‖ +yán xa-pùč xábra míra hawé‖ o-pardá šarèwale.‖* 'If until now somebody had tied a knot or said a bad word, the curtain would release him and these would become released.' (90)

(7) *mắni-t émnu +hudaá tkanéw dwəqtá hawyà,‖ b-mandéxe gáat +dussàx.‖* 'If the shop of any Jew from among them is shut, we shall throw him into prison.' (130)

10.3.6. *+qtila hawewa*

This form, consisting of the resultative participle and the past irrealis *+qatəlwa* form of the verb *hwy*, expresses the irrealis of the past resultative. It is used in the protasis of conditional constructions to refer to a resultant state in the past that is anterior to the past event of the apodosis (1), e.g.

(1) *ắgar dadə́t +kalò‖ sandàq xdirá hawéwa xa-záa,‖ gắrag dadə́t +hatần sandáq xadə́rwa.‖ ya dádət +hatần sandáq xdíra hawéwa,‖ dádət áy +kalò b-xadə́rwa.‖ bằle,‖ ắgar tunnù‖ sandáq xdirá hawéwa gă-awwàl,‖ m-xá-danka famìl,‖ m-xá-danka ᴴməšpaxàᴴ‖ ᴴkawòdᴴ kwíwale‖ wa-godíwale sandàq‖ gáat knə̀štà.‖* 'If the father of the bride had been a godfather once (already), the father of the groom had to become the godfather. Or, if the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion). But, if both had been godfather before, they gave

the honour to a family member and made him the godfather in the synagogue.' (119–120)

The form is also used in the protasis of a conditional construction expressing a counterfactual resultant state in the past, e.g.

(2) *ăgár t*ə́*mmal ədyà haw*ə́*nwa*| *xaz*ə̀*nwale.*| 'If I had come yesterday, I would have seen him.'

10.4. VERBAL FORMS BASED ON THE INFINITIVE

10.4.1. ⁺*qatole*

This compound form, which consists of the infinitive inflected with a contracted form of the present copula, has the following functions.

(i) Progressive

The basic function of the form is to express the imperfective progressive aspect, referring to an action that is taking place at the present moment, e.g.

(1) *ắt bod-má b-šúli yarowèt?*| 'Why are you interfering with my affairs?' (48)

(2) *ắt əllì mašlofét.*| 'You are deceiving me.' (35)

(3) *dúgle dàgolet.*| 'You are lying.' (32)

(4) *čún wasità wadé,*| *kúd-nāš g*ắ*rag xabréw qab*ə̀*lle.*| 'Because he is making a (final) will, everybody must agree to his request.' (37)

In the case of stative verbs, the ⁺*qatole* form can express the 'actual present', i.e. the fact that the state is in existence at the present moment, but is not necessarily a permanent property of the subject, e.g.

(5) *aná-abulen x*ắ*š ayén āt-baí mà-mərax.*| 'I want to know again what you said to me.' (34)

(6) *lá-abulen n*ə̀*š adé.*| 'I do not want anybody to come.' (19)

(7) *ayolát ki-dadáx mə-xdúg xánči-piš šàydən.*| 'You know that your father has almost gone mad with worry.' (17)

(8) *ána ⁺rába ⁺rába xdúg wadèn.ᐟ zadúlen əl-d-ay bratìᐟ xa-púč šulá b-rešàw ə́dya hawé.ᐟ* 'I am very worried. I am afraid that something untoward has happened to her.' (11)

(9) *lá hamónen xa-pučulá b-rešáw ədyá hawè.ᐟ* 'I do not believe that something evil could have come upon her.' (14)

(10) *ána fkə́r wadén ki-gǎrág maqyàt.ᐟ* 'I think you should talk.' (18)

When a verb expresses a state that exists in the present moment but is a permanent property of the subject, the realis ⁺*qatəl* form is used. This is illustrated in (11), which contains both the realis ⁺*qatəl* form and the ⁺*qatole* form of the verb ∅*yl* 'to know'. The ⁺*qatel* form *kyat* 'You (fs.) know' is used to refer to the subject's permanent knowledge of a permanent situation, i.e. the fact that 'We love you' (*əllax gbex*). The ⁺*qatole* form *ayolat*, on the other hand, refers to her knowledge of the king's distemper which is presented as a temporary rather than a permanent situation.

(11) *at-kyát ki-áxni kullán əllàx gbéx.ᐟ bod-mà lá maqulát?ᐟ ayolát ki-dadáx mə-xdúg xánči-piš šàydən.ᐟ* 'You know that we all love you. Why are you not talking? You know that your father has almost gone mad with worry.' (17)

The ⁺*qatole* form may be used in the protasis of a conditional construction to refer to a factual situation in the present, e.g.

(12) *ágar bratì gallí la-maquláᐟ gal-mə̀ni b-maqyá?ᐟ* 'If my daughter does not talk to me, who will she talk to?' (20)

(ii) Performative

The ⁺*qatole* form is used when the verb has a performative function, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it, e.g.

(1) *aná baxún ⁺tahá yomé mholtà híwalen.ᐟ* 'I give you a limit of three days.' (11)

(iii) Narrative

The ⁺*qatole* form is often used in narrative with a perfective aspect to express an event that is sequential to what precedes. This strategy presents foreground events with hightened immediacy as if they were taking place before the eyes of the hearer. In the text corpus it is the regular verbal form for narrating events in the main body of the narrative, with the preterite

⁺*qtəlle* forms clustering in the beginning and at the onset of major shifts, especially at the onset of a section at the end of the main narrative that supplies an epilogue and final comment. Examples of the ⁺*qatole* form in narrative:

(1) ⁺*šultána* ⁺*palóte tàra*| *m-otàġ.*| *ayné tre-waziré gal-*⁺*dóġde màqulu.*| 'The king goes out of the room. The two ministers speak with one another.' (12)

(2) ⁺*šultana čápke daholè*| *nokár idàyle*| *máre bráta mar-adyà.*| *əl-bráta madùlula.*| 'The king claps his hands. A servant comes. He says "Let the girl come." They bring the girl.' (16)

(3) *o-xét wazír idàyle.*| *tasbehéw* ⁺*palotèllu.*| *əl-tasbehéw xyarè.*| *əl-lišanàw xyaré.*| 'The other minister comes. He takes out his rosary. He looks at his rosary. He looks at her tongue.' (18)

(4) ⁺*čobā́n idàyle*| *gal-xa-danká* ⁺*torbà*| *ay-ixalà*| *wiyoré* ⁺*luwà.*| 'The shepherd comes with a bag of food. He comes inside.' (22)

In the story 'The Princess who Refused to Talk' (1–43), the narrator returns to the use of the ⁺*qtəlle* form only in the epilogue appended at the end:

(5) ⁺*šultaná dastúr* **hwèlle**| *máre ba-xatrát ki-bratí mqèla,*| *ā́t-əš má-t àbulet,*| *má-t míren ána godén baox-kwèn.*| *wa-xánči maxyané zam-rané raqlané adè,*| *maxé zamrì,*| *ba-xatrát ki-bratí mqità.*| 'The king made a decree and said "Since my daughter spoke, whatever you want, whatever I promised, I shall give to you. Let some musicians, singers and dances come, let them play and sing, since my daughter has spoken."' (43)

In the story 'A missed opportunity' (50–61) the narrator shifts from ⁺*qatole* to ⁺*qtəlle* to recount a pivotal event in the narrative in which the protagonist makes a fatal error:

(6) **fkə̀r-wədle**| *máre aná əsrí šənnéle láxxa šùla godén.*| *g-əsrí šənné mən-d-ay-korpì*| *ení plixè pyarén.*| *xa-ení* ⁺*čemə̀nnu*| *xazén* ⁺*məssén mən-d-áy korpí perèn.*| 'He thought and said "I have worked here for twenty years. For twenty years I have crossed this bridge with my eyes open. Let me close my eyes and see whether I can cross this bridge."' (54)

In 'Father and sons' (62–70) the narrator shifts from ⁺*qatole* to ⁺*qtəlle* at the pivotal event in which the sons hear the truth about their mother (7).

Thereafter the narrative continues with ⁺*qatole* until the final concluding comment on the narrative (8), in which the narrator reverts to ⁺*qtəlle*:

(7) *šmèlu … xaluntú mà-məra ba-*⁺*dàa.*ǀ 'They heard what their sister said to the mother.' (63)

(8) ⁺*ondà yəllú*ǀ *ki-yá dadú lèwe.*ǀ 'Then they knew that he was not their father.' (70)

The verb ∅*mr* 'to say' exhibits a distribution that differs from the principles described above, in that it is frequently used in the ⁺*qtəlle* form in all parts of a narrative, the ⁺*qtəlle* form (e.g. *məre*) and the ⁺*qatole* form (e.g. *mare*) occurring apparently in free variation.

The ⁺*qatole* form *mare* (3ms.) or *mara* (3fs.) is sometimes used at various points in a narrative to mark off sections of discourse, the subject being, it seems, 'the story', e.g.

(9) *máre o-xét wazír idàyle.*ǀ *tasbehéw* ⁺*palotə̀llu.*ǀ *əl-tasbehéw xyarè.*ǀ '(The story) says (= Now), the other minister came. He took out his rosary. He looked at his rosary.' (18)

(10) *màra*ǀ *gal-*⁺*də́ǵde màqulu*ǀ *wazíre máru ba-*⁺*šultanà*ǀ 'Now, the ministers spoke to each other and then said regarding the king' (13)

(iv) Habitual

The ⁺*qatole* form is occasionally used to refer to a habitual activity that is not necessarily taking place at the present moment. Habitual activities that are presented as permanent properties of the subject are normally expressed by the realis ⁺*qatəl* or ⁺*qatəlwa* forms. The ⁺*qatole* form is in principle used to denote a habitual activity that is not permanent, but rather is presented as temporary. This is seen in (1), in which the speaker describes a habitual situation that has continued up to the present (idiomatically rendered by the English present perfect). The habitual activity of 'working here' is presented as a situation that is permanent (⁺*qatəl*) and will continue, whereas the activity of 'crossing this bridge with my eyes open' is presented as something that is not permanent (⁺*qatole*), and indeed the speaker that day decided to cross with his eyes shut!

(1) *mə́re aná əsrí šənnéle láxxa š̀ula godén.*ǀ *g-əsrí šənné mən-d-ay-korpì*ǀ *ení plixè pyarén.*ǀ 'I have worked here for twenty years. For twenty years I have crossed this bridge with my eyes open.' (54)

In (2) the speaker refers to a habitual situation, which he finds unacceptable and wants stopped. By using the ⁺*qatole* form he presents it as temporary rather than permanent:

(2) *kəmmə́t doktoré-š idàylu*ˈ *ki-lá-*⁺*msulu əlláx mamqè,*ˈ *rešú* ⁺*qətyè xadoré.*ˈ 'So many doctors come who cannot make you speak and have their heads cut off.' (17)

The ⁺*qatole* form is used to express habitual activities also in passages where a series of iterative events are presented as sequential to one another. The habitual function can be considered to be an extension of the perfective narrative present function described above, which would be appropriate to describe each individual occurrence of the habitual activity. It is as if the speaker has in mind in each clause one particular event that is representative of the habit. This is seen in (3), in the first clause of which the speaker makes a statement about the general custom of the groom using the ⁺*qatəlwa* form (*lečwala*). In the following clauses the speaker narrates with the ⁺*qatole* form a sequence of perfective actions that are typically carried out by any one particular groom:

(3) *bắle hamméša* ⁺*hatằn*ˈ *aqlə́t* ⁺*kalò* ⁺*léčwala.*ˈ *géna aqláw* ⁺*lyačə̀lla,*ˈ *čápke daholù,*ˈ *raqolù.*ˈ 'However, the groom always would tread on the bride's foot. Now, he treads on her foot, they clap hands and they dance.' (83)

(v) Immediate Future

The ⁺*qatole* form is occasionally used to refer to actions in the immediate future, e.g.

(1) *má-t wadéx lá xadorà.*ˈ 'Whatever we do will not work.' (12)

(2) *adé xazéx mà maré.*ˈ 'Let him come and let's see what he says.' (21)

(3) *xzí dadàx*ˈ *má-jur réši* ⁺*qatùlele.*ˈ 'See how your father cuts off my head'. (38)

10.4.2. ⁺*qatola-wele*

(i) Progressive Action in the Past

This form generally expresses the past progressive. It is typically used in narrative to denote an action or situation that was in progress in the past and overlapped temporally with the occurrence of a punctual event, e.g.

(1) *ayné zmə̀rru,⁺ rqə̀llu,⁺ mxèlu.⁺ raqlanè ədyélu.⁺ má-t wə́dlu ya-bráta rešáw là mrəmlalé.⁺ ⁺šultana m-xelá xyarà-wele.⁺ … ⁺šultaná mə-xdúg la-ayolá-wele ma-òdwa.*⁺ 'They sang, danced, played music. The dancers came. Whatever they did, the girl did not raise her head. The king was watching her secretly. ... The king out of his worry did not know what to do.' (6–7)

(2) *bronawé kullú ytíwiwa ya-jùr⁺ g-⁺otàx⁺ gal-də́xde qaraà-welu.⁺ šmèlu … xaluntú mà-məra ba-⁺dàa.*⁺ 'The sons were all sitting together in the room reading. They heard what their sister said to the mother.' (63)

(3) *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw,⁺ panjarà⁺ ⁺támaša wadà-wele*⁺ 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room and was watching at the window.' (44)

In (4) the form is used in the preliminary clauses of a passage describing a habitual situation to describe the general background against which the habitual events took place. The habitual events in the foreground of the passage are expressed by the realis ⁺*qatəlwa* form:

(4) *gáat Urmì⁺ gal-⁺arelé áxni bìš-jwān⁺ **xayaà-welan**⁺ m-má-t gal-goymè.⁺ dùs-ile⁺ unè-š axčá gallán jwā́n lá-welu,⁺ bắle gal-⁺arelé bìš-⁺wərxa **izalá-welan**.⁺ ətwalán šwáwe ⁺arelè.⁺ ətwalán sănatkaré ⁺arelé ki-gallú šùla **godə́xwa**.⁺ mắsălan sotì,⁺ ⁺Balqəz,⁺ kullxún **kyetúnwala** əlhá manəxlà,⁺ kyétun kí g-belà⁺ kəmmá otaġé ə̀twala. b-kré **kwáwalu** báat msafré ki-**gdéwa** m-malwawè.⁺ ⁺rába muštaryàw-iš⁺ ⁺arelè-welu.⁺ muštaryàw⁺ ⁺rabayú ⁺arelè-welu,⁺ armanyè-welu.⁺ ⁺rába-š **gbèwala**.*⁺ 'In Urmi we got on better with the Christians than with the Muslims. It is true that also they (the Christians) were not so good to us, but (on the whole) we got on better with the Christians. We had Christian neighbours. We had Christian craftsmen with whom we worked. For example, my grandmother Balqəz, you all used to know her, may she rest in peace, you know how many rooms she

had in the house. She would rent them out from travellers who came from the villages. Many of her clients were Christians. The majority of her clients were Christians and Armenians. They loved her very much.' (184–186)

(ii) Habitual

The ⁺*qatola-wele* form is sometimes used to express a habitual, iterated activity. In principle such activity is temporally limited, characteristic of a particular period in the past but not necessarily a permanent situation, e.g.

(1) *emnú muštárye ki idaá-welu ba-šaqolè˥ ⁺hudaé marà-welu˥ axní ǝdyóm là zabnéx.˥* 'If any clients came to make a purchase, the Jews said "We shall not sell today."' (131)

(2) *⁺urusné lékǝt kì˥ ažàn ya-askár xazàa-welu˥ ⁺qatòla-welu-le.˥* 'Wherever the Russian army saw a policeman, they killed him.' (179)

(3) *mǻni-t-ǝš ⁺là-msaa-wele˥ ǝl-d-áy-brata mamqewalà˥ xabrá hiwalá-wele rešèw ⁺qatáa-welule.˥* 'Whoever could not make the girl speak, he would give an order and they would cut off his head.' (3)

In (4), the form is used in a negated clause to refer to a discontinued, and therefore non-permanent, habitual activity:

(4) *la-xèn˥ m-korpí enéw čimè la-pyára-wele.˥* 'He never again crossed the bridge with his eyes closed.' (61)

10.5. IMPERATIVE

The imperative form typically commands an action to be performed immediately or close to the time of utterance, e.g.

(1) *waziré jwǻn šmìmun!˥* 'Ministers, listen well!' (11)

(2) *xa-trè-kǎlime gálli mqí!˥* 'Speak one or two words to me!' (8)

(3) *har-gàlli,˥ gàlli mqí!˥ ⁺mǝstùri!˥ dhùlli!˥ rúq ⁺b-salmì!˥* 'Speak with me, just with me! Curse me! Strike me! Spit in my face!' (27)

(4) *ǻt-ǝš ⁺plút tàra.˥ bráta šúqla tàk laxxá.˥* 'You also go outside. Leave the girl alone here.' (25)

(5) *kullxun xamèš xdúrun!˥* 'All of you become silent!' (39)

The imperative may be combined with a deontic particle, e.g.

(6)   *xa-sí-lox geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*ˈ 'Go to King Solomon.' (58)

Commands for an action to be performed further in the future are characteristically expressed by the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form. This is seen in (7), in which the action that has to be performed immediately is commanded with an imperative, whereas subsequent actions are commanded by ⁺*qatəl* forms:

(7)   *əl-d-áy xabušé **dhúllu** g-reš-⁺kalò.*ˈ *kí ayét kí ⁺kaló qəsməttòx-ila.*ˈ *bàra-š̌* **košét** *təxyà*ˈ *aqlàw ⁺**lečəttá**ˈ ki-ất réšaw ⁺zòr hawét.*ˈ 'Knock these apples on the head of the bride, so that you know that the bride is your destined fortune. Then go downstairs and tread on her foot, so that you will be dominant over her.' (80)

The degree of immediacy with which the command is presented is, nevertheless, not only determined by objective temporal distance but also may be determined by the subjective choice of the speaker. This is reflected in (8) in which deontic ⁺*qatəl* and imperative forms are used. The imperative forms are used not to command the temporally more immediate actions, but rather to give prominence to the most importance commands:

(8)   **ezétun** *reš-qórət dadxùn.*ˈ *kùd mənxún xá-danka ⁺síwa* **antétun.**ˈ **dahétun** *g-qaréw kəmmàt ⁺məssétun.*ˈ *jəgrèw ⁺**paltétune.**ˈ* **dhúlun** *g-qorèw,*ˈ *bára ⁺**idámun** gebì,*ˈ *ána báxun amrèn*ˈ *atxún emnixún bronèw-iletun.*ˈ 'Go to the grave of your father. Each of you take a stick. Beat his grave as much as you can. Provoke his anger. Beat on his grave, then come to me and I shall tell you which of you is his son.' (67)

A prohibition may be expressed by combining the imperative with the negative particle *la*, e.g.

(9)   *áxča nóšox là-mgusla!*ˈ 'Do not tire yourself so much!' (29)

(10) *ăgàr*ˈ *əl-xá-danka brónət ay-⁺šultanawè*ˈ *ya júwe-bronà,*ˈ *⁺talubà-š hawé*ˈ *abùlatte,*ˈ *là-nxup.*ˈ 'If you love a son of a king or another boy, even if he be a beggar, do not be ashamed.' (10)

In (9) and (10) the prohibition is perfective in aspect. The construction is also used when an iterative situation is prohibited, e.g.

(11) *heč-⁺wada lá sí ga-⁺ahrà!* 'Never go to town!'

Prohibitions are also expressed by negating the deontic ⁺*qatəl* form. These are in principle used to relate to an action in the future, e.g.

(12) *baqátta lá ezét ga-⁺ahrà.*ˈ 'Tomorrow do not go to town.'

10.6. THE COPULA

The copula is defective in that it has only one paradigm and is not inflected in the other morphological forms that are available for verbs. It expresses a realis state in the present. This may be a state that is a permanent property of a subject or a state that is a contingent property, i.e. one that is observable at the present moment but is not a permanent characteristic of the subject. The boundary between these two categories is often not clear-cut and depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker. Examples:

(1) *ó ⁺mar-aqə̀l-ile.|* 'He is intelligent.' (58)

(2) *ana xa-⁺šultanèlen.|* 'I am a king.' (10)

(3) *fă̆qàt| xayù| ày dadáx-ile.|* 'Only on of them is (the son) of your mother.' (64)

(4) *axní m-xá dada-⁺dàa iléxa.|* 'We are (descendants) of one father and mother.' (191)

(5) *āt-kullóx xa-⁺čangèlet.|* 'You in total are (no more than) a single handful.' (47)

(6) *⁺rába nigaràn-ilex.|* 'We are very worried.' (66)

(7) *⁺hudaé šúlu jwằn-ile g-šuqá.|* 'The business of the Jews is good in the market.' (126)

(8) *talgá xwarà-ile|* 'Snow is white.'

In past contexts the present copula is sometimes used to express a state in the past. Here the copula has a relative tense and takes the past reference of the adjacent verbs as its deictic centre. The copula clause in such cases is often syntactically subordinate to a main clause, as in (9) and (10), where it occurs in embedded clauses:

(9) *má-t ⁺lazə̂m-ile g-reš-míz ìtwa.|* 'What was required was on the table.' (108)

(10) *yə́lli čún ⁺arel-ile.|* 'I knew that he was a Christian.' (188)

10.7. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLE

The existential particle (*it, itwa/ə̄twa*) generally expresses permanent, continuous existence or at least an existence that the speaker wishes to present

as being permanent. The corresponding negative form (*let, letwa/lətwa*) expresses the lack of this.

(1) *ítwa góra baxtà.*⌐ 'There were (once) a husband and wife.' (50)

(2) *xá-danka korpì-itwa.*⌐ 'There was a bridge.' (54)

(3) *ítwa xá-kəmma ⁺kàsbe kí*⌐ *bélu jwắn là-wele axčá.*⌐ 'There were a few poor people, whose house was not so beautiful.' (154)

(4) *⁺rába qwəttà ətwalé.*⌐ 'He had a lot of power.' (1)

(5) *əsrá-š ⁺yále ətwala.*⌐ 'She had ten children.' (63)

It may have perfective aspect in contexts where it describes a temporally delimited situation, e.g.

(6) *má-t ⁺lazə́m-ile g-reš-míz ìtwa.*⌐ 'What was required (on that occasion) was on the table.' (108)

(7) *dyaréw mən-šulá ⁺asə̀r,*⌐ *⁺g-wərxá xazúle héč-⁺məndəġ lèt.*⌐ 'On his return from work in the evening, he saw that there was nothing on the road.' (57)

(8) *mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?*⌐ 'What business do you have with him?' (46)

10.8. THE VERB *hwy*

The verb *hwy* is conjugated in the *⁺qatəl, ⁺qatəlwa, ⁺b-qatəl, ⁺qtəlle, ⁺dmix* and imperative forms (§4.13.9.). A morphological distinction is made in the *⁺qatəl* and *⁺qatəlwa* forms between the realis with a *k-* prefix (*kwe, kəwya,* etc.) and the irrealis that lacks this (*hawe, hawya,* etc.).

The uses of this verb are suppletive to those of the copula and existential particle *it.* They may be classified as follows:

10.8.1. *wele*

Predicates with the *wele* form, which is the *⁺qtəlle* form of *hwy*, express a state in the past. This may have an imperfective aspect expressing a state that was permanently or habitually in existence in the past without the connotation of inception and end, e.g.

(1) *šulú ⁺bazazulà-wele.*⌐ 'Their profession was the cloth trade.' (123)

(2) *⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺rába ba-d-ay-šulà*⌐ *fakurè-welu.*⌐ 'The Jews were very clever at this task.' (160)

(3) *o-xét knəštá zùrta-wela.*⌐ 'The other synagogue was small.' (156)

(4) *əl-əlhá škúr wadéx ki-əlhá hammešá gallàn-wele.*⌐ 'We thank God that he was always with us.' (183)

(5) *kúlla ⁺wadá g-d-ay-fkə̀r welú.*⌐ 'They were always thinking about this.' (65)

(6) *wazyătú jwān-là-wela.*⌐ 'There situation was not good.' (50)

The past copula may also express a contingent situation in the past that is delimited in its duration, e.g.

(7) *ləxmá ⁺rába b-qahtì-wele.*⌐ *ixalé b-qahtì-welu.*⌐ 'Bread was in very short supply. Foodstuffs were in short supply.' (174)

(8) *bàu*⌐ *má-t ⁺lazə̀m-wele*⌐ *kwə̀lwa.*⌐ 'He gave to them whatever was necessary.' (175)

(9) *⁺šultaná wàxt-wele šaydə́nwa*⌐ 'The king—it was time he was going mad (= The king was almost going mad).' (2)

10.8.2. *kwe*

The realis ⁺*qatəl* form of *hwy* is used to express the habitual or the future. The future usage is somewhat less forceful than the future form *ba-hawe* (§10.8.6.), in that when using this form the speaker is not necessarily completely certain about the proposition that he expresses:

(1) *ó hammešá g-belà kwé.*⌐ 'He is always in the house.'

(2) *təmmál ó ⁺b-ahrà kwé.*⌐ 'Tomorrow he will be in the town (as far as I know).'

10.8.3. *hawe*

(i) Irrealis

This form normally expresses irrealis. It is found in both main and subordinate clauses in the same contexts as the irrealis ⁺*qatəl* form of other verbs is used (§10.2.1.1.), e.g.

(1) *⁺šultanà hawe-basimá.*⌐ 'May the king be well.' (4)

(2) *āt-⁺salmàx hawé xwará.*⌐ 'May your face be white (= May you be honoured).' (117)

(3) *magón kullú g-šuqá gā́rag tkaná plìxa hawé.*| 'Like everybody (each) shop must be open on Saturday.' (128)

(4) *ăgár ⁺məssát àt aqléw ⁺lučlá*| *ki-àt rešéw ⁺zor hawyát.*| 'If you can, *you* tread on his foot, so that *you* will be dominant.' (83)

(5) *qalyà godíwa gáat béla*| *daréwa ki-hàwelu.*| 'They made fried meat and put it (in storage) in the house so that they would have it (in the winter).' (159)

(6) *nišé ăgár ⁺qanšár molà-š hawé*| *ga-qorà-š daróttu*| *ā́gar šə́nnu xà-šata*| *zòda amróttu,*| *maqè.*| 'Even if women are facing death, even if you put them in the grave, if you say their age is one year more (than it really is), they speak.' (42)

(7) *ā́gar-əš bratá abyá ⁺jahə́l hawè,*| *ábya gállew gorà,*| *aná qablèn.*| 'Furthermore, if the girl wants and he is young, if she wants to marry him, I would agree.' (22)

(8) *ăgàr*| *əl-xá-danka brónət ay-⁺šultanawè*| *ya júwe-bronà,*| *⁺talubà-š hawé*| *abùlatte,*| *là-nxup.*| 'If you love a son of a king or another boy, even if he be a beggar, do not be ashamed.' (10)

In (9) the modality is epistemic, in that it expresses a less than complete commitment to the truth of the proposition by the speaker, who expresses disbelief that the situation could exist:

(9) *aná ⁺šultanà-hawen,*| *āt-baí dúgle dagolèt!*| 'I am a king and you are telling me lies!' (35)

(ii) Realis Habitual

Occasionally the irrealis form is used to express a permanent habitual property of the subject referent, e.g.

(1) *kullá ⁺wadá ⁺hudaé hamméša g-⁺tìna hawé magón kəmrí.*| 'All the time the Jews are "in the mud", as they say.' (170)

10.8.4. *kwewa*

This is the realis ⁺*qatəlwa* form of *hwy*. It always has an imperfective aspect with past tense reference and tends to be used when the predicate expresses a property that is characteristic of the subject or when it describes a habitual situation. It overlaps with the function of the ⁺*qtəlle* form *wele* and the past

existential particle (*itwa, letwa*), which, as remarked above (§10.7.), may be used with either an imperfective or a perfective aspect., e.g.

(1) ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába jwā́n máre* ⁺*tə́mma kwèwa.*⌉ 'They were very good and tasty.' (163)

(2) *tmanyà yomé*⌉ *belà*⌉ *tkanè-inan*⌉ *šulé* ⁺*ysiré kwèwa.*⌉ ⁺*hudàe*⌉ *bèla kwéwa.*⌉ 'For eight days (we were) at home, the shops and the workplaces were closed. The Jews were at home.' (98)

(3) ⁺*rába* ⁺*ràba*⌉ *báte kwéwa ki-là damxíwa.*⌉ 'There were many houses in which (people) did not sleep.' (91)

(4) *báte ay-nòšu kwéwa.*⌉ 'The houses belonged to them.' (154)

(5) ⁺*səmhá ilánə d-áy Urmì*⌉ *magón ay-láxxa là kəwyáwa.*⌉ 'The Festival of Trees (Ṭu bə-Shvaṭ) in Urmi was not like it is here.' (106)

(6) ⁺*kaló ki-ədyáwa gáat belà,*⌉ ⁺*rába əntəzā̀r kwéwalu ki-bratá,*⌉ *ya-* ⁺*kalò,*⌉ *bronà yádla.*⌉ 'When the bride had come into the home, people had great expectation that the girl, the bride, would give birth to a son.' (115)

10.8.5. *hawewa*

This is used to express irrealis modality in the past, e.g.

(1) *ušwà yomé,*⌉ *ušwà lelawé*⌉ *ó pardá gărág* ⁺*ysə̀rta hawyáwa.*⌉ 'For seven days and seven nights the curtain had to be closed.' (87)

(2) *ána nòši*⌉ *ắgar* ⁺*m-trosà-š kí*⌉ *zdelà la-hawyáwa*⌉ *ắgàr*⌉ *magón našé əllán malpìwa*⌉ *táfqa má-t ána ə́dyom ayolèn*⌉ ⁺*táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa.*⌉ 'I myself, if in truth there had not been (so much) fear, if they had taught us like human beings, perhaps I would have known three times as much as I know today.' (145)

10.8.6. *ba-hawe*

This is used to express future time reference when the speaker is completely certain about the proposition expressed (contrast the future expressed by *kwe* §10.8.2.):

(1) *ó* ⁺*ga-ahrà ba-hawé.*⌉ 'He will (certainly) be in the town.'

(2) *kúlla əsrà šənné tafáat óttu*⎮ *broní m-bratá* +*rə̀wwa ba-hawé.*⎮ 'My son will be older than the girl, with a difference in all of ten years.' (76)

10.8.7. *ba-hawewa*

This form is used deontically with past time reference ('should have …'), in constructions such as (1):

(1) *axxoní* +*ga-ahrá ba-hawèwa,*⎮ *là-ədyele.*⎮ 'My brother should have been in the town, but he did not come.'

10.8.9. *həwe*

This is the resultative +*dmix* form, which is inflected with S-suffixes according to the conjugation of intransitive verbs. This may be used with an ingressive sense to express the coming into existence of the subject, e.g.

(1) *ayné šulé là həwé.*⎮ 'These things have not happened.'

It can be used to express an experiential property of the subject referent rather than a perceptible situation, e.g.

(2) *aná kəmmá zaé g-Urmì hə́wen.*⎮ 'I have been in Urmi several times.'

It is used also in clauses providing the background for a foreground statement (for this function of the resultative see §10.3.3.2.). In such cases, where it has discourse dependency on another clause, it may be used with past time reference in the context of past tense verbal clauses, e.g.

(3) *aná zə́lli lóka tə̀mmal.*⎮ *ó lóka là həwyá.*⎮ 'I went there yesterday. She was not there.'

10.9. THE VERB *xdr*

The verb *xdr* is used in predicates corresponding to the types that occur with the copula, the existential particle and the verb *hwy*. It differs from these in that it has an ingressive sense of entering a state ('becoming, coming into existence'). It may be conjugated in the full range of verbal forms that are available to regular verbs. Examples from the text corpus:

10.9.1. 'to become'

(1) *ya-tunnù enéw*⎮ *kór xadrí* 'May his two eyes become blind.' (1)

(2) *bar-mənnì*| ⁺*šultantá b-xadràt.*| 'After me you will become queen.' (8)

(3) *m-Awstrália xa-năfár galléw* ⁺*dòst xdírənwa.*| 'I had become friendly with somebody from Australia.' (187)

(4) ⁺*šultaná* ⁺*rába xduglú xadorè.*| 'The king becomes very worried.' (11)

(5) *dadú jùwe-naš xdír.*| 'Their father turned out to be another man.' (70)

(6) *kullxún xamèš xdúrun!*| 'All of you be silent!' (39)

10.9.2. 'to come into existence, to happen'

(1) ⁺*məssát baí amrát mà-xdir.*| 'You can tell me what has happened.' (17)

(2) *ána áyolen ma-xdír əl-d-ay-bratà.*| 'I know what has happened to that girl.' (39)

(3) ⁺*rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa.*| 'Many such things happened.' (82)

(4) *bára géna hamắn hamắn yá* ⁺*qazya xdə̀ra.*| 'Afterwards exactly the same thing happened.' (148)

(5) *heč-*⁺*čára là-xadora-wela.*| 'No solution was found (literally: happened).' (3)

(6) *má-t wə́dlu* ⁺*hadaé là-xdəra.*| 'Whatever the Jews did, it did not come about (= it did not work).' (132)

10.10. INFINITIVES

The infinitive may be used outside of compound verbal forms (⁺*qatole,* ⁺*qatola-wele*) in the various syntactic constructions.

10.10.1. Adverbial

10.10.1.1. Temporal Adverbial

It may have the function of a temporal adverbial clause. The subject referent may be expressed by a nominal (1–2), a pronominal suffix (3–8), or by both (9). The suffix is from the paradigm of suffixes that are attached to nominals

and prepositions. A nominal that is dependent on the nominal in a direct object relationship is regularly placed before the infinitive, just as direct objects are placed before finite verbs.

(1) ⁺*asr xadore məra baew.* 'When evening came, she said to him.' (G:96)

(2) ⁺*pəsxanula paroqe, gal* ⁺*hatān ədyela bela.* 'When the merriment had finished, she went home with the bridegroom.' (G:96)

(3) *attá* ⁺*palotáw xəzyàli⌉ gálli là-mqela.⌉* 'I saw her just now as she came out, but she did not speak with me' (31)

(4) *kul-lél damoxèw⌉ idèw paláxwalu⌉ kmárwa əlhà,⌉ magon-kì⌉ kyèt⌉ ó-jur bài-š hól.⌉* 'Every night, when he went to bed, he would open his hands and say "God, provide for me as you think best."' (51)

(5) *baqattá šulá izalòx⌉* ⁺*g-wərxà⌉ əlhá xa-jwā́n jwā́n xaznà hwī́ləllox.⌉* 'Tomorrow, when you go to work, on the way God has given to you a very fine treasure.' (52)

(6) *fkə́r-wade bálki dyarì.⌉ dyaréw mən-šulá* ⁺*asə̀r,⌉* ⁺*g-wərxá xazúle héč-*⁺*məndəġ lèt.⌉ xazúle hèč-*⁺*məndəġ.⌉* 'He thought "Perhaps when I return (I'll see them)." On his return from work in the evening, he saw that there was nothing on the road. He saw nothing.' (57)

(7) *lá izalì⌉ lá idayì⌉* ⁺*g-wərxá hèč-*⁺*məndəġ létwa.⌉* 'Neither when I went nor when I came back was there anything on the road.' (57)

(8) *brata xazoew nxəple.* 'When he saw the girl, he became ashamed.' (G:97)

(9) *šəmša ganoew,* ⁺*dməxlu.* 'When the sun set, they went to sleep.' (G:97)

The infinitive may have passive diathesis, as in (10):

(10) *kúd xléta-š* ⁺*masroxè⌉ bára xa-musìk maxéwa,⌉ čàpke dahíwa.⌉* 'When each gift was announced, they would then play some music and applaud.' (96)

10.10.1.2. Adverbial of Manner

The infinitive is placed either before or after the finite verb, e.g.

(1) ⁺*pasoxe* ⁺*pasoxe yrəqle bela.* 'Joyfully he ran home.' (G:96)

(2)   ⁺*plitle tara baxila.* 'He went outside weeping.' (G:96)

(3)   *mǝre baew kaxoke.* 'He said to him laughing.' (G:96)

(4)   *baqore baqore nāš* ⁺*mǝsse ade* ⁺*mate* ⁺*Istambol* 'By dint of asking
      one can get to Istanbul.' (G:96)

10.10.1.3. Cognate Infinitive

The adverbial infinitive may be from the same root as the finite verb of the
clause. This is used to give focal prominence to the action in contrastive
consructions such as:

(1)   ⁺*palote* ⁺*mǝssen* … ⁺*palten, madore la* ⁺*mǝssen madrǝnnu.* 'I can
      take them out, but I cannot return them.'

10.10.1.4. Complement of pyš

An infinitive may be used as an adverbial complement following the verb
pyš 'to remain' in constructions such as:

(1)   *pišlu xa l-xa xyara* 'They remained looking at one another.' (G:96)

10.10.2. Purpose

An infinitive phrase may be a direct complement of a verb, without a prepo-
sition, with the function of expressing purpose. In this construction it is
regularly placed after the verb:

(1)   *izalú gáat* ⁺*otā̀ġ,*⸠ *ixalà,*⸠ *šatoè,*⸠ *raqolè,*⸠ *zamorè.*⸠ 'They go into the
      room, to eat, drink, dance and sing.' (84)

(2)   *tmanyamǝnjì lélǝt áy elá*⸠ *biqqū̀r godíwa,*⸠ *ǝl-*⁺*dóġde xazoè.*⸠ 'On the
      eighth night of the festival they made visits, in order to see one
      another.' (104)

(3)   *qǝmla raqole.* 'She got up to dance.' (G:97)

(4)   *kud yom gezawa julle masoe.* 'Every day she went to wash clothes.'
      (G:97)

(5)   *ytǝwle julle paloe*. 'He sat down to delouse his clothes.' (G:97)

(6)   *zǝlle* ⁺*xaliče zaqore yalope.* 'He went to learn carpet-weaving.'
      (G:97)

(7)   *ki-zóllan lǝxmá šaqolè*⸠ 'when we went to buy bread' (182)

The construction is often used after the verb *pyl* 'to fall', e.g.

(8) *pəlle raxoše.* 'He fell to walking (= He set off walking).' (G:97)

(9) *pelen bar baxti balbole.* 'I shall set out to look for my wife.' (G:97)

An abstract noun may be used in the same way, as in (10)

(10) *kəmríwa ba-bratxùn⌐ bélə d-áy flankás abúlu adè⌐ elčulà.⌐* 'They would say that the family of so-and-so want to come to ask for your daughter's hand.' (72)

10.10.3. Nominal Function

It may occupy a syntactic position in the clause that is characteristic of nominals. If the infinitive of a transitive verb has a direct object complement, this is placed before it, just as a direct object is normally placed before a finite verb, .e.g. *⁺hatān masxoe* 'the washing of the groom'. A definite direct object may optionally be resumed by a pronominal suffix on the infinitive, e.g. *əl-d-o gora ⁺qatolew* 'the killing of that man'.

10.10.3.1. Predicate of Copula

(1) *nurá behrá ⁺paloté ilà.⌐* 'The fire is the bringing out of light.' (79)

10.10.3.2. Linked to a Preceding Noun by Annexation

(1) *⁺hál kí-t idáyle léle d-áy pardìn šaroé.⌐* 'until the night of the releasing of the curtain came.' (84)

(2) *axní xá-yomane gal-dádi zilə̀xwa⌐ gə-tkánə d-áy ləxmá zabonè,⌐ ləxmà šaqlə́xwa.⌐* 'Some days we went with my father to the shop that sold bread to buy bread.' (174)

10.10.3.3. Direct Object

(1) *pardín šaroè⌐ lélə d-áy xošə̀ba godíwala.⌐* 'They would perform the releasing of the curtain on the Saturday night.' (87)

(2) *⁺hatə́n masxoè godíwa.⌐* 'They would perform the bathing of the groom.' (85)

10.10.3.4. Complement of a Preposition

(1) *ya-qalandàr⌐ ⁺smíx ba-réšew ⁺qatoè.⌐* 'This poor man is waiting for his head to be cut off.' (37)

(2) *⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.⌐* 'It was very easy for the Jews to go to synagogue.' (157)

(3) *kúd ⁺məndə́ġ šaqlíwa g-belà,⌐ kwéwalu gáat belà,⌐ ⁺lázəm lá-wela m-šuqá ba-šaqolè.⌐* 'They would have at hand everything in the house. There was no need to buy anything from the market.' (163)

(4) *gal-⁺pasoxè-nan⌐ gal-rɔ̀qla,⌐ gal-zamòre,⌐ izalù,⌐ ⁺hal-kì⌐ léle d-áy xlulà.⌐* 'They go off with merriment, dancing and singing, until the night of the wedding.' (77)

(5) *⁺kálo madewalà.⌐ ⁺masəmxíwa gáat ⁺hayàt⌐ gál marqolè,⌐ gál zamorè.⌐* 'They would bring the bride. They would make her stand in the courtyard, making her dance, with singing.' (78)

(6) *⁺hatə̀n⌐ ínan ⁺kálo béhra ⁺palotù.⌐ ⁺hal bahorè.⌐* 'The groom and the bride go out into the light, until it became light.' (91)

(7) *qǻmol ⁺urusné idàa,⌐ ⁺batɔ́t ay-⁺hudaé kullù⌐ ni⁺šaná gal-dəmmà,⌐ gállə d-áy smoqà,⌐ idá smoqà,⌐ ni⁺šə̀n dréwalulu.⌐* 'Before the Russians came, they had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand.' (173)

10.10.4. Gerundive Function

An infinitive in predicative position that is the complement of the annexation particle *ay* has passive diathesis with what what may be termed a gerundive function, in that it expresses that the subject of the clause needs or deserves to be the object of an action, e.g.

(1) *⁺massé-š yapéwa lɔ̀ka-š⌐ ⁺rába ⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.⌐* 'They baked matzos there and this was very worthy of being seen (= worth seeing).' (98)

(2) *⁺rába ay-šamoè ilá.⌐* 'It is very worthy of being heard (= worth hearing about) (71)

(3) *áy šaqolèle.⌐* 'It is worth buying.'

In (4) an Arabic verbal noun is used in a similar construction:

(4) *axčà⸾ áy taaríf là-wela.⸾* 'It was not worthy of praise.' (151)

If the infinitive has an explicit object constituent, as in (5), it has active diathesis:

(5) *áy ləbbá qyalà-wela.⸾* 'It was (liable to) burn the heart (= It was pitiable).' (121)

Another construction that can be classified as gerundive is the combination of the infinitive with the verb ∅*dy* 'to come'. This expresses that the subject can be, is permitted or is deserving to be the object of the action. Here again the infinitive has passive diathesis. It is commonly used in the construction *gde imara* 'It may be said', e.g.

(6) *gdé imára kí gal-⁺arelé axní xančí biš-⁺wərxá gezə̀xwa.⸾* 'It may be said that we got on a little better with the Christians.' (190)

(7) *⁺hudáe batù⸾ gde-imára g-markàz-welu.⸾* 'It can be said that the houses of the Jews were in the centre (of the town).' (153)

It may be used also with other verbs, e.g.

(8) *yá gdé maštoxè.⸾* 'This may be found.'

(9) *yá gdé twarà.⸾* 'This can be broken.'

The construction in (10) could be interpreted as such a gerundive construction:

(10) *bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé.⸾* 'Only this method was able to make her talk.' (42)

10.11. EXPRESSION OF THE PASSIVE

Allusion has been made already in various places to the expression of the passive. These are brought to together here with some elaboration.

10.11.1. ⁺*qtila xdr*

The construction consisting of the resultative patriciple and the verb *xdr* 'to become' is typically used to express the passive where the subject is a non-volitional undergoer of the action and there is an implied external agent, e.g.

(1) *rešət-tùnnxun⸾ ⁺qətyà b-xadə́r.⸾* 'The head of both of you will be cut off.' (11)

(2)   *rešú ⁺qətyè xadoré.⌐* 'Their heads are cut off.' (17)

(3)   *kyát kəmmá rešé ⁺hal-attá ⁺qətyé xdirí ki-ắt la-maqulàt?⌐* 'Do you
      know how many heads have so far been cut off because you do
      not talk?' (26)

(4)   *la-qablì⌐ kí … áyne xabré qbìle xadrí.⌐* 'They do not allow these
      words to be accepted.' (88)

(5)   *ayné šəryè xadóru.⌐* 'These become released.' (90)

10.11.2. Unaccusative

When the subject is a non-volitional undergoer of an action and there is no
necessarily implied external agent, an intransitive verbal form is used. This
is often an unaccusative alternant of a transitive verb (§10.3.3.1.), e.g.

> *xa tara plixe*   'He has opened a door'
> *tara plix*   'The door has opened'
>
> *xa ⁺siwa twire*   'He has broken a piece of wood'
> *⁺siwa twir*   'The piece of wood has broken'

In this light, the verb form in (1) can be interpreted as an unaccusative
alternant of the normally transitive verb *m-štx* 'to find'. The lack of implica-
tion of an external agent has given the verb a potential sense, i.e. 'able to be
found' but not necessarily found by somebody:

(1)   *héč-⁺məndəġ lá maštoxà-wele.⌐* 'Nothing could be found.' (174)

10.11.3. 3pl. Impersonal Subject

When the agent of an action is not specified, it may be expressed by an im-
personal 3pl. pronominal subject. This construction can be idiomatically
translated by an English passive, e.g.

(1)   *báxta əllí məšlifù.⌐* 'Wife, they have deceived me (= I have been
      deceived).' (57)

(2)   *xaznət ⁺šultana gənwawalu* 'They had robbed the treasury of the
      king (= The treasury of the king had been robbed).' (G:92)

10.11.4. Passive Diathesis of the Infinitive

The infinitive has a passive diathesis in various contexts (§10.10.1.1., §10.10.4.), e.g.

(1) *kúd xléta-š ⁺masroxè| bára xa-musìk maxéwa,| čàpke dahíwa.|* 'When each give was announced, they would then play some music and applaud.' (96)

(2) *⁺rába ay-šamoè ilá.|* 'It is very worthy of being heard (= worth hearing about) (71)

(3) *gdé imára kí gal-⁺arelé axní xančí biš-wərxá gezə̀xwa.|* 'It may be said that we got on a little better with the Christians' (190)

10.11.5. Passive Diathesis of Causative Verbs

As remarked in §4.25., when a stem I transitive verb takes a direct object, a stem II causative of the verb can have an active or passive diathesis, e.g. *⁺ysr* 'to bind (so.)' : *⁺m-ysr* 'to cause (so.) to bind' ~ 'to cause (so.) to be bound'.

10.12. RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLES IN ADVERBIAL PHRASES

The resultative participle is sometimes used in adverbial phrases that can be interpreted as reduced predications, such as those found in the following:

(1) *bráta har-o-júr rešáw təltyà,| ⁺m-ótāġ ⁺palóta izalà.|* 'The girl, her head hung down in the same way (as before), went out of the room.' (11)

(2) *g-əsrí šənné mən-d-ay-korpì| ení plixè pyarén.|* 'For twenty years I have crossed this bridge with my eyes open.' (54)

(3) *⁺rába ⁺pasoxé ki-enéw ⁺čimé korpí pirə̀lla.|* 'He was very happy that he had crossed the bridge with his eyes closed.' (55)

(4) *ya-šulá bod-mà widéte| ⁺m-šultaná lá bqirà?|* 'Why have you done this thing without having asked the king?' (134)

10.13. ACTIVE PARTICIPLES

10.13.1. Complements

An active participle may take a direct object or prepositional phrase as its dependent complement. The direct object is regularly placed before the participle, as it is before verbs, e.g.

masye doqana	'fisherman'
ixala bašlana	'cook' (literally: cooker of food)
xazna ganwana	'the robber of the treasury'
naše mašlfana	'the deceiver of people'
káre gúbte zabnanà⸽	'a vendor of butter and cheeses' (123)

Prepositional phrase complements generally precede the participle:

⁺*ǝl-šultana abyana*	'he who wishes the king well'
ǝllan parqana	'our saviour'
barew yarqane	'those running after him'
g-bela yatwane	'those sitting in the house'

The prepositional phrase is, however, placed after the participle if it also has a direct object, e.g.

ǝl-lǝxmá zabnána g-šuqà⸽ 'a vendor of bread in the market' (123)
ixala bašlana ba-dadi 'the one who cooks for my father'

A nominal can be modified by these constructions, to which it is conected by annexation, e.g.

našǝt barew yarqane 'the people running after him'
⁺*yalǝt qamolu yatwana* 'the children sitting in front of them'

10.13.2. Use in Negative Constructions

The active participle is sometimes used in a negative predicate to express negation of an action in the future. The participle in principle expresses a permanent property of the subject and this is used as a device for intensifying the negation, e.g.

(1) *ána xén* ⁺*mǝdrǻš ezána lèwen.⸽* 'I shall not go to school again (at all).' (149)

(2) *ǎgár la-maqyantá hawyá* ⁺*šultána rešàn* ⁺*b-qatéle.⸽* 'If she will not speak (at all), the king will cut off our head.' (12)

The participle may take a verbal complement in such constructions, e.g.

(3) *ána əllóx dahaná lèwən*ǀ 'I shall not hit you (at all).'

10.14. DIRECT OBJECT

The expression of pronominal direct objects as suffixes on the various verbal forms has been described in §4.15.–§4.18. When the direct object is an independent nominal or pronominal phrase, four types of syntactic construction are used.

10.14.1. No Grammatical Marking

The object has no grammatical marking either on the nominal or on the verb in the form of a pronominal suffix or gender and number agreement with the object on the verbal base.

This is the usual construction when the object nominal is indefinite, e.g.

(1) *xa-sehmá gáat ⁺moè mandéwa.*ǀ 'They would put a piece of silver in the water.' (105)

(2) *bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá.*ǀ 'Perhaps the girl has had a bad dream' (4)

(3) *gal-d-ó ⁺məssét … ba-nóšox tkanà palxét.*ǀ 'With this you can open a shop for yourself' (52)

(4) *xà kǎlima mqí!*ǀ 'Speak just one word!' (38)

(5) *ana ⁺məssén baáx ⁺čarà-oden.*ǀ 'I can find a solution for you.' (10)

(6) *aná ərbè məmqyén.*ǀ 'I have made sheep talk.' (23)

(7) *əsrí-w xà-danka ⁺šamalé mar-madè.*ǀ 'Let them bring twenty-one candles.' (40)

Grammatical marking is omitted sporadically when the object is definite. This is found where the object bears the nuclear stress and is an information focus, e.g.

(8) *ắt ganì parqát.*ǀ 'You will save *my life*.' (38)

10.14.2. Preposition *əl-* and a Pronominal Copy

In such cases the object is marked with the preposition *əl-* and the verb has a co-referential pronominal suffix or gender and number agreement with the object. This construction is attested mainly where the object is a definite human referent, e.g.

(1) *əl-bratéw* ⁺*ràba gbéwala.*⌐ 'He used to love his daughter a great deal.' (1)

(2) *əl-bratà*⌐ *mqimàle.*⌐ 'He raised up the girl.' (7)

(3) *ất əl-dadáx là-gbate?*⌐ 'Do you love your father?' (18)

(4) *əl-*⁺*hatằn*⌐ *m-otầǧ partíwale tára reš-syamè.*⌐ 'They threw the groom out of the room onto the shoes.' (89)

(5) *əl-*⁺*daàw-əš xazewalá.*⌐ 'They would see her mother.' (116)

(6) *máre bái ya-náša kí əl-*⁺*Balqə́z kyèlwala.*⌐ 'That man said to me that he knew Balqəz.' (189)

(7) *əl-*⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába* ⁺*mjizìlu.*⌐ 'They harassed the Jews a great deal.' (165)

It is the regular construction where the object is a demonstrative pronoun. In most cases where pronominal reference is made by such independently standing pronouns, the referent is a human, e.g.

(8) *əl-d-áy* ⁺*masmoxúlle ki-réšew* ⁺*qatèle.*⌐ 'They make him stand up in order to cut off his head.' (35)

(9) *gorá əl-d-áy mandùləlla.*⌐ 'The husband throws her down.' (114)

(10) *əl-d-ó-š əmbə́llule komsèr.*⌐ 'They took him to the police station.' (148)

(11) *əl-d-úne m-óka surgùn wídilu kartwé.*⌐ 'The Kurds banished them from there.' (167)

(12) *awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka* ⁺*plə̀tlele.*⌐ 'He first went and had him released from there.' (148)

Likewise, it is the construction is often used when a nominal has an attributive demonstrative pronoun, including where the object has an inanimate referent, e.g.

(13) *mǎni-t-əš ⁺là-msaa-wele⸗ əl-d-áy-brata mamqewalà⸗ xabrá hiwalá-wele rešèw ⁺qatáa-welule.⸗* 'Whoever could not make this girl speak, he would give an order and they would cut off his head.' (3)

(14) *əl-d-áy xabušé dhúllu g-reš-⁺kalò.⸗* 'Knock these apples on the head of the bride.' (80)

(15) *lá-⁺msex əl-d-áyne kullù naše⸗ kí be-fkə́r be-⁺aqə̀lilu⸗ ya-xábra máru áxni mafkə̀rəxxu.⸗* 'We cannot make all the people who are without understanding and intelligence and say this thing understand.' (103)

(16) *⁺hudáa əl-d-ay-ləxmá əmbul-xùlle.⸗* 'Jew, take this bread and eat it.' (182)

In (17) the construction is exceptionally used with an indefinite object. Here the object has a human referent and is marked with the 'heavy' indefinite marker *xa danka*, which is typically used with items that are presented with some kind of prominence (§9.1.):

(17) *agàr⸗ əl-xá-danka brónət ay-⁺šultanawè⸗ ya júwe-bronà,⸗ ⁺talubà-š hawé⸗ abùlatte,⸗ là-nxup.⸗* 'If you love a son of a king or another boy, even if he be a beggar, do not be ashamed.' (10)

10.14.3. Pronominal Copy without *əl-*

In this construction the verb has a co-referential pronominal suffix or gender and number agreement with the object but the object itself has no marker attached to it. This is the usual type of construction when the object is definite in status. It does not have any distributional restrictions, as is the case with the construction with the object marker *əl-* and pronominal copy (§10.14.2.), e.g.

(1) *áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra.⸗* 'We do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

(2) *bratá mədyàlu.⸗* 'They brought the girl.' (5)

(3) *rešèw ⁺qatáa-welule.⸗* 'The would cut off his head.' (3)

(4) *ya-bráta rešáw là mrəmlalé.⸗* 'The girl did not raise her head.' (6)

(5) *ána yà-xabra mirə́nne.⸗* 'I have made this statement.' (22)

(6) *hár ⁺jallə́t xanjár ⁺maromə̀lla.⸗* 'The executioner lifts the knife.' (39)

(7) *xa-ení* ⁺*čemə̀nnu.*⌐ 'Let me close my eyes.' (54)

This is the normal construction when the object is a reflexive pronoun (*noš–*), e.g.

(8) *ắt nóšox* ⁺*tšíla bar-*⁺*stòl.*⌐ 'You hide yourself behind the chair.' (33)

(9) *áxča nóšox là-mgusla!*⌐ 'Do not tire yourself so much!' (29)

(10) *ána geb-báxti nóši pə̀qyàli.*⌐ 'I puffed myself up (in boasts) with my wife.' (48)

As can be seen from the examples above, this construction is used with types of objects that also take the construction with *əl-* and a pronominal copy. The motivation for the use of the morphologically heavier construction with *əl-*may sometimes have a discourse motivation. In (11), for example, the definite noun ⁺*kalo* occurs three times in the passage in object position. The heavy coding with *əl-* is used only in the final occurrence, at the closing boundary of the section.

(11) ⁺*hál ki-d-o-lelé-š* ⁺**kaló** *hála là xəzyáwale.*⌐ *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá* ⁺**kaló** *maxlpiwalà,*⌐ ⁺*məssèwa.*⌐ ⁺*rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa,*⌐ *bod-ód* ⁺*hatắn hála* ⁺**l-kaló** *là xəzyáwale.*⌐ 'Until that night he had not yet seen the bride. If they wanted to change the bride even on the night of the wedding, they could. Many such cases happened, since the groom had not yet seen the bride.' (82)

In (12) the noun *reša* has definite status but the verb does not have a pronominal copy. The explanation appears to be that *reša makopu* is construed as a closely knit phrasal verb 'they bow the head, they do head-bowing, they bow', without the object being construed as being distinct from the verb:

(12) ⁺*šultana idàyle*⌐ *rešá makopù*⌐ 'The king came in. They bowed.' (14)

10.14.4. Preposition *əl-* without a Pronominal Copy

This is the regular way of expressing an independent 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ person pronominal object, e.g.

(1) *əllàn dahíwa.*⌐ 'They would beat us.' (137)

(2) *áxni kullán əllàx gbéx.*⌐ 'We all love you.' (17)

(3) *lá-*⁺*msulu əlláx mamqè.*⌐ 'They cannot make you talk.' (17)

(4) *xén áxni ə́llux là-⁺msex ⁺tašéx.*ˈ 'We cannot keep you anymore.'
     (89)

(5) *ǻt ə̀llì mašlofét.*ˈ 'You are deceiving me.' (35)

(6) *báxta ə̀llí mə̀šlifù.*ˈ 'Wife, they have deceived me.' (57)

(7) *əl-kúllxun laxxà*ˈ *axnì*ˈ *masmrèx.*ˈ 'We shall destroy all of you here.'
     (177)

     Direct object reflexive pronouns of all persons (*noš–*), on the other
hand, generally have a different grammatical marking, in that they typically
have a pronominal copy without the preposition *əl-* (§10.14.3.)

     A direct object reciprocal pronoun (⁺*dəǧde*) is generally marked with
the preposition *əl-* without a pronominal copy, e.g.

(8) *əl-⁺dǻǧde našqìwa.*ˈ 'They kissed one another.' (105)

(9) *bratá-inan bronáš əl-⁺dǻǧde ⁺hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.*ˈ 'The girl
     and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding.'
     (73)

     In (10) and (11) the pronominal copy is absent after a definite object
with generic reference:

(10) *ò-jur-inan*ˈ *ə̀llán mlə̀pwalu*ˈ … ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába púč-jur əl-⁺yále dahìwa.*ˈ
     'In such a way did they teach us. … They beat the children very
     badly.' (144)

(11) *g-sə̀twá ba-⁺tahà yarxé*ˈ *ba-arbà yarxé*ˈ *ləxmà yapéwa.*ˈ *l-qàmxa*
     *madéwa,*ˈ *kí m-šuqá lá šaqlìwa.*ˈ 'In winter they would bake bread
     for three or four months. They brought the flour, for they did not
     buy (bread) from the market.' (158)

     The pronominal copy is absent from a construction with an independ-
ent demonstrative object pronoun in (12), in which the pronoun has a cor-
relative function. It is linked to a following proposition, which has a greater
degree of informativeness:

(12) *əl-d-áy mbáli zə́lle amrə́nwa baxún kí* ⁺*m-hudaé zargàr-iš kwéwa.*ˈ 'I
     forgot to say to you this, that there were goldsmiths among the
     Jews.' (129)

10.15. INDIRECT OBJECT

The indirect object expresses the recipient or beneficiary of the verbal action. Pronominal indirect objects have been described in §4.19. They are expressed by L-suffixes or suffixes on the prepositions *ba-* and *əl-*.

Indirect objects that are full nominals are in most cases introduced by the prepositions *ba-* or *əl-*. There is no agreement with such nominals on the verb in the form of a pronominal copy, even when the nominal is definite in status, e.g.

(1) *xà danká*⎮ *dehwá šđiré ba-⁺kalò.*⎮ 'He has sent a gold coin to the bride.' (95)

(2) *ba-kullú mewané šəftè kwíwa.*⎮ 'They served wheat dumplings to all the guests.' (86)

(3) *ba-⁺yalí ⁺ruzí fəryà hól.*⎮ 'To my children give abundant provision.' (112)

(4) *mà amréx ba-⁺šultaná?*⎮ 'What should we say to the king?' (12)

(5) *kwə́lwale əl-bronà.*⎮ 'He would give him to his son.' (142)

(6) *əl-əlhá škùr wadéx.*⎮ 'We give thanks to God.' (171)

11.   THE SYNTAX AND SEMANTICS OF PREPOSITIONS

The morphology and basic uses of the prepositions have been described in §8.4. In this chapter we shall take a closer look at the syntax and semantic range of the main prepositions, particularly those that have multiple functions.

11.1. *b-*

11.1.1. Spatial and Temporal Location

This preposition may express location in a perceptible space that is not enclosed in contexts such as the following:

(1) *šúqle yatə́w b-⁺yan-nòšew.*╵ 'Let him sit by himself (= Leave him alone).' (46)

(2) *goryé dóqwalu b-idèw.*╵ 'He would hold the stockings in his hand.' (94)

(3) *⁺hukmá əntyálu b-idù.*╵ 'They took power in their hands.' (167)

It is used also to express location in an abstract space, e.g. *b-xulmí* 'in my dream' (56).
After certain verbs the preposition has an ingressive sense, e.g.

(4) *maprəxə̀nna b-šə́mme.*╵ '(I want to) make it fly into the sky.' (45)

(5) *tré xabušé smoqé kwíwa b-idèw.*╵ 'They would give him in his hand two red apples.' (80)

It expresses location at a point in time, e.g.

(6) *b-tmanyà yomé*[|] *bàra-š*[|] *bəgzàre godíwa.*[|] 'Then, when he was eight days old, they would perform circumcision.' (118)

11.1.2. Instrument

It is used in relation to the instrument or means by which an action is performed, e.g.

(1) *má-t ylipèn,*[|] *má-t ayolèn*[|] *kúlla b-qəwyəttət nòši xdíra.*[|] 'Whatever I have learnt, whatever I know has all come about through my own strength.' (151)

(2) *báte-š b-krè kwíwa.*[|] 'They also rented out houses (literally: They gave their house by rent).' (154)

11.1.3. Price

It may express the price at which an item is sold,

(1) *b-kəmmà zabnə́tte?*[|] 'How much will you sell it for?'

(2) *kullú šəqlíle b-arbá dehwè.*[|] 'He bought them all for four gold coins.'

11.1.4. Attributive

The preposition sometimes has the function of linking a referent to a nominal that is presented as an attribute, e.g.

(1) *ləxmá* ⁺*rába b-qahtì-wele.*[|] 'Bread was in very short supply.' (174)

11.2. *ba-, baat*

Before nominals the short prefixed form *ba-* and the independent long form *baat* are used interchangeably.

11.2.1. Destination

This preposition is used in the complement of a verb of movement to express the destination, e.g.

(1) *izále ba-šulèw.*[|] 'He goes to his work.' (53)

(2) *dárre ədyéle ba-baxtèw.*[|] 'He returned and came back to his wife.' (61)

11.2.2. Recipient or Beneficiary

(1) *xà danká*⌐ *dehwá šdiré ba-*⁺*kalò.*⌐ 'He has sent a gold piece to the bride.' (95)

(2) *Elyáhu* ⁺*hannawí šdirə́lle baì.*⌐ 'He sent the prophet Elijah to me.' (56)

(3) *baí xa-*⁺*saġ* ⁺*gàna hól,*⌐ *ba-*⁺*yalí* ⁺*ruzí fəryà hól.*⌐ 'Give me a healthy body. To my children give abundant provision.' (112)

(4) *b-kré kwáwalu báat msafré ki-gdéwa m-malwawè.*⌐ 'She would rent them out to travellers who came from the villages.' (186)

(5) *áy awuršúm sqilè*⌐ *goryé mabruqé mdità*⌐ *báat* ⁺*kalò.*⌐ 'She has brought a beautiful pair of silk stockings, of nylon, of silk, shining stockings for the bride.' (94)

(6) ⁺*ánjaġ* ⁺*məsséwa kì*⌐ *báat* ⁺*yaléw-ìnan báat baxtèw*⌐ *xà-tika lə́xma* ⁺*hasə́lwa.*⌐ 'He could barely manage to obtain a piece of bread for his children and for his wife.' (50)

(7) *gal-d-ó* ⁺*məssét … ba-nóšox tkanà palxét.*⌐ 'With this you will be able to open a shop for yourself.' (52)

(8) *bratxún abúlula ba-bronù.*⌐ 'They want your daughter for their son.' (72)

(9) *ba-nòšox*⌐ ⁺*fəssè* ⁺*b-haslét.*⌐ 'You must earn money for yourself.' (89)

11.2.3. Addressee

(1) *mà amréx ba-*⁺*šultaná?*⌐ 'What should we say to the king?' (12)

(2) *máre ba-bràta.*⌐ 'He says to the girl.' (38)

(3) *qǔš gorá ba-qǔš baxtá marè*⌐ 'The male bird says to the female bird …' (45)

(4) ⁺*čobǎ́n máre baat-*⁺*šultanà*⌐ 'The shepherd says to the king.' (25)

Naming expressions with the verb ∅*mr* such as (5) and (6) should be included here:

(5) *yà*⌐ *baáw kəmrìwa*⌐ ⁺*hatǎ́n masxoè.*⌐ 'They called this the washing of the groom.' (85)

(6) *axní kəmréx ba-lišanàn⌐ márex aramìt.⌐* 'We call our language "Ara-
     maic."' (191)

11.2.4. Purpose

(1) *emnú muštárye ki idaá-welu ba-šaqolè⌐ ⁺hudaé marà-welu⌐ axní
     ədyóm là zabnéx.⌐* '(If) any clients came in order to make a pur-
     chase, the Jews said "We shall not sell today."' (131)

(2) *basiré taltéwa ⁺m-garè.⌐ sótwa ⁺paltìwalu⌐ madéwalu ba-ixalà.⌐* 'They
     hung grapes from the roof. They would take them down in winter
     and bring them to eat.' (163)

(3) *ya-qalandàr⌐ ⁺smíx ba-réšew ⁺qatoè.⌐* 'This poor man is waiting for
     his head to be cut off.' (37)

(4) *parčá báat jullè madéwa.⌐* 'They brought material for clothes.' (92)

(5) *ba-mà la-maqulát?⌐* 'For what (= Why) are you not talking?' (24)

The preposition is used with this function in the expression ⁺*ba-xatr-*
'for the sake of', 'for the purpose of', e.g.

(6) *ya-xábra kəmríwale ba-⁺xátrət əllán ⁺mapsoxè.⌐* 'They said this in
     order to please us.' (191)

(7) *ba-xatrì ba-xatrí⌐ trè-kălime mqí!⌐* 'For my own sake, speak two
     words!' (27)

11.2.5. Temporal Adverbials

(1) *ba-tmanyá yomé ⁺rába jwằn ⁺massé kwéwa,⌐ rakixè-š pešíwa.⌐* 'The
     matzos were very good for the eight days, they remained soft.'
     (100)

(2) *g-sətwá ba-⁺tahà yarxé⌐ ba-arbà yarxé⌐ ləxmà yapéwa.⌐* 'In winter
     they would bake bread for three or four months.' (158)

(3) *axní ⁺tangé báat awwalmənjì-zaa xzèlan.⌐* 'We saw tanks for the first
     time.' (172)

11.2.6. Complements of Expressions

A number of usages of the preposition are best classifed as lexically specific
complements of expressions, e.g.

(1) *kə́mma ⁺baté-itwa ⁺hudaé ⁺rába aqə̀rwa-welu ba-⁺də́ǵde.* 'There were some houses in which the Jews were very close to one another.' (153)

(2) *⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.* 'It was very easy for the Jews to go to synagogue.' (157)

11.3. *m-, mən, mənnət*

Before nominals the forms *m-, mən* and *mənnət* are used interchangeably. Before pronominal suffixes the preposition has the form *mənn-* (§8.4.14.).

11.3.1. Separation or Removal

(1) *yá xá-jur xadrá ki-⁺msəx aqallán aqallán uné sə́fre ⁺toré m-óka ⁺paltìlu.* 'or it will come about somehow that we can bring out from there at least those Torah scrolls.' (156)

(2) *əl-d-úne m-óka surgùn wídilu kartwé.* 'The Kurds banished them from there.' (167)

(3) *⁺rába ⁺rába ⁺hudaè mən-d-áy ⁺ará ⁺sàǵ ⁺paltíwa.* 'Many, many Jews escaped safely from the situation.' (171)

(4) *əl-⁺hatàn m-otə́ǵ partfíwale tára reš-syamè.* 'They threw the groom out of the room onto the shoes.' (89)

(5) *šuqá m-sqilulá pyalà.* 'The market loses its beauty.' (133)

11.3.2. Source or Origin

(1) *m-Urmìlen.* 'I am from Urmi.' (187)

(2) *léle d-áy patirè áxni ⁺massé m-šuqà lá šaqlə́xwa.* 'On the eve of Passover we did not buy matzos from the market.' (98)

(3) *má-t nə́š m-əlhá abè əlhá baéw kwə̀l.* 'Whatever a person wants from God, God would will give to him.' (109)

(4) *⁺m-hamə́m dèrwa.* 'He returned from the baths.' (86)

(5) *g-belà-š zdélew m-dadéw-wela* 'At home his fear was from his father.' (139)

The source may be a spatial or temporal adverbial, in some cases expressed by another preposition, e.g.

(6)   ⁺šultana m-xelá xyarà-wele.⌐ 'The king was watching her secretly (literally: from underneath).' (7)

(7)   xánči ⁺samoxà⌐ sehrá ⁺palóṭe m-xel-ewà.⌐ 'She waited a little and the moon came out from behind the cloud.' (111)

(8)   ya m-reš-⁺garè⌐ ya ⁺m-otā́ġ gdèwa.⌐ 'They would come either from the roof or from within the room.' (107)

(9)   mən-d-ò lelé⌐ kalò⌐ ay-nošèw-ila.⌐ 'From that night the bride belonged to him.' (81)

(10) mən-d-ó yomá mə́ri ba-dadì⌐ 'From that day I said to my father …' (149)

11.3.3. Partitive

The preposition may express a partitive relationship, i.e. a part of a larger group or class, e.g.

(1)   bára xa-dánka mən-d-áyne polisé ažằn⌐ mə́re ba-dadì⌐ 'Then one of the policemen said to my father …' (176)

(2)   kùd mə́nxun xá-danka ⁺síwa antétun.⌐ 'Each of you take a stick.' (67)

(3)   atxún héč mənxún bronéw lewètun.⌐ 'None of you are his son.' (69)

(4)   m-armanyé ⁺rába ⁺qtə̀llu.⌐ 'They killed many of the Armenians.' (167)

(5)   ⁺m-hudaé zargàr-əš kwéwa.⌐ 'There were also goldsmiths among the Jews.' (129)

(6)   ə́t m-qálaw šamə̀tte.⌐ 'You will (be able to) hear her (some of) her voice,' (33)

11.3.4. Comparison

(1)   yá xabušá mən-d-ó xabušá biš-⁺rəwwèle.⌐ 'This apple is bigger than that apple.'

11.3.5. Cause

(1) *m-qardà-inan* *mə́nnət áy talgà* *⁺wərxawé magdlìwa.* 'The roads would freeze on account of the cold and the snow.' (159)

(2) *⁺m-pəsxanulèw* *máre baxtá əlhá hwə̀lle.* 'Out of his joy he said "Wife, God has provided."' (53)

(3) *m-zdélu la-⁺mséwa yalpìwa.* 'Because of their fear they could not learn.' (144)

(4) *Šlómo ha-mélex ⁺rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà.* 'King Solomon was very amused with this story.' (49)

11.3.6. By way of, across

(1) *mə́n d-émni ⁺wərxá ⁺matén ⁺l-ahrà?* 'By which road can I reach the town?'

(2) *mən-d-ó korpì* *ya-góra gắrag pèrwa.* 'The man had to pass across the bridge.' (54)

(3) *ána əsrì šənnéle m-ó-ka raxšén* *gal-éni plixè.* 'I have been walking across there for twenty years with my eyes open.' (59)

(4) *⁺hatán ⁺m-yan núra perwà.* 'The groom would pass across the side of the fire.' (79)

(5) *xá-danka pardá ⁺yasríwa m-gudà.* 'They would tie a curtain across the wall.' (87)

11.3.7. Spatial location

On some occasions it is used to express a static location. This tends to be restricted to adverbial expressions containing locations that typically stand in contrastive opposition, especially sides, e.g.

(1) *sotí-nan sóni m-gab-dadì* 'both my grandmother and grandfather on my father's side' (166)

11.3.8. Adverbial of manner

(1) *⁺m-trosa gdé-imara kì* 'Truly it may be said that …' (120)

11.3.9. Complement of Expressions

A number of usages of the preposition are best classifed as lexically specific complements of verbs and expressions, e.g.

(1) *paxilulá-š godíwa mənnán ⁺rabà.*│ 'They were very jealous of us.' (192)

(2) *šwawán zíliwa škaytà wə́dwalu m-idéw.*│ 'Our neighbours went and made a complaint against him.' (142)

(3) *mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?*│ 'What business do you have with him?' (46)

(4) *bqúr mənnèw,*│ *ó ⁺mar-aqə̀l-ile.*│ 'Ask him, he is clever.' (58)

(5) *ána ki-də́qna xwára mə́nnax xoíšt wadèn.*│ 'I, who am an elder, am pleading with you.' (17)

11.4. *g-, ga-, gaat*

The forms *g-, ga-* and *gaat* are used interchangeably before nominals. Before pronominal suffixes the preposition has the form *ga-* (§8.4.8.).

11.4.1. Location within an Enclosed Space

(1) *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw.*│ 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room.' (44)

(2) *kyétun kí g-belà*│ *kəmmá otaġé ə̀twala.*│ 'You know how many rooms she had in the house.' (185)

(3) *qalyà godíwa gáat béla*│ *gáat béla*│ *daréwa ki-hàwelu.*│ 'They made fried meat and put it (in storage) in the house so that they would have it (in the winter).' (159)

(4) *⁺masəmxíwa gáat ⁺hayàt.*│ 'They would make her stand in the courtyard.' (78)

(5) *atxùn*│ *g-⁺massxùn*│ *dəmmə́t ay-⁺yálət áy gomè*│ *marowètune.*│ 'In your matzos you mix the blood of the children of Muslims.' (101)

It may be used with an ingressive sense, e.g.

(6) *izalú gáat ⁺otằġ.*│ 'They go into the room.' (84)

(7) ⁺*qéta gúpta šaqlìwa,*| *daréwala gáat qupè.*| 'In summer they bought cheese and put it in pots.' (160)

(8) *b-mandéxe gáat* ⁺*dussãx.*| 'We shall throw him into prison.' (130)

11.4.2. Location in a non-enclosed space

The preposition is used also when a lesser degree of enclosure is involved, e.g.

(1) ⁺*g-rába tkánət áy dunyè*| *əllán šàr mandéwa.*| 'In many places in the world people would slander us.' (101)

(2) *kəmmət doktoré ga-dúnye ə́twa* 'as many doctors as there were in the world' (3)

(3) *g-Urmì-š*| *xa* ⁺*wadà*| *g-juwè məllətyé-š ya-xábra šəmyə́nne*| 'in Urmi, and once also in other countries so I have heard' (115)

(4) *gáat Urmì*| *əllán* ⁺*g-mədrã̀š*| *lišã́n ha-qòdeš*| *malpìwa.*| 'in Urmi in the Jewish school they taught us the Holy Language.' (136)

(5) ⁺*hudaé šúlu jwã̀n-ile g-šuqá.*| 'The business of the Jews was good in the market.' (126)

(6) *xa-sehmá gáat* ⁺*moè mandéwa.*| 'They would put a piece of silver in the water.' (105)

(7) *əllí-š ga-*⁺*tína šə̀ràx.*| 'You have smeared me in mud.' (30)

In some cases there is only surface contact, e.g.

(8) *xabušé dahə̀lwalu*| *g-reš-*⁺*kalò.*| 'He would knock the apples on the head of the bride.' (81)

(9) *dahétun g-qaréw kəmmə̀t* ⁺*məssétun.*| 'Beat on his grave as much as you can.' (67)

(10) *baqattá šulá izalòx*| ⁺*g-wərxà*| *əlhá xa-jwã́n jwã́n xaznà hwílə̀llox.*| 'Tomorrow, when you go to work, on the road God has given to you a very fine treasure.' (52)

(11) *bár-kəmma yárxe dwə́qleli gáat xiyawã̀n.*| 'After a few months he caught me in the street.' (147)

It is used with this sense in combination with the preposition *reš* 'upon', e.g.

(12) *má-t ⁺lazə́m-ile g-reš-míz ìtwa.*⌐ 'What was required was on the table.' (108)

After verbs of movement it may be used in an ingressive or directional sense, e.g.

(13) *əmbə́llulu ga-ərxèl.*⌐ 'They took them to the mill.' (102)

(14) *zə́llu g-komsèr.*⌐ 'They went to the police station.' (101)

(15) *rešáw maromálle g-šəmmè.*⌐ 'She raised her head to the sky.' (111)

11.4.3. Location within an Abstract Space

(1)   *Elyáhu ⁺hannawí idáyle g-xulmèw.*⌐ 'The prophet Elijah comes to him in his dream.' (52)

(2)   *kúlla ⁺wadá g-d-ay-fkə̀r welú.*⌐ 'They were constantly thinking about this (literally: in this thought).' (65)

(3)   *⁺hudaé gáat ay-daxlà⌐ šúla là godíwa.*⌐ 'They did not work in (vegetable) gardens.' (152)

11.4.4. Temporal Location

(1)   *⁺bə́ldi ⁺bəldì⌐ ga-⁺səmha ilanè⌐ g-Urmí godìwala.*⌐ 'They would have the practice of sending gifts at the Festival of Trees.' (106)

(2)   *gáat áy patirè-š,⌐ yá-xabra zə́lle báli amrənwále baxùn,⌐ ⁺hudaè⌐ məšxà,⌐ guptè,⌐ xalwè,⌐ ⁺qatǵé là kəxlíwa.*⌐ 'At passover—I forgot to tell you this—the Jews did not eat oil, cheese, milk or yoghurt.' (161)

11.5. *əl-*

11.5.1. Direct Object Marker

As described in §10.14.2. and §10.14.4., the preposition is used as a direct object marker for definite nominal objects and pronouns, e.g.

(1)   *əl-⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺rába ⁺mjizìlu.*⌐ 'They harassed the Jews a great deal.' (165)

(2)   *gorá əl-d-áy mandùləlla.*⌐ 'The husband throws her down.' (114)

(3) *áxni kullán əllàx gbéx.*ˈ 'We all love you.' (17)

11.5.2. Recipient or Beneficiary

(1) *bắle áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra.*ˈ 'But we do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

(2) *kwə́lwale əl-dadà.*ˈ 'He gave him to the father.' (142)

11.5.3. Destination

(1) *gezíwa belá l-belà.*ˈ 'They would go from house to house.' (105)

(2) *awwál awwál zílwa əl-d-o xălifà.*ˈ 'He first went to the teacher.' (143)

(3) *ya-xábra* ⁺*məmtélula l-markàz,*ˈ *markáz* ⁺*yaní Tehr̀ǎn,*ˈ *m-Tehrắn xábra* ⁺*məmtélu* ⁺*l-šultanà.*ˈ 'They informed the centre (of government) about this matter, that is Tehran, and from Tehran they informed the king.' (134)

11.5.4. Direction

It may be used to express, broadly, the direction or objective of an action without any clear movement towards the complement of the preposition being invovled, e.g.

(1) *zadúlen əl-d-ay bratì*ˈ *xa-púč šulá b-rešầw ə́dya hawé.*ˈ 'I am afraid that something untoward has happened to this daughter of mine.' (11)

(2) *ána áyolen ma-xdír əl-d-ay-bratà.*ˈ 'I know what has happened to the girl.' (39)

(3) *əl-əlhá škùr wadéx.*ˈ 'We give thanks to God.' (171)

11.5.5. Dimensions

(1) *tre mətre l-xa mətr* 'two metres by one'

11.5.6. Complements of Verbs

A number of usages of the preposition are best classifed as lexically specific complements of verbs, such as *xyr əl-* 'to look at', *hmn əl-* 'to believe', e.g.

(1) *əl-tasbehéw xyarè.*| *əl-lišanàw xyaré.*| 'He looks at his rosary. He looks at her tongue.' (18)

(2) *hammašá əl-xălifà hamníwa.*| 'He always believed the teacher.' (139)

11.6. *geb*

This preposition may express static location next to some, predominantly human, referent, e.g.

(1) *kúd gorá geb-báxta nóšew paqèla.*| 'Every husband boasts to his wife.' (48)

In the majority of cases in the text corpus it is used after verbs expressing movement towards a referent. The referent is typically human, e.g.

(2) *izalé geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*| 'He goes to King Solomon.' (58)

(3) ⁺*idámun gebì.*| 'Come to me.' (67)

(4) *kəmmə́t adə̀xwa*| *m-malà*| *awwál awwál belán gezə́xwa geb-d-ó* ⁺*otāḡ b-kré doqə̀xwala.*| 'Whenever we came from the village, our family would immediately go to her and rent a room.' (188)

(5) ⁺*šultaná nòšew,*| *šaxsàn,*| *nȁš šdə́re*| *geb-d-ó raísət áy komsérət áy Urmì.*| 'The king himself, in person, sent a man to that chief of police of Urmi.' (134)

In (6) it is used before a nominal referring to an institution, e.g.

(6) ⁺*m-qulbə́t ki-adé geb-marasxaná əllí xazè,*| *awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka* ⁺*plə̀tlele.*| 'Instead of coming to the hospital to see me, he first went and had him released from there.' (148)

12.   THE CLAUSE

12.1. THE COPULA CLAUSE

12.1.1. Preliminary Remarks

The copula is placed after the predicate of the clause. It is used to form ascriptive and equative clauses. Ascriptive clauses ascribe a certain property to the referent of the subject. The property may be a quality, membership of a class or a spatio-temporal location. Equative clauses identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another.

In ascriptive clauses the copula is regularly placed after the item that expresses the property, thus marking it as the predicate.

(1)   *šwawán* ⁺*tajàr-ile.*ˈ 'Our neighbour is a merchant.'

(2)   *šwawán gisà-ile.*ˈ 'Our neighbour is tired.'

(3)   *šwawán belà-ile.*ˈ 'Our neighbour is at home.'

This syntax of ascriptive copula clauses is invariable and is not affected by changes in the information structure of the clause. The subject of an ascriptive clause typically expresses given information whereas the property that is ascribed to it typically expresses a new information focus. This is the case in the vast majority of such clauses that are attested in the text corpus. The focus of new information is signalled by the nuclear stress, which is typically placed on the item expressing the property. If the property is expressed by a phrase, the nuclear stress is placed on the last item of the phrase.

In some contexts, however, ascriptive copula clauses may have a different information structure, whereby the subject item is the focus of new information and the item expressing the property expresses given information. In such cases the copula remains in its position at the end of the clause after the property item. The syntactic structure of the clause, therefore, does

not change and from a syntactic point of view the property item should still be regarded as the predicate. The nuclear stress, however, is placed on the subject rather than on the predicate. This is demonstrated by clauses in which the subject is a contrastive focus. In such cases the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular referent should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

(4) A: *broní belèle?* B: *bratòx béla-ila[|] bắle bronóx là.[|]* 'A: Is my son at home? B: *Your daughter* is at home, but not your son.'

(5) A: *bronóx gisà-ile?[|]* B: *bratì gistá-ila[|] bắle broní gisá lèwe.[|]* 'A: Is your son tired? B: *My daughter* is tired, but my son is not tired.'

(6) A: *ắt kpinà-ilet?* B: *bronì kpiná-ile.[|] aná kpiná lèwen.[|]* 'A: Are you hungry? B: *My son* is hungry. I am not tired.'

(7) A: *dadóx ⁺tajə̀r-ile?[|]* B: *amonì ⁺tajə́r-ile[|] lá dadì.[|]* 'A: Is your father a merchant? B: *My uncle* is a merchant, not my father.'

These remarks apply also to the structure of clauses with compound verbal forms containing a resultative participle or an infinitive combined with a contracted form of the copula (⁺*qtile,* ⁺*qatole*). The verbal form constitutes the predicate and the copula remains bonded to the participle or infinitive, whatever the information structure of the clause:

(8) A: *broní xəxyə̀tte?[|]* B: *là,[|] ána bratòx xəzyánna[|] bắle bronóx là xəzyə́nne.[|]* 'A: Have you seen my son? B: No, I have seen *your daughter*, but I have not seen your son.'

(9) A: *xabušé mədyə̀llu?[|]* B: *basirè mədyállu,[|] bắle xabušé là.[|]* 'A: Has he brought the apples? B: He has brought the grapes but not the apples.'[1]

When a copula clause is equative, the item that expresses the new information takes the nuclear stress. It may have the syntactic position of predicate with the enclitic copula attached to it, e.g.

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[1] This immovability of the copula component in ascriptive predicates and compound verbal forms differs from what is found in many NENA dialects, in which the copula is moved and placed on the item that is the focus of new information. See Khan (2002a: 396–402) and Khan (2008: 677–691, 824–827) for descriptions of the situation in the Christian dialects of Qaraqosh and Barwar respectively.

(10) A: *⁺baruxóx mǎnile?*ǀ B: *⁺baruxí bronòx-ile.*ǀ 'A: Who is your friend?
B: My friend is *your son*.'

If the speaker wishes to give the item supplying the new information particular prominence, it may be made put at the front of the clause as the syntactic subject, the item conveying given information being made predicate with the enclitic copula:

(11) A: *šwawí ⁺baruxòx-ile?*ǀ B: *bronòx ⁺baruxí-ile,*ǀ *šwawóx là.*ǀ 'A: Is my neighbour your friend? B: *Your son* is my friend, not your neighbour.'

The situation is complicated by the fact that, as we shall see, in certain discourse environments the subject of a clause may be postposed after the predicate (§12.1.4.). As a result, an equative clause can have three variant forms. In the following upper case represents new information focus:

⁺baruxí bronòx-ile	Subject—PREDICATE—Copula
bronòx ⁺baruxí-ile	SUBJECT—Predicate—Copula
bronòx-ile ⁺baruxí	PREDICATE—Copula—Subject

The remarks that have been made concerning the syntax of clauses containing the positive copula apply also to clauses which contain the negative copula or a form of the verb *hwy* 'to be'.

12.1.2. Basic Predicate Nexus

The simplest predicate consists of *predicate + copula/hwy*. The clause is uttered in a singled intonation group with the nuclear stress falling on the last item of the predicate:

(1) *⁺rába nigaràn-ilex.*ǀ 'We are very worried.' (66)

(2) *m-Urmìlen.*ǀ 'I am from Urmi.' (187)

(3) *kə́mma jwǎn-ilat!*ǀ 'How beautiful you are!' (24)

(4) *⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.*ǀ 'It was well worth seeing.' (118)

(5) *nawág ⁺Balqəz-ìlen.*ǀ 'I am the grandson of Balqəz.' (188)

(6) *hamə́n ò ažán-ile.*ǀ 'It is the same policeman.' (182)

On some occasions the subject of the copula in such structures is impersonal and does not have any identifiable referent. This applies to cases such as the following:

(7)   *awùn-ile.*[|] 'It is a pity.' (27)

(8)   *gnahàw-ile.*[|] 'It is her fault.' (116)

(9)   *dùz-ile.*[|] 'It is true.' (183)

(10) *háyf léwe …?* 'Is it not a pity?' (24)

If the predicate of a copula clause with an impersonal grammatical subject is a 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun, the copula agrees with it in person, gender and number: *anà-ilen* 'It is me', *axnì-ilex* 'It is us', *ād-ilet* 'It is you.' Note (11) in which the predicate is a conjoined phrase consisting of 1st and 2nd person pronouns:

(11) *făqàt*[|] *aná inán ā̀d-ilex.*[|] 'It is only I and you (= We are alone).' (27)

12.1.3. Subject Constituents

If the subject of the clause is referred to by a nominal or independent pronoun, it is generally placed before the predicate. In most cases the subject is uttered in the same intonation group as the predicate and the nuclear stress is on the final element of the predicate:

(1)   *ó* ⁺*mar-aqə̀l-ile.*[|] 'He is intelligent.' (58)

(2)   *axní m-xá dada-*⁺*dàa iléxa.*[|] 'We are from one father and mother.' (191)

(3)   *yá xabrá taasuf-awàr-ile.*[|] 'This matter is regrettable.' (150)

(4)   *šulxún biš-*⁺*qàbāǵ-ile.*[|] 'Your business is more successful.' (192)

(5)   *əsrá š*ə*nné xa-*⁺*mənd*ə̀*ǵ léwu.*[|] 'Ten years are nothing.' (76)

(6)   *áxni aqə́rwa welàn.*[|] 'We were near.' (115)

(7)   *šulú* ⁺*bazazulà-wele.*[|] 'Their profession was the cloth trade.' (123)

(8)   *aná* ⁺*šultanà-hawen.*[|] 'I am a king.' (35)

(9)   ⁺*báte ay-nòšu kwéwa.*[|] 'The houses were their own.' (154)

(10) *bronéw ò-ile.*[|] 'His son is him.' (69)

A predicate nominal consisting of a head and a modifier may be split by placing the copula immediately after the head. This is found especially

when the modifier is an attributive prepositional phrase or a relative clause, e.g.

(11) ⁺*hudaé šúlu jwằn-ile g-šuqá.*ˈ *bắle goymèˈ šúlu jwắn lèwe.*ˈ 'The business of the Jews is good in the market. But the business of the Muslims is not good.' (126)

12.1.4. Postposing of Subject Constituent

The subject nominal in a predication is occasionally placed after the predicate resulting in the order *predicate—copula/hwy—subject*. The copula or form of *hwy* remains in its regular position immediately after the predicate. In the attested examples the postposed subject has a referent that has been evoked previously or is at least anchored to a previously evoked referent by means of a pronominal suffix. The construction typically occurs when there is some type of close semantic connection between the clause and what precedes. The construction binds the clause to what precedes, generally as an evaluative comment. In (1) the clause is a turn in conversation that gives an interpretation of the situation described in what precedes. The same applies to (2), in which the remark with the postposed subject is an evaluation of the situation. The clause in (3) is an evaluative comment on the quality of the cheese:

(1) *mɑ́re lá atxun-là-ayoletun,*ˈ *bắle anà-ayolen.*ˈ *kullxùn dhɑ́llxun?*ˈ *mɑ́ru là,*ˈ *yà*ˈ *xayù là dhɑllé.*ˈ *axní dhɑ̀llan,*ˈ *mɑ́ran báa la-dahòlet?*ˈ *mɑ́re ána là dahén.*ˈ *mɑ́re ò-ile bron-dadxún.*ˈ 'He (King Solomon) said "No, you do not know, but *I* know. Did all of you beat?" They said "No, this one—one of them—did not beat. We beat. We said 'Why do you not beat?' He said 'I shall not beat.'" He (King Solomon) said "He is the son of your father."' (69)

(2) *ăgár bratà yadláwa,*ˈ *nāš-⁺sálma la-kwɔ̀lwala,*ˈ ⁺*yani gnahằw-ile.*ˈ *baá bratà ydɑ́lta?*ˈ *bod-má bronà la-ydɑ́lta?*ˈ *ǝl-⁺daàw-ǝš xazewalá*ˈ *gállaw áxčà*ˈ *magón našé là maqéwa*ˈ *kǝmríwa ⁺salmá komulà mdéla bratá.*ˈ 'If she gave birth to a daughter, nobody would give her respect, because (they claimed) it was her fault. "Why has she given birth to a daughter? Why has she not given birth to a son?" If they saw her mother, they did not speak to her like (they normally spoke to) people. They said "The daughter has brought shame."' (116)

(3) +qéta gúpta šaqlìwa,| daréwala gáat qupè.| rešáw +yasrìwala|
     qoríwala ga-arà.| sótwa +paltìwala.| +rába +rába máre +təmmà.|
     +rába jwắn kəwyáwa ixalàw.| 'In summer they bought cheese and
     put it in pots. They sealed it and buried it in the ground. They
     brought it out in the winter. It was very tasty. It was very good to
     eat (literally: its eating was very good).' (160)

12.1.5. Postposing of Predicate

The predicate is occasionally placed after the irrealis +qatəl form of the verb
hwy, e.g.

(1) +šultanà hawe-basimá.| 'May the king be well.' (4)

(2) āt-+salmàx hawé xwará.| 'May your face be white (= May you be
     honoured).' (117)

12.1.6. Omission of Copula

The copula is omitted in a number of contexts. These include exclamatory or
animated expressions, often precatory or interrogative, e.g.

(1) +brixa šəmmət əlha! 'May God's name be blessed!' (= Thank God!)
     (G:104)

(2) duš+manax xel aqlax! 'May your enemies be under your feet!'
     (G:104)

(3) ma šulox mənnu? 'What have you got to do with them?' (G:103)

(4) danka kəmma? 'How much apiece?' (G:104)

     The copula is also occasionally omitted in clauses that supply explana-
tory background to a preceding clause, e.g.

(5) ya la ebela, +hudayta, o +arel. 'She did not want it, for she was a
     Jewess and he was a Christian.' (G:104)

12.2. CLAUSES WITH THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

12.2.1. Existential Clauses

The nominal complement of the existential particles *it/itwa, let/letwa*, i.e. the
term whose existence is being asserted, is normally placed before the parti-

cle. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the nominal complement. If this is a phrase, the nuclear stress falls on the last item of the phrase.

(1)   *xá-danka korpì-itwa.*| 'There was a bridge.' (54)

(2)   *lá izalì*| *lá idayì*| ⁺*g-wərxá hèč-*⁺*məndəġ létwa.*| 'Neither when I went nor when I came back was there anything on the road.' (57)

A complement nominal consisting of a head and a modifier may be split by placing the existential particle immediately after the head, especially when the modifier is an attributive prepositional phrase or a relative clause, e.g.

(3)   ⁺*bassór ítwa ki-b-krè yatwíwa.*| 'There were only a few who dwelt in a rented property.' (154)

(4)   *zargăré ìtwa,*| *kí dehwè,*| *šul-dehwà godíwale.*| 'There were goldsmiths, who traded in gold.' (129)

(5)   *bắle xá-năfar ìt*| *făqát ăgár la-maqyàt,*| *o-*⁺*rába jəgréw gdè.*| 'But there is one person who will be very angry if you do not talk.' (28)

The complement of the existential particle is rarely placed after the particle if it is a single noun or a short phrase. Where such an order is used, the nominal typically introduces into the discourse referents that play a prominent role in what follows:

(6)   *ítwa létwa xa-*⁺*šultanà.*| 'There was once a king.' (1)

(7)   *ítwa góra baxtà.*| 'There were (once) a husband and wife.' (50)

Long nominal phrases, especially those containing a relative clause, are, on the other hand, frequently postposed after the particle:

(8)   *ítwa xá-kəmma* ⁺*kàsbe kí*| *bélu jwắn là-wele axčá.*| 'There were a few poor people, whose house was not so beautiful.' (154)

(9)   *ə̀twa*| *xá-danka əlhá manə́xle Azíz* ⁺*Parà,*| *kí* ⁺*arelé kyìwale,*| ⁺*rába gdéwa gebèw.*| 'There was a certain Aziz Para, may he rest in peace, whom the Christians used to know and often went to him.' (189)

12.2.2. Possessive Constructions

Possession is expressed by existential constructions in which a pronominal suffix of the L-series is attached to the existential particle (§4.23.). As in

other existential constructions, the nominal complement is normally placed before the particle with the nuclear stress on the nominal:

(1)   ⁺*rába qwəttà ətwalé.*ˈ 'He had a lot of power.' (1)

(2)   *əsrá-š* ⁺*yále ə̀twala.*ˈ 'She had ten children.' (63)

On some occasions the nominal is split, the particle being placed after the head noun and a modifier postposed after the particle, e.g.

(3)   *mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?*ˈ 'What business do you have with him?' (45)

On a few occasions the whole complement is placed after the particle. This is favoured if it consists of a long nominal or if the referent of the nominal that is introduced plays a prominent role in the ensuing discourse, e.g.

(4)   *ətwalán sănatkaré* ⁺*arelé ki-gallú šŭla godə́xwa.*ˈ 'We had Christian craftsmen with whom we worked.' (185)

(5)   *ya-*⁺*šultaná ə̀twale*ˈ *xá-danka bratà.*ˈ 'This king had a daughter.' (1)

12.3. EXISTENTIAL FUNCTION OF THE COPULA AND *hwy*

The copula or the verb *hwy* may by used to express the existence of a referent. This applies especially to the verb ⁺*qatəl* and ⁺*qatəlwa* forms of the verb *hwy*, which regularly substitute for the existential particle, e.g.

(1)   ⁺*m-hudaé zargàr-iš kwéwa.*ˈ 'There were goldsmiths among the Jews.' (129)

(2)   ⁺*rába qardà kəwyáwa.*ˈ 'It was very cold (literally: there was much cold).' (159)

(3)   *kúd* ⁺*məndə̀ġ g-béla kwéwalu.*ˈ 'They had everything in the house.' (163)

The copula also is occasionally used with an existential sense. This applies to expressions such as *qardila* 'I am cold' (literally: 'My cold is') and *šəxnile* 'I am hot' (literally: 'My hotness is').

12.4. INTERROGATIVE PREDICATES

When the predicate is an interrogative particle, the copula or form of the verb *hwy* is placed immediately after this particle, in accordance with the

regular syntax of copula clauses. If the subject of the clause is a nominal or independent pronoun, it is normally placed before the predicate phrase, e.g.

(1)   *át mǎnilet?*| 'Who are you?' (187)

(2)   *áyne* ⁺*šamalé ba-mà-ilu?*| 'What are these candles for?' (40)

(3)   ⁺*aqláx lèka-ile?*| 'Where is your mind (common sense)?' (64)

   The interrogative particle may be the subject of the clause, as in (4):

(4)   *èmnyan brōn-dadán-ilex.*| 'Which of is the son of our father.' (66)

12.5. PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS OF THE VERBS *xdr* AND *pyš*

The predicative complement of *xdr* when used to express the passive is regularly placed before the verb, e.g.

(1)   *rešət-tùnnxun*| ⁺*qətyà b-xadǵr.*| 'The head of both of you will be cut off.' (11)

   Pre-verbal position of the complement is likewise regular in idiomatic expressions such as (2):

(2)   ⁺*šultaná qurbànox xadrén.*| 'Oh King, may I be your sacrifice' (36)

   Elsewhere, pre-verbal position of the complement is the norm, but postposition after the verb is also possible, e.g.

(3)   *bar-mənnì*| ⁺*šultantá b-xadràt.*| 'After me you will become queen.' (8)

(4)   *xdəru sahle.* 'They became witnesses.' (G:91)

   The same applies to the predicative complement of the verb *pyš* 'to remain', which may be preposed or postposed relative to the verb, e.g. *mahtal pəšle ~ pəšle mahtal* 'He remained astonished' (G:91).

12.6. PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS OF THE VERBS *qlb*

The complement of the verb *qlb* 'to turn into' is invariably placed after it, e.g.

(1)   *qləbla brata* 'She turned into a girl.' (G:90)

12.7. VERBAL CLAUSES

The term verbal clause refers to clauses with a predicate that contains a fi-
nite verb. They include clauses with inflected verbs derived from the past
and present bases and also compound verb forms, which consist of a resulta-
tive participle or an infinitive combined with a contracted copula or form of
the verb *hwy*. The compound verbal forms behave in the same way as other
forms of finite verbs with regard to the order of components in the clause,
which is the main concern of this section.

12.7.1. Direct Object Constituent

12.7.1.1. Object—Verb

The normal position for the placement of a direct object constituent is be-
fore the verb. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the verb:

(1) *čápke daholè,| bráta madùlula.|* 'He claps his hands and they bring
     the girl.' (37)

(2) *əl-bratéw ⁺ràba gbéwala.|* 'He used to love his daughter a great
     deal.' (1)

(3) *əsrí-w xá-danka ⁺šamalé mar-madè.|* 'Let them bring twenty-one
     candles.' (40)

     The nuclear stress is occasionally retracted onto the object in order
draw particular attention to it:

(4) *xà kə́lima mqí!|* 'Speak just one word!' (38)

     When a promominal direct object is expressed as an independent
phrase rather than a suffix, this likewise is placed before the verb, e.g.

(5) *əl-d-áy ⁺masmoxúlle* 'They make him stand up' (35)

(6) *əl-d-ó-š əmbə́llule komsèr|* 'They took him to the police station.'
     (148)

(7) *əllàn dahíwa.|* 'They would beat us.' (137)

(8) *əllí məšlifù.|* 'They have deceived me.' (57)

     In such cases the 3ʳᵈ person independent pronominal phrase is regularly
expressed by the preposition *əl-* combined with a demonstrative, whereas

the 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person phrases consist of *əl-* combined with a pronominal suf-
fix:

3s.	*əl-d-o*	*əl-d-ay*
3pl.	*əl-d-une*	*əl-d-ayne*
2ms.	*əllox*	
2fs.	*əllax*	
2pl.	*əlxun*	
1s.	*əlli*	
1pl.	*əllan*	

In phrasal verbs (§4.14.) the nominal object element is always placed
before the verbal element, e.g. *fəkr wade* 'He is thinking'. If a phrasal verb
contains a direct object nominal complement it never separates the compo-
nents of the phrasal verb. It is normally placed before the phrasal verb, as is
the case with the objects of non-phrasal verbs, e.g.

(9)   *əl-d-ó našá jarimà wə́dlule.ˈ* 'They fined that man.' (134)

(10) *əl-⁺hudaé azyàt godíwalu.ˈ* 'They harmed the Jews.' (165)

(11) *rešew ⁺durmān godwa.* 'He used to treat his head.' (G:90)

12.7.1.2. Verb—Object

Occasionally an object constituent is placed after the verb. In most examples
of this in the text corpus the object expresses given information. This con-
struction is used in clauses that are closely connected to what precedes. In
some cases, such as (1) and (2), the verb—object syntax is used in a clause
that repeats the content of the preceding clause or substantially overlaps
with it, in order to reinforce it, rather than advancing the discourse:

(1)   *fkə́r-wade bálki dyarì.ˈ dyaréw mən-šulá ⁺asə̀r,ˈ ⁺g-wərxá xazúle
      héč-⁺məndəġ lèt.ˈ xazúle hèč-⁺məndəġ.ˈ* 'He thought "Perhaps when I
      return (I'll see them)". On his return from work in the evening, he
      saw that there was nothing on the road. He saw nothing.' (57)

(2)   *əl-⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺rába ⁺mjizìlu.ˈ ⁺rába ⁺talàn wə́dlu l-⁺hudaé.ˈ*
      'They harassed the Jews a great deal. They plundered the Jews a
      lot.' (165)

In (3) the construction is used in a clause that occurs immediately after
a passage of direct speech. The effect is to present the 'hearing' as an activ-
ity that was closely connected with the speech implying a temporal overlap:

(3)   *+yalé šamùlule ya-xabrá*⌐ *ràba nigarán pyašú.*⌐ 'The boys hear these
       words and become very worried.' (65)

    In (4) an independent pronominal object is placed after the verb in a
question that relates to an event that is taking place before the eyes of the
speakers. Again, the close connection expressed by the construction reflects
temporal overlap.

(4)   *baxtá idàyla.*⌐ *kwašá idáyla təxyà.*⌐ *gorá əl-d-áy mandùləlla,*⌐ *xel-kotàk
       dahóləlla.*⌐ *šwawé marù*⌐ *baà dahólətta əl-d-áy?*⌐ 'The woman came
       back. She came back down. The husband threw her down and
       beat her (literally: beats her under a blow). The neighbours said
       "Why are you beating her?"' (114)

    The object may be placed after the verb also when it expresses new in-
formation. This is used to draw particular attention to a newly introduced
referent that plays a prominent role in the ensuing discourse, e.g.

(5)   *xzéli tre-qušé gal-+də́ǵde màqulu.*⌐ 'I saw two birds speaking with
       each other.' (44)

12.7.2. Double Objects

Verbs such as ∅*wd* 'to make (into)', *m-qlb* 'to turn into (tr.) and *+mly* 'to fill
(tr.)' can take two objects. When the first object is expressed by a pronomi-
nal suffix, the second object is normally placed after the verb, e.g.

(1)   *+doyə́t áy +kalò*⌐ *m-Tehrần*⌐ *xá +qətta parčà*⌐ *šdiré ba-+hatằn*⌐ *ki-ódlu
       jarkèt-inan*⌐ *šalwalè.*⌐ 'The maternal uncle of the bride has sent a
       piece of material from Tehran to the groom for him to make into a
       jacket and trousers.' (96)

(2)   *məqlbale +banadām.* 'He turned her into a human being.' (G:91)

(3)   *+məlyəlle ixala.* 'He has filled it with food.' (G:91)

    The second object may also be preposed before the verb, e.g. *+ixala
+məlyəlle* 'He has filled it with food.'

12.7.3. Subject Constituent

12.7.3.1. Subject—(Object)—Verb

If the clause has a subject constituent, this is normally placed before the verb and before a direct object nominal:

(1) *əlhá hwɔ̀lle.*⌐ 'God has given.' (53)

(2) *tār-šəmmé b-pàləx.*⌐ 'The door of heaven will open.' (110)

(3) ⁺*šultaná dastúr hwɔ̀lle.*⌐ 'The king gave an order.' (42)

(4) *aná ərbè məmqyén.*⌐ 'I have made sheep talk.' (23)

(5) *gorá əl-d-áy mandùlǝlla.*⌐ 'The husband throws her down.' (114)

The default position for the nuclear stress is on the verb. The nuclear stress is put on the subject constituent to draw particular attention to it, especially when the clause introduces a referent into the discourse, e.g.

(6) *raqlanè ədyélu.*⌐ 'The dancers came.' (6)

(7) *kartwè ədyélu.*⌐ 'The Kurds came.' (167)

(8) ⁺*dallaltà gezáwa.*⌐ 'A matchmaker would go.' (73)

12.7.3.2. Object—Subject—Verb

Occasionally an object nominal is placed before the subject nominal. This construction is attested in (1). Here the motivation for the fronting of the object 'your father' appears to be to set it up in parallelism with the referent 'these ministers', thus presenting them as being in a set relationship. The effect is to underscore the large set of people who have an emotional tie to the girl and are distressed by her not speaking:

(1) *əl-dadáx āt-⁺rába gbàtte.*⌐ *ayné kullú wazirè*⌐ *wăkilé láxxa ki-gá-d béla ità*⌐ *kullú əlláx àbulu.*⌐ 'You love your father a lot. All these ministers and officials who are in the house all love you.' (28)

12.7.3.3. (Object)—Verb—Subject

The subject nominal is occasionally placed after the verb. This is attested in cases where the referent of the postposed subject has already been introduced into the discourse. The construction is used to present the clause as having a close connection with what precedes. In (1) it presents an action

that is in close temporal connection with the action mentioned in the preceding clause, the two clauses being presented as components of the same overall event.

(1) *bàra*ˈ *kartwè ǝdyélu.*ˈ *ǝl-d-úne m-óka surgùn wídilu kartwé.*ˈ 'Then the Kurds came. The Kurds banished them from there.' (167)

In (2) the clause with the postposed subject is in close logical and temporal sequence to the act of issuing the decree expressed in the preceding clause:

(2) *mǻre mǻni-t émnu* ⁺*hudaá tkanéw dwǝqtá hawyà,*ˈ *b-mandéxe gáat* ⁺*dussǟx.*ˈ *majbùr xdǻru* ⁺*hudaé*ˈ *tkánu pǝlxàlu*ˈ 'He said "If the shop of any Jew from among them is shut, we shall throw him into prison." The Jews were forced to open their shops.' (130–131)

In (3) the construction is used in a clause that constitutes a elaborative comment on the preceding direct speech:

(3) *wazíre máru ba-*⁺*šultanà.*ˈ *mar-adè*ˈ *amréx báew xāš o-bratá madéla laxxà.*ˈ *nòšan galláw maqéx*ˈ *xazéx balkì*ˈ *naxpà*ˈ *m-tré-danke yá-jur* ⁺*dǝqna-xwaré našè*ˈ *balkí maqyà.*ˈ *xabru-xà wadúle gal-*⁺*dǻġde waziré.*ˈ 'Now, the ministers spoke to each other and then said regarding the king "Let him come and let us tell him to bring the girl here again. We shall talk to her ourselves. Let's see, perhaps she will be ashamed with two such senior people, perhaps she will speak." The ministers agreed among themselves.' (13)

In (4) the use of the postposed subject in the question of the shepherd binds it closely to the preceding speech of the king, in that it requests clarification of his statement referring to the fact that his daugher was not speaking:

(4) *aná ga-šahré* ⁺*jǎr* ⁺*mǝsrixén.*ˈ *mǎnì-t*ˈ *ǝl-bratí* ⁺*mǝssé mamqelà*ˈ *baèw*ˈ *fǝssè-nan*ˈ *dehwè ba-hawén.*ˈ … *o-*⁺*čobǟn máre bod-mà la-maqulá bratóx?*ˈ '"I have made a proclamation in the towns that whoever can make my daughter talk, I shall give him money and gold." … The shepherd said "Why does your daughter not speak?"' (22–23)

12.7.4. Subject Verb Agreement

In principle, the inflection of the verb agrees in number, gender and person with the subject nominal. A few exceptions to this are attested. This applies,

for example, to some cases where the verb *pyš* 'to remain' has an indefinite subject nominal, e.g.

(1) *g-Urmí áxča ⁺aréle la-pə̀šle.*| 'There did not remain very many Christians in Urmi.' (193)

In (2) the irrealis form of the verb ∅*dy* 'to come, to occur' does not agree with the indefinite subject:

(2) *lá hamónen xa-pučulá b-rešáw ədyá hawè.*| 'I do not believe that something evil could have come upon her.' (14)

When the subject is a nominal denoting a period of time qualified by a numeral, the verb has 3ms. inflection irrespective of the gender and number of the subject, e.g.

(3) *xa šata pəre.* 'A year passed' (G:101)

(4) *əšta yarxe pirwa.* 'Six months had passed.' (G:101)

A 1s. or 2s. subject may take 1pl. agreement by attraction to a following comitative phrase expressed by the preposition *gal* 'with', e.g.

(5) *holi ki axlex gallox.* 'Let me eat with you' (literally: Let me that we eat with you) (G:101)

(6) *ezex gallan.* 'Come along with us' (literally: Let us go with us) (G:101)

12.7.5. Independent Subject and Object Pronouns

Pronominal reference to the subject and direct object of a clause is expressed by inflectional elements on the verb and by independent pronominal phrases. The constructions with independent pronouns exhibit a 'heavier' coding of the content of the clause:

Light coding		Heavy coding	
idayle	~	*o idayle*	'He is coming'
idaylet		*āt idaylet*	'You is coming'
idaylen		*ana idaylen*	'I is coming'
xazulle		*əl-d-o xazulle*	'He sees him'
xazullox		*əllox xazule*	'He sees you'
xazulli		*əlli xazule*	'He sees me'

Note that a coreferential object suffix is used with an independent 3rd person object but not with an independent 1st or 2nd person object.

The constructions with heavy coding generally mark boundaries of some kind between sections of the discourse. They mark the boundary either at the onset or the closure of the section. In general heavy coding of pronominal subjects marks onset whereas heavy coding of pronominal objects is used to mark onset or closure.

Two clauses with different subjects may be presented as separate events by using independent subject pronouns, e.g.

(1) *kə́mma-t láxxa našé mar-⁺pálti tàra.¦ ä́t-əš ⁺plút tàra.¦* 'Let the people here go outside. You also go outside.' (25)

In (2) the two events are also spatially separated:

(2) *ána gállaw maqèn¦ ä́t m-qálaw šamə̀tte.¦* 'I shall speak with her. You will hear her voice.' (33)

On numerous occasions there is no change in subject, but rather a disjoining on some other level of the discourse.

In (3) the onset of sections of discourse are marked by the independent subject pronoun *ana*. The sections may be identified as (i) the report of an event, (ii) the reaction to the event, (iii) the proposed action to resolve the problem:

(3) (i) **ána** *áxči gal-bráti mqèli¦ xa-kǎlimá ⁺jwábi la-hwə̀llale.¦* (ii) **ána** *⁺rába ⁺rába xdúg wadèn.¦ zadúlen əl-d-ay bratì¦ xa-púč šulá b-rešə̀w ə́dya hawé.¦* (iii) **aná** *baxún ⁺tahá yomé mholtà híwalen.¦* 'I spoke a lot with my daughter, but she did not reply a single word. I am very worried. I am afraid that something untoward has happened to her. I give you a limit of three days (to resolve the problem).' (11)

In (4) the distribution of the indepenent subject pronouns marks the speech off into three sections (i) the statement that the girl should talk, (ii) the justification for this statement and (iii) a question seeking clarification.

(4) *máre bràti,¦* (i) **ána** *fkə́r wadén ki-gǎrág maqyàt.¦* (ii) *bod-ód* **ana**-*lékət xirèn,¦ šansáx ⁺rába bahurtèla.¦ xa-šulá là-xdir ki-ləbbáx dóq la-maqyát.¦ kyát ki-dadáx wáxt-ile šaydə̀n.¦* (ii) *ä́t əl-dadáx là-gbate?¦* 'He said "My girl, I think you should talk, because wherever I have looked, your fortune is very bright. Nothing has happened such that your heart should be troubled and you do not

speak. You know that your father is beginning to go mad. Don't
you love your father?"' (18)

In (5) the distribution of the independent object phrase *əlli* reflects the
presentation of the passage as three main events, viz. (i) the decision not to
go to school, (ii) the flight from school and (iii) the punishment inflicted by
the teacher. In each case the *əlli* phrase occurs at the closure of the section.
The third event consists of several clauses, the independent pronominal
phrase being used in the final one of the chain. Concomitantly with this, the
independent subject pronoun *ana* marks the onset of the first two sections:

(5)   (i) *anà*ˈ *bára xzéli kì*ˈ *xălifá là-*⁺*msele*ˈ *g-klàs*ˈ ⁺*g-mədrằš*ˈ **əllí**
      *dahɔ̀lwa.*ˈ (ii) *ána qɔ́mli yrɔ̀qli*ˈ *kí* **əllí** *lá dahɔ̀l.*ˈ (iii) *bằle*ˈ *bár-kəmma*
      *yárxe dwɔ́qleli gáat xiyawằn,*ˈ *g-kučà*ˈ *xa-jwɔ̄n dhɔ̀lleli.*ˈ ⁺*xasì mréle,*ˈ
      əllí *əmbɔ́llu g-marasxanà.*ˈ 'I eventually decided that the teacher
      should not beat me in the class, at the Jewish school. I ran away
      so that he would not beat me. But after a few months he caught
      me in the street and gave me a sound beating. My back hurt and
      they took me to hospital.' (147–148)

In (6) the independent pronominal object phrase occurs in a clause that
constitutes the end of a chain of closely-knit events:

(6)   ⁺*jallằt idáyle.*ˈ *našè idáylu,*ˈ *əl-d-áy* ⁺*masmoxulle ki-réšew* ⁺*qatèle.*ˈ
      'The executioner came. The people came. They make him stand
      up in order to cut off his head.' (35)

The heavy coding constructions are used for the sake of giving the
clauses added prominence. This is seen in (7), in which the speaker uses
heavy 1ˢᵗ person pronominal coding in the direct speech to make his asser-
tions more forceful:

(7)   *mən-d-ó yomá mɔ́ri ba-dadì*ˈ *ya ána nóši nóši* ⁺*b-qatlèn,*ˈ *yá əllí ma-*
      jbɯ̄r b-lá-odet ána ezén ⁺*mədrằš.*ˈ *ána xén* ⁺*mədrɔ̄̆š ezána lèwen.*ˈ
      'From that day I said to my father "Either I shall kill myself or you
      will not force me to go to school. I shall not go to school again."'
      (149)

Independent pronominal phrases are on some occasions postposed after
the verb or copula predicate. This construction expresses greater continuity
and cohesion with the preceding discourse than the construction where the
pronoun stands before the verb. This is the case with (8), which, as dis-
cussed above (§12.7.1.2.), uses postposition of the object (*dahólətta əl-d-áy*)

to express the temporal overlap of the question with the event of the husband beating his wife mentioned in the preceding clause. The motivation for the heavy coding appears to be to give prominence to the clause as a whole-question, presenting it as an exclamatory question. The heavy coding of the object pronoun before the verb in the clause *gorá əl-d-áy mandùlǝlla*ˌ, on the other hand, is used to present the act of the husband beating his wife as a separate event from that of her coming down from the roof:

(8)   *baxtá idàyla.*ˈ *kwašá idáyla tǝxyà.*ˈ *gorá əl-d-áy mandùlǝlla,*ˈ *xel-kotàk*
      *dahólǝlla.*ˈ *šwawé marù*ˈ *baà dahólǝtta əl-d-áy?!*ˈ *báxta má wàdta?!*ˈ
      'The woman came back. She came back down. The husband threw
      her down and beat her (literally: beats her under a blow). The
      neighbours said "Why are you beating her? What has the woman
      done?"' (114)

When an independent subject pronoun bears the nuclear stress, the function of the construction is generally different. The motivation for the use of the pronoun in such cases is normally to express an information focus on the pronominal referent. This may be contrastive or inclusive, e.g.

(9)   *àt aqléw* ⁺*lučlá*ˈ *ki-àt rešéw* ⁺*zór hawyát.*ˈ '*You* tread on his foot, so
      that *you* (not he) will be dominant.' (83)

(10) *anà-š m-Urmí ǝdyén láxxa.*ˈ 'I also have come from Urmi.' (187)

A pronominal object occasionally does not have any morphological expression in the form of either a suffix or independent pronominal phrase, e.g.

(11) *qalyà godíwa gáat béla*ˈ *daréwa ki-hàwelu.*ˈ 'They made fried meat
      and laid (it) up in the house so that they would have it (in the
      winter).' (159)

12.7.6. Prepositional Phrases

12.7.6.1. Verb—Prepositional Phrase

A prepositional phrase expressing an indirect object or some other complement of the verb is normally placed after the verb. If this phrase constitutes the end of the clause, it generally bears the nuclear stress. The nuclear stress in such cases typically expresses a broad focus that includes both the prepositional phrase and the verb:

(1) *wazíre máru ba-⁺šultanà.*| 'The ministers say to the king.' (13)

(2) *maqén gallàw.*| 'Let me speak with her.' (14)

(3) *wazír idáyle ⁺qánšar bratà.*| 'The minister comes before the girl.' (16)

(4) *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw.*| 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room.' (44)

(5) *əlhá hwílelan gáat ⁺wərxà.*| 'God has provided for us on the way.' (53)

(6) *awwál awwál zílwa əl-d-o xǎlifà.*| 'He first went to the teacher.' (143)

On a few occasions the nuclear stress is retracted onto another item in the clause in order to express a narrow focus on this item and draw particular attention to it:

(7) *maprəxə̀nna b-šə́mme.*| 'I shall make it fly into the sky.' (45)

(8) *yaroqùlla reš-qorət-dadú.*| 'They run to their father's grave.' (68)

(9) *ki-⁺hatā́n xabušé ni⁺šanà widíle əl-⁺kaló*| 'because the groom threw the apples at the bride' (81)

12.7.6.2. Prepositional Phrase—Verb

On some occasions the prepositional phrase is placed before the verb. This construction is generally used when the phrase contains a referent that has some kind of prominence in the discourse, whereas the order verb—prepositional phrase is unmarked in this respect and is used for both prominent and also incidental referents. If the clause also contains a direct object constituent, this is generally placed after the prepositional phrase, immediately before the verb.

A referent may acquire discourse prominence by the fact that it has already been evoked in the immediately preceding context and so is topically bound to it, e.g.

(1) *amblíwale ⁺hamā̀m.*| *⁺m-hamā́m dèrwa.*| 'They took him to the baths. He returned from the baths.' (85–86)

(2) *baqatyóm šabbàt,*| *baqatyóm gèna*| *amblíwale knəštà,*| *géna m-knəštá gal-mùsika madríwale belà.*| 'On Saturday morning, again in the

morning they took him to synagogue and again brought him back from synagogue to the house with music.' (86)

In (3) the a phrase is fronted in a clause that repeats the content of the preceding clause in order to give it prominence:

(3) *goymé-š lá šaqlíwa ⁺m-hudaà.ǀ goymé ⁺m-hudaá lá šaqlìwa.ǀ* 'The Muslims, moreover, would not buy (food) from a Jew. The Muslims did not buy from a Jew.' (124)

Referents that are bound to the preceding discourse are often pronominal, e.g.

(4) *má-t nā́š m-əlhá abèǀ əlhá baéw kwə̀l.ǀ* 'Whatever a person wants from God, God would will give to him.' (109)

The same applies to 1st and 2nd person pronominal suffixes, which are referentially linked to the speech situation, e.g.

(5) ⁺*məssát bái amràt.ǀ* 'You can tell me.' (10)

(6) *nā́š lá-abulen áde gálli maqè.ǀ* 'I do not want anybody to come to talk with me.' (20)

(7) *xayú baáx puč-xàbra miré?ǀ* 'Has one of them said a bad word to you?' (9)

(8) *aná baxún ⁺tahá yomé mholtà híwalen.ǀ* 'I give you a moratorium of three days.' (11)

In some cases the nuclear stress is retracted onto the prepositional phrase in order to draw particular attention to it. In (9) and (10) the nuclear stress is put on referents that are topically bound to the preceding context or the speech situation in order to express the unexpectedness of such referents in the role in question:

(9) *ki-gal-⁺šultanà ki-la-maqulá,ǀ gallàn b-maqyá?ǀ* 'If she does not speak to *the king*, will she speak with *us*?' (12)

(10) *mən-⁺daù-š la-baqorú.ǀ* 'They (obviously) do not ask *their mother*.' (65)

The fronted prepositional phrase in some cases may not have been explicitly evoked in the preceding context but is nevertheless referentially bound to a previously evoked referent in a set relationship. In (11), for example, two clauses have a prepositional phrase before the verb. The referent in the phrase *əl-tasbehéw* ('at his rosary') has been explicitly mentioned. The

referent in the phrase *əl-lišanàw* 'at her tongue' is referentially bound to this in that both referents are presented as belonging to the set of items that he looked at:

(11) *tasbehéw ⁺palotə̀llu.ˈ əl-tasbehéw xyarè.ˈ əl-lišanàw xyaré.ˈ* 'He took out his rosary. He looked at his rosary. He looked at her tongue.' (18)

A further example of the fronting of prepositional phrases to express a set relationship is (12):

(12) *baí xa-⁺saġ ⁺gàna hól,ˈ ba-⁺yalí ⁺ruzí fəryà hól.ˈ* 'Give me a healthy body. To my children give abundant provision.' (112)

In a few cases the referent of a prepositional phrase that is placed before the verb has not been mentioned previously but has discourse prominence due to its relationship with the following discourse. In such cases the phrase typically bears the nuclear stress. In (13), for example, the referent 'the stars' is not incidental but rather introduces a class of items that is significant for the following clause, which concerns the star of the girl.

(13) *ana-lél-xen g-kəxwè xirén,ˈ xəzyén ki-kəxwáw ⁺rába qwəltàˈ ⁺rába bahurtelà.ˈ* 'Last night I looked at the stars and saw that her star is very strong, is very bright.' (14)

12.7.7. Nominal Complements after Verbs of Movement

When a nominal without a preposition is used with a verb of movement to express a destination, this is normally placed after the verb. The nuclear stress is usually placed on the nominal expressing broad information focus that includes both the nominal and verb:

(1) *⁺matúle šulèw.ˈ* 'He arrives at his work.' (55)

(2) *⁺matúle belà.ˈ* 'He arrives home.' (57)

(3) *amblíwale ⁺hamằm.ˈ* 'They took him to the baths.' (85)

(4) *bára amblíwalu ərxèl.ˈ* 'Then they took it to the mill.' (99)

It is placed before the verb and given the nuclear stress when the speaker wishes to give it particular prominence, e.g.

(5) *kut-šabbát knəštà gezél.ˈ* 'Every Saturday he goes to synagogue.' (74)

(6) *axní natijà ⁺mtélan.*| 'We have reached a decision.' (14)

12.7.8. Nominal Complements of Verbs of Naming

The name of referents may be expressed by a construction consisting of an impersonal 3pl. form of the verb ∅*mr* 'to say', with the named item marked by the preposition *ba-* or *əl-* 'to'. The nominal complement of this construction is generally placed after the verb, e.g.

(1) *yà*| *baáw kəmrìwa*| ⁺*hatán masxoè.*| 'They called this "the washing of the groom."' (85)

(2) *kí báat* ⁺*hudaé kəmriwálu lóka jŭhùd.*| 'for they called the Jews "Jŭhud."' (176)

12.7.9. Nominal Complements of the Verb ⁺*mly*

The complement of the ⁺*mly* 'to fill' is invariably placed after it, e.g.

(1)   ⁺*mlela behra.* 'It filled with light.' (G:90)

12.8. NEGATED CLAUSES

12.8.1. Negator before Verb

The usual way to negate a verbal clause is to place the negative particle *la* before the verb. This is either stressed or unstressed. When stressed, it takes either the nuclear or non-nuclear stress, depending on the prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the negator.

12.8.1.1. Unstressed Negator

(1) *qorá la-dhɜ̀lle.*| 'He did not beat the grave.' (70)

(2) *bráta la-maqaà-wela.*| 'The girl was not talking.' (3)

(3) *bod-mà la-maqulát?*| 'Why do you not talk?' (8)

(4) *xa-kălimá* ⁺*jwábi la-hwɜ̀llale.*| 'She did not reply one word to me.' (11)

(5) ⁺*šultaná mə-xdúg la-ayolá-wele ma-òdwa.*| 'The king out of his worry did not know what to do.' (7)

12.8.1.2. Negator with Non-nuclear Stress

(1) *lá maqulà.*⌐ 'She does not talk.' (35)

(2) *bod-mà lá maqulát?*⌐ 'Why does she not talk?' (17)

(3) *bratá-inan broná-š əl-⁺də́ġde ⁺hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.*⌐ 'The girl and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding.' (73)

(4) *goymé-š lá šaqlíwa ⁺m-hudaà.*⌐ 'The Muslims, moreover, would not buy (food) from a Jew.' (124)

(5) *lá-qablex ki-tkanà dwə́qta pešá.*⌐ 'We do not permit any shop to remain closed.' (127)

12.8.1.3. Negator with Nuclear Stress

One type of situation in which this is used is that illustrated by (1) and (2), in which the negator has an adversative force, negating an event that was expected to ensue from what precedes:

(1) *má-t wə́dlu ya-bráta rešáw là mrəmlalé.*⌐ 'Whatever they did the girl did not raise her head.' (6)

(2) *šmélox xzélox má-jur mqèla?*⌐ ⁺*šultaná mə́re ána là šəmyén.*⌐ 'He said "(May) the king (be well), did you hear and witness how she spoke?" The king said "I have not heard."' (31)

Nuclear stress is also commonly used in prohibitions, e.g.

(3) *áxča nóšox là-mgusla!*⌐ 'Do not tire yourself so much!' (29)

(4) *là-nxup!*⌐ 'Do not be ashamed!' (10)

(5) *xá-danka doktór là madétun!*⌐ 'Do not bring a single doctor!' (20)

Nuclear stress is, likewise, typically used in other deontic expressions. In (6) it is found with the negated future form ⁺*b-qatəl* and in (7) with the deontic particle *gărag*. In both cases it is placed immediately before the verb:

(6) *xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.*⌐ 'For several days I shall not speak.' (2)

(7) *ə́t gắrag enóx là ⁺čemətwálu.*⌐ 'You should not have closed your eyes.' (60)

12.8.1.4. Negator with wele

When the negator is combined with the past ⁺qtǝlle form of hwy, which serves as a past copula, it is the norm to put the stress, nuclear or non-nuclear, on the negator rather than on the verb, e.g.

(1) *wazyắtú jwān-là-wela.|* 'Their condition was not good.' (50)

(2) *unè-š axčá gallán jwä́n lá-welu.|* 'They also were not so good to us.' (184)

(3) *⁺lázǝm lá-wela m-šuqá ba-šaqolè.|* 'It was not necessary to buy from the market.' (163)

12.8.2. Negator before other Elements in the Clause

The negative particle is placed before a nominal where this is one of a list of items that are presented over two or more adjacent clauses. The clauses usually share the same verb and the focus of information, which is expressed by the nuclear stress, is on the nominal:

(1) *⁺rǝwwǝ́t komsèr,| m-nòšew| lá ⁺m-šultanà bqóre,| lá m-markàz,| markáz Tehrằn-wela,| xabrà hwólle.|* 'The chief of police of his own accord, without asking the king, nor the centre (of government),—the centre was in Tehran—issued an announcement saying' (127)

(2) *la-ixalá ixalè| là heč-⁺mǝndóġ.|* 'He does not eat any food, not anything.' (53)

In (3) the nuclear stress is on the negator:

(3) *brata là-l-a-gab xórra,| là-l-o-gab.|* 'The girl did not look to this side or to that side.' (6)

The negative particle is found before nominals where the scope of the negator includes the nominal but not the verb in the clause. This explains the occurrence of the negator before ⁺mál in (4), in which a second negator is placed before the verb:

(4) *kí báat šuqá bod-ód ⁺rába qardà kǝwyáwa,| ⁺rába talgà gdéwa,| lá ⁺mál-ǝš ⁺rába gáat Urmi là ⁺mamtéwa.|* 'For since it was very cold and snowed a lot, they did not bring many goods to the market in Urmi (i.e. they brought some goods, but not many).' (159)

The negator is placed before adverbials where the adverbial is intended to be included in the scope of the negation. In (5) it is placed before infinitives with adverbial function, the predicate also being negated by the negative copula:

(5) *lá izalì*│ *lá idayì*│ *⁺g-wərxá hèč-⁺məndəġ létwa.*│ 'Neither when I went nor when I came back was there anything on the road.' (57)

Elsewhere the negator may be placed before a nominal object if this is combined with the verb in a close-knit idiomatic expression, e.g.

(6) *xabréw lá arà mandə́nne.*│ 'I shall not reject his word (his request)' (Literally: I shall not throw his word on the ground)

12.8.3. Idiomatic Usage

A negative predicate is sometimes combined in parallel with a positive predicate as an idiomatic way of expressing an increase in generality, e.g.

(1) *bróna mà gód?*│ *mà la-gód?*│ *šuléw mà-ile?*│ *mà lewé?*│ 'What does the boy do? What does he not do? What is his profession? What is it not?' (= 'What does he do?', and so forth. 'What is his profession?' and so forth). (73)

(2) *gal-d-ó ⁺məssét kullà*│ *šulòx,*│ *belòx,*│ *bənyanòx,*│ *má-t ít lét duz-odə̀ttu.*│ 'With this you can put everything in order, your work, your house, your family, whatever it is.' (52)

(3) *kullá má-t ít lét g-bel-nòšu godíwale.*│ 'Everybody made whatever (they needed) in their own house.' (158)

In narratives, a fictional character is often presented by a combination of a positive and negative existential particle, expressing an incomplete commitment to the truth of the existence of the character, e.g.

(4) *ítwa létwa xa-⁺šultanà.*│ 'There was once a king.' (1)

12.9. INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

Interrogative clauses of the yes—no type are distinguished from non-interrogative clauses by intonation alone, the typical interrogative intonation pattern having a high rising pitch on the nucleus with no subsequent drop in the remainder of the intonation group:

(1) *mə́nni lə́bbax pìš?*ˈ *jəgráx ədyè?*ˈ 'Are you upset with me? Are you angry?' (8)

If the nuclear stress is retracted to a constituent before the verb, the verb is in principle outside the scope of the question, e.g.

(2) *kullxùn dhə́llxun?*ˈ 'Did you *all* beat? (i.e. it is assumed that some beat)' (69)

(3) *xayú baáx puč-xàbra miré?*ˈ 'Has one of them said *a bad word* against you? (i.e. it is assumed that they said something)' (9)

In negative questions the negative particle often bears the nuclear stress. Such clauses have the function of asseverations, e.g.

(4) *ə́t əl-dadáx là-gbate?*ˈ 'Do you not love your father? (= Surely you love your father!)' (18)

(5) ⁺*šultána là-šmelox?*ˈ 'King, did you not hear? (= Surely you heard!)' (35)

Clauses involving interrogative particles normally place the particles before the verb, irrespective of their syntactic function. There is a high rising intonation on the nuclear stress, which either occurs on the interrogative particle or on the verb at the end of the intonation group:

(6) *má wə̀dlox?*ˈ 'What did you do?' (42)

(7) *ma-òdex?*ˈ 'What should we do?' (12)

(8) *mà amréx ba-*⁺*šultaná?*ˈ 'What should we say to the king?' (12)

(9) *bod-mà la-maqulát?*ˈ 'Why are you not talking?' (8)

(10) *mà-jur gódwa?*ˈ 'How did he do it?' (93)

A subject pronoun or nominal is generally placed before the interrogative particle, e.g.

(11) *ə́t mə̀nilet?*ˈ 'Who are you?' (187)

(12) *Šlómo ha-mélex mà widé?*ˈ 'What did King Solomon do?' (46)

(13) *báxta má wə̀dta?*ˈ 'What has the woman done?' (114)

(14) *áyne* ⁺*šamalé ba-mà-ilu?*ˈ 'What are these candles for?' (40)

(15) ⁺*aqláx lèka-ile?*ˈ 'Where is your intelligence?' (64)

(16) *ất bod-má b-šúli yarowèt?*[|] 'Why are you interfering with my business?' (48)

An object is normally placed after the interrogative particle (17), but a fronted prepositional phrase is placed before it (18):

(17) *baá bratà ydə́lta?*[|] 'Why has she given birth to a girl?' (116)

(18) *m-korpí mà-jur pə́rrox?*[|] 'How did you cross the bridge?' (59)

12.10. EXTRAPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

12.10.1. Structure

The structure of extraposition involves placing a nominal or independent pronoun in syntactic isolation in clause initial position and resuming it by an anaphoric pronominal element later in the clause:

(1) ⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába* ⁺*hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.*[|] 'The Jews—it was very easy for them to go to synagogue.' (157)

(2) ⁺*hudaé šúlu jwằn-ile g-šuqá.*[|] 'The Jews—their business is good in the market.' (126)

(3) *Šlómo ha-mélex* ⁺*rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà.*[|] 'King Solomon—his happiness comes a lot concerning this story (= King Solomon was very amused with this story).' (49)

The extraposed nominal may be presented in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(4) *goymè*[|] *šúlu jwằn lèwe.*[|] 'The Muslims—their business is not good.' (126)

The construction (5) is of a different nature in that the nominal at the front of the construction is not in syntactic isolation but rather has the preposition *əl-*, which marks its status as direct object. This is resumed by a direct object independent pronoun, which stands in apposition to it:

(5) *əl-sotí-nan sóni m-gab-dadì*[|] *əl-d-úne-š har-g-xá-yoma əl-túnnu qəṭlìlu,*[|] 'They killed both my grandmother and grandfather on my father's side in one day.' (166)

12.10.2. Function

The function of the extraposition of an item at the front of a clause is in most cases to express some kind of boundary and reorientation in the discourse. The initial nominal expresses the topic referent of the clause, which often has topical status also in the following clauses.

A speaker sometimes opens a speech turn with a topic referent that is accessible to the hearer in the speech situation. If this is not the subject of the clause, it stands in extraposition, e.g.

(1) *ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttu*| *fắqàt*| *xayù*| *ày dadáx-ile.*| 'These brothers of yours that you see, only one of them is from your father.' (64)

In conversation 1st and 2nd person pronouns referring to the participants of the current speech situation are often extraposed in this context, e.g.

(2) *kəmríwa atxún hammešà*| *šulxún biš-⁺qàbāg̣-ile.*| 'They would say "Your business is always more successful."' (192)

On some occasions a construction with an initial extraposed topic referent occurs at the onset of a section of discourse that is disjoined in some way from what precedes. Various types of disjunction can be identified. In (3) and (4) the extrapositional construction constitutes an explanatory supplement to what precedes:

(3) *yà*| *baáw kəmrìwa*| *⁺hatắn masxoè.*| 'This—they called it the washing of the groom.' (85)

(4) *kullú ayné knəšyè*| *g-mahállət áy ⁺hudaè kwéwa,*| *kì*| *⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.*| 'All of these synagogues were in the district of the Jews, and so the Jews—it was very easy for them to go to synagogue.' (157)

In some cases the motivation for the extrapositional construction is to set up an opposition or parallelism between two topic referents. Each topic referent is placed at the front of the clause and stands in extraposition if it is not the subject referent, e.g.

(5) *⁺hudaé šúlu jwằn-ile g-šuqá.*| *bắle goymè*| *šúlu jwắn lèwe.*| 'The Jews—their business in the market is good. But the Muslims—their business is not good.' (126)

(6) ⁺*salmá xwarì mdéla bratáx.*| *āt-*⁺*salmàx hawé xwará.*| 'Your daughter has brought honour (literally: whiteness of face). May you be honoured (literally: You—may your face be white).' (117)

In possessive constructions consisting of *it/itwa* + L-suffix or *let/letwa* + L-suffix (§4.23.), a nominal or independent subject pronoun referring to the possessor is obligatorily extraposed:

(7) *ya-*⁺*šultanà*| *rába-š qudràt ətwalé.*| 'This king had a lot of power.' (1)

(8) ⁺*yála qalandár lokà*| ⁺*tahá juré zdéle ə̀twale gáat Urmí.*| 'The poor child there in Urmi had three types of fear.' (138)

(9) *axnì*| *bad-baxtulà ə́twalan.*| 'We had misfortune (= We were unfortunate).' (137)

(10) *ána əsrì šənné-tti!*| 'I have twenty years (= I am twenty years old).' (41)

Likewise in some constructions with phrasal verbs it is the norm to extrapose a nominal in order to keep the two closely knit elements of the phrasal verb together, e.g.

(11) *Šlómo ha-mélex* ⁺*rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà.*| 'King Solomon was very amused with this story.' (48–49)

12.11. PLACEMENT OF ADVERBIALS

The placement of adverbials in relation to other components in the clause is conditioned by a number of factors. The majority of adverbials that occur in the text corpus are temporal or spatial expressions. The various positions can be classified as follows:

12.11.1. In Clause Initial Position

Temporal or spatial adverbials that stand at the front of a clause and are given prominence by presenting them in a separate intonation group typically mark a new orientation or section in the discourse and set the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. This frame often incorporates a series of clauses, e.g.

(1) *léle d-áy patirè*| *áxni* ⁺*massé m-šuqà lá šaqlə́xwa.*| 'On the eve of Passover we did not buy matzos from the market.' (98)

(2) *bár lel-xlulà⌐ baqatyómət yom-aròta⌐ ⁺hátān masxoè godíwa.⌐* 'After
the night of the wedding, on the Friday morning, they would per-
form the washing of the groom.' (85)

Initial adverbials that set the temporal or spatial frame for the follow-
ing discourse section are sometimes incorporated into the intonation group
of the clause, e.g.

(3) *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw,⌐ panjarà⌐ ⁺támaša wadà-
wele⌐ ⁺batè,⌐ ilanè.⌐* 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room
and at the window he was watching houses and trees.' (44)

Adverbials in clause initial position that are not isolated in a separate
intonation group, however, often do not express such a major spatial or
temporal reorientation. This applies to the usage of the temporal adverbial
bára 'afterwards' in (4):

(4) *⁺xə́tte dánka dánka gabèwalu.⌐ bára amblíwalu ərxèl.⌐* 'They selected
the (clean) wheat grain by grain. Then they took it to the mill.'
(99)

The placement of nuclear stress on the deictic spatial adverbial *loka*
'there' at the front of a clause binds the clause closely with what precedes,
e.g.

(5) *bắle g-markàz-wele belú,⌐ g-d-úne tkánət ⁺bujáġət áy Urmì kí⌐ unè⌐
qaračnè goymé⌐ xayèwa,⌐ lòka ⁺hudaé lá xayéwa.⌐* 'But their houses
were in the centre. In the suburbs of Urmi where the Muslim
lower class lived—there the Jews did not live.' (153)

12.11.2. At the End or in the Middle of a Clause

When the adverbial is restricted in scope to the clause in which it occurs, it
is generally placed after the verb at the end of the clause, e.g.

(1) *mar-adyá laxxà.⌐* 'Let her come here.' (23)

(2) *nurà godíwa lóka.⌐* 'They made a fire there.' (79)

(3) *bratá madúlula ⁺luwà.⌐* 'They bring the girl inside.' (24)

On some occasions it occurs before the verb but after the subject con-
stituent, e.g.

(4) *góra baqatyóm qyamè.⌐* 'The next day the man gets up.' (53)

13.   CLAUSE SEQUENCES

13.1. EXPRESSION OF CO-ORDINATIVE CLAUSAL CONNECTION

13.1.1. Asyndetic Connection

When main clauses are linked together co-ordinatively they are normally combined asyndetically without any connective element. This applies both to series of clauses that express sequential actions and and also to those that express temporally overlapping actions or situations.

13.1.1.1. Sequential actions

(1) *⁺šultaná ya-xabrá qbˋllele.¦ ⁺šultaná čápke dhˋlle.¦ nokár ǝdyelè.¦* 'The king agreed. The king clapped his hands. A servant came.' (5)

(2) *maxyané zamrané ˋdyelu,¦ bratá mǝdyàlu.¦ bráta ǝdyéla ytǝwlà.¦* 'The musicians and singers came and they brought the girl. The girl came and sat down.' (5)

(3) *čápke dhˋlle¦ kúllu maxyané raqlané zˋllu.¦ ǝl-bratà¦ mqimàle.¦* 'He clapped his hands and all the musicians and dancers went away. He raised the girl up.' (7)

(4) *yan-púč xulmà xzitát¦ zˋdyat,¦ lišanàx dwíq?¦* 'Or have you had a bad dream and have had a fright and your tongue has become tied?' (9)

(5) *ána áxči gal-bráti mqèli¦ xa-kălimá ⁺jwábi la-hwˋllale.¦* 'I spoke a lot with my daughter, but she did not reply a single word.' (11)

13.1.1.2. *Temporally Overlapping Actions or Situations*

(1) *ayné zmə̀rru,ˈ rqə̀llu,ˈ mxèlu.ˈ* 'They sang, danced and played music.'
(6)

(2) *xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw,ˈ panjaràˈ ⁺támaša wadà-wele ˈ ⁺batè,ˈ ilanè.ˈ* 'One day King Solomon was sitting in his room and at the window he was watching houses and trees.' (44)

(3) *ána ⁺rába ⁺rába xdúg wadèn.ˈ zadúlen əl-d-ay bratìˈ xa-púč šulá b-rešàw ə́dya hawé.ˈ* 'I am very worried. I am afraid that something untoward has happened to her.' (11)

13.1.2. *wa-*

On some occasions clauses are linked by the connective particle *wa-*. This 'heavy' coding of connectivity tends to be used at the end of sections of discourse. In the story 'The Princess who Refused to Talk' (1–43), for example, it is used only at the end of the narrative, where it occurs several times:

(1) *bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé.ˈ **wa**-yə̀lliˈ **wa**-ya-šúla wə̀dlile.ˈ ⁺šultaná dastúr hwə̀lleˈ mə́re ba-xatrát ki-bratí mqèla,ˈ ə́t-əš má-t àbulet,ˈ má-t míren ána godén baox-kwèn.ˈ **wa**-xánči maxyané zam-rané raqlané adè,ˈ maxé zamrì,ˈ ba-xatrót ki-bratí mqità.ˈ* '"Only this method would result in her being made to talk. I knew this and so this is what I did." The king made a decree and said "Since my daughter spoke, whatever you want, whatever I promised, I shall give to you. Let some musicians, singers and dances come, let them play and sing, since my daughter has spoken."' (42–43)

Likewise in the text describing wedding customs (71–97) it occurs twice at the end but not earlier in the body of the discourse:

(2) *kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí.ˈ làxxaˈ teatrù widená.ˈ **wa**-⁺rába náše-š teatrú xəzyùlaˈ **wa**-⁺rába náše ki-là xəzyúla ayolú ki-g-Urmí xlulyé mà-jur godíwalu.ˈ* 'I wrote a play about these aspects of a wedding that I have described. I have staged it here in a theatre. Many people have seen the stage production. But many who have not seen it know how weddings were held in Urmi.' (97)

The particle is attested elsewhere at the end of sections of discourse within texts. In (3), for example, it occurs at the end of a section describing the custom of 'godfather':

(3) *sàndaq⌐ hammešà⌐ dádət áy ⁺hatã̀n xadə́rwa,⌐ ⁺yà dádət ⁺kaló.⌐ ắgar dadə́t ⁺kalò⌐ sandàq xdirá hawéwa xa-záa,⌐ gắrag dadə́t ⁺hatã̀n sandáq xadə́rwa.⌐ ya dádət ⁺hatã̀n sandáq xdíra hawéwa,⌐ dádət áy ⁺kalò b-xadə́rwa.⌐ bắle,⌐ ắgar tunnù⌐ sandáq xdirá hawéwa ga-awwàl,⌐ m-xá-danka famìl,⌐ m-xá-danka məšpaxà⌐ kawòd kwíwale⌐ **wa**-godíwale sandàq⌐ gáat knəštà.⌐* 'The father of the groom would always become the godfather, or the father of the bride. If the father of the bride had been a godfather once (already), the father of the groom had to become the godfather. Or, if the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion). But, if both had been godfather before, they gave the honour to a family member and made him the godfather in the synagogue.' (119–120)

In (4) it occurs at the end of a section of direct speech that is embedded within an expository text:

(4) *mə́ru tkané ki-atxún dwaqètunu,⌐ šuqà⌐ malùl xadóra,⌐ šuqà⌐ ⁺pasuxtá là maxwulá,⌐ šuqá m-sqilulá pyalà.⌐ bắlé atxún tkané kí palxètunu,⌐ ó šuqà⌐ hamã̀n sqilulá gədyà,⌐ **wa**-muštaryè-š gdé,⌐ **wa**-šuqá šulà godá.⌐* 'They said "When you close the shops, the market becomes depressed, the market does not appear to be happy, the market loses its beauty. But, when you open the shops, the market acquires this beauty, the clients come and the market does business. Because you close your shops, the market does not do business, the Muslims do not do business."' (133)

13.1.3. *-əš*

This particle is suffixed to words. If the word ends in a vowel the /ə/ vowel is elided, e.g. *gora-š* (< *gora* + *əš*). The particle has an incremental function that may be proposition orientated or constituent orientated.

13.1.3.1. Proposition Orientated Usage

When it relates broadly to the proposition as a whole, the item to which it is attached in principle has a non-nuclear stress. It is typically attached to a phrase at the beginning of a clause with the nuclear stress occurring later in the clause, usually at the end. In such constructions the particle functions as a clausal connective. It is used by speakers to mark boundaries of some kind in the discourse.

The usage of the particle in a narrative context is illustrated in (1), where it marks an episodic boundary, which is temporally disjoined from the events narrated in the preceding clauses:

(1) *lelé Eḷyáhu ⁺hannawí ǝdyéle g-xulmì.¦ zə́lli ⁺g-wǝrxà.¦ korpí piràli.¦*
    dyarí-š *ǝdyèli,¦ ⁺g-wǝrxá héč-⁺mǝndǝġ là-xzeli.¦* 'At night the prophet Elijah came (to me) in my dream. I went on my way. I crossed the bridge. When I came back on my return I saw nothing on the way.' (58)

In (2), from a historical narrative, the particle marks a clause that is not sequential to what precedes but rather is the onset of a section presenting an elaboration on this, illustrating the actions of the Russians during the time they held control:

(2) *bára ⁺urusnè ǝdyélu gáat Urmí.¦ xakmá ⁺wadà¦ ⁺hukmá ǝntyálu b-íd nòšu.¦* **šuqá-š** *mǝqlàlu.¦ ⁺rába našé ⁺talàn wǝ́dlu.¦ má-t ⁺lazə́m-wele m-šuqà¦ má-t kí là qilwa¦ gǝrgə́šlule báat belà.¦* 'Then the Russians came to Urmi. They took control for some time. They burnt the market. They plundered many people. They carried off home whatever they needed from the market, whatever was not burned.' (168)

In (3), from expository discourse, the *-ǝš* particle occurs at the beginning of a clause that describes the custom of keeping the girl and boy apart before a marriage. This is a thematic shift from the description of the custom of betrothal messengers (*elčye*) in the preceding clauses:

(3) *elčyè gdéwa.¦ ba-⁺daáw kǝmríwa kì¦ bratáx abúlǝxxa ba-bronàn.¦* **bratá-inan broná-š** *ǝl-⁺dǝ́ġde ⁺hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.¦* 'The messengers would come. They would say to her mother "We want your daughter for our son." The girl and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding.' (73)

In (4) the particle is used three times. This divides the passage into four discourse sections. The passage opens with a description of the custom of throwing apples at the bride. The first occurrence of *-ǝš* (⁺*hál ki-d-o-lelé-š* …) is used to mark a boundary since the clause supplies a background comment on what precedes and does not constitute a direction continuation of the description. The next clause with *-ǝš* (*ǝ́gar abéwa-š*) relates to a further custom of marriage ceremonies. Finally, the clause opening ⁺*rába-š* … marks the onset of a section that supplies an elaboration on this.

(4) *yasə́qwa reš-⁺garè.⸣ xabušé dahə̀lwalu⸣ g-reš-⁺kalò.⸣ kullú čapkè dahíwa.⸣ kullú raqlìwa.⸣ ki-⁺hatā́n xabušé ni⁺šanà widíle əl-⁺kaló.⸣ kí mən-d-ò lelé⸣ kalò⸣ ay-nošèw-ila.⸣ ⁺**hál ki-d-o-lelé-š** ⁺kaló hála là xəzyáwale.⸣ **ắgar abéwa**-š lel-xlulá ⁺kaló maxlpiwalà,⸣ ⁺məssèwa.⸣ ⁺**rába**-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa,⸣ bod-ód ⁺hatā́n hála l-⁺kaló là xəzyáwale.⸣* 'He would go up onto the roof. He would knock the apples on the head of the bride. Everybody clapped hands and they all danced, because the groom threw the apples at the bride, because from that night the bride belonged to him. Until that night he had not yet seen the bride. If they wanted to change the bride on the night of the wedding, they could. Many such cases happened, since the groom had not yet seen the bride.' (81–82)

In some cases the item to which the *-əš* particle is suffixed is placed in a separate intonation group. This applies especially to initial temporal or spatial adverbial phrases, e.g.

(5) *g-madrásət áy doltà-š,⸣ ki-qarə́xwale lóka bod-ód ⁺hudaè-welan,⸣ góyme ⁺rába azyát godìwalan.⸣* 'In the state school, where we used to study, since we were Jews the Muslims greatly mistreated us.' (146)

13.1.3.2. Constituent Orientated Usage

When the particle *-əš* relates narrowly to one particular constituent in the clause, the constituent to which it is suffixed typically takes the nuclear stress. There is a narrow information focus on this constituent which is inclusive in nature and usually rendered in English by 'also' or 'even'. The speaker is asserting that the constituent in question is to be included in the same set as other items in the adjacent discourse, e.g.

(1) *anà-š m-Urmí ədyén láxxa.⸣* 'I also came here from Urmi.' (187)

(2) *unè-š axčá gallán jwắn lá-welu.⸣* 'They also were not so good to us' (184)

(3) *əl-d-áy mbáli zə́lle amrə́nwa baxún kí ⁺m-hudaé zargàr-əš kwéwa.⸣* 'I forgot to say to you that there were also goldsmiths among the Jews.' (129)

13.1.4. *–inan*

The suffixed particle *–inan* is commonly used to conjoin elements within phrases but is not used as a clausal connective. One idiomatic usage, however, should be mentioned here. Clauses that offer a comment on a preceding section of discourse are sometimes introduced by the adverbial phrase *o-jur-inan* 'and in this way'. The *–inan* particle does not conjoin this with another adverbial phrase in the same clause but makes a connection with the preceding discourse, e.g.

(1) *ó-jur-inan* ⁺*sawdaú xadóra gal-*⁺*dəġdè.*⏐ 'In this way they negotiate with one another.' (77)

(2) *ó-jur-inan ya-šúla xdə́rre* ⁺*hal-ki-yá* ⁺*šultána d-áy Pahlawì*⏐ *ədyèle.*⏐ 'In this way the events took place, until king Pahlavi came and gradually there was some relief.' (169)

The phrase is often presented in a separate intonation group, with the nuclear stress on the demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

(3) *ò-jur-inan*⏐ *ayné* ⁺*xleè kúllu* ⁺*masərxìwalu.*⏐ 'In this way they would announce all the gifts.' (96)

(4) *ò-jur-inan*⏐ *əllán mlə̀pwalu.*⏐ 'In such a way did they teach us.' (144)

(5) *ò-jur-inan*⏐ *ayné yomanú mapirìwalu.*⏐ 'They passed their days in this way.' (122)

Occasionally the phrase is found within the body of a clause after a subject referent, e.g.

(6) *ya-šúla ó-jur-inan pə̀šle.*⏐ 'The situation remained the same.' (104)

13.2. INTONATION GROUP BOUNDARIES

Independent clauses that present actions as separate events are generally uttered in separate intonation groups, e.g.

(1) *bratá idàyla.*⏐ ⁺*šultana nóšew* ⁺*tašùlela.*⏐ *kullú* ⁺*palótu tarà.*⏐ 'The girl came. The king hid himself. They all went outside.' (34)

(2) ⁺*šultaná ya-xabrá qbə̀llele.*⏐ ⁺*šultaná čápke dhə̀lle.*⏐ *nokár ədyelè.*⏐ 'The king agreed. The king clapped his hands. A servant came.' (5)

Short clauses, even those consisting of a single verb, may be put in separate intonation groups if the speaker wishes to present them as separate actions, e.g.

(3)   *géna aqláw ⁺ḷyačə̀lla,| čápke daholù,| raqolù.|* 'Now, he treads on her foot and they clap hands and they dance.' (83)

In (4) the verb is repeated in separate intonation groups to express an iterative repetition of an action:

(4)   *daholù,| daholù,| daholù,| daholù.|* 'They beat and beat and beat and beat.' (68)

In (5) a series of infinitives, each presented as a separate activity, are put in different intonation groups:

(5)   *izalú gáat ⁺otə̀ǧ,| ixalà,| šatoè,| raqolè,| zamorè.|* 'They go into the room, to eat, drink, dance and sing.' (84)

A clause that has a close semantic connection with one that precedes, on the other hand, is frequently combined with the first clause in the same intonation group. This is found where the second clause is a subordinate complement or purpose clause:

(6)   *⁺məssén amrèn.|* 'I can say.' (123)

(7)   *áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra.|* 'We do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband.' (76)

(8)   *ána b-ezén àtta šúla odə́nne.|* 'I shall go to do this job right now.' (47)

A clause that expressions a situation that is circumstantial to the action of another verb is typically kept in the same intonation group, e.g.

(9)   *bráta ták pyašá yatowà.|* 'The girl stayed alone sitting.' (26)

Clauses are sometimes linked in the same intonation group also where there is no grammatical dependency between them. In such cases the actions expressed by the clauses are presented as closely related, as if they were aspects of the same basic event. The first clause often contains a verb expressing some kind of movement, such as 'to go', 'to come', 'to rise', e.g.

(10) *awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka ⁺plə̀tlele.|* 'He first went and brought him out form there.' (148)

(11) *zə́llan ⁺smə̀xlan.|* 'We went and waited.' (175)

(12) *ədyélu wə́rru gáat knəštà.*| 'They came and entered the synagogue.'
    (180)

(13) *bráta har-o-júr rešáw təltyà,*| *⁺m-ótāǧ ⁺palóta izalà.*| 'The girl with
    her head hung down in the same way (as before) went out of the
    room.' (11)

(14) *ána qə́mli ⁺yrə̀qli.*| 'I got up and fled.' (147)

    Also verbs that do not express movement are sometimes combined in
an intonation when they are presented as closely related actions, e.g.

(15) *kəmmə́t daftaré səfré ⁺ktabé attá plixén xirèn-əllu.*| 'I have just
    opened several books and looked in them.' (15)

    The closely knit relationship between the verbs in the aforementioned
types of constructions is demonstrated by the fact that an object constituent
that is the complement of the second verb is often placed before the first
verb rather than inserted between the two:

(16) *xén áxni ə́llux là-⁺msex ⁺tašéx.*| 'We cannot keep you anymore.'
    (89)

(17) *mănì-t*| *əl-bratí ⁺məssé mamqelà*| *baèw*| *fəssè-nan*| *dehwè ba-hawén.*|
    'Whoever can make my daughter talk, I shall give him money and
    gold.' (22)

(18) *⁺hudáa əl-d-ay-ləxmá əmbul-xùlle.*| 'Jew, take this bread and eat it.'
    (182)

14. SYNTACTIC SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

14.1. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses take as their head a nominal, a pronoun or an adverbial, which they follow. In most cases they are syndetic, in that they are introduced by a subordinating particle. On some occasions, however, they are asyndetic without any such particle.

14.1.1. Syndetic Relative Clauses

Relative clauses of this type are most frequently introduced by the Iranian particle *ki*, especially when the head is a full nominal. The particle *–t*, which is the native Aramaic relative marker (< **dī*), is largely restricted to pronominal and adverbial heads.

14.1.1.1. ki

(i) Definite Nominal Head

When the head is a definite nominal, the relative clause may be restrictive or non-restrictive. Restrictive relative clauses assist in the identification of the reference of the head, e.g.

(1) *qúš ki-baxtà-ila mára*⎮ 'The bird who was the wife said …' (46)

(2) *xălifè*⎮ *kí əllàn*⎮ *⁺g-mədrằš*⎮ *dàrs malpíwa*⎮ *⁺rába dahìwalan.*⎮ 'The teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot.' (137)

A definite head nominal of a restrictive relative is often introduced by an anaphoric demonstrative pronoun. This is usually the far deixis form. The

restrictive relative clause, which is intended to provide the means of identifying the referent, is sometimes the only source of identification. The anaphoric link, therefore, is clearly internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

(3) *úne náše ki-lá-ayolu mar-ayì.ᐟ* 'Those people who do not know, let them know.' (136)

(4) *ó ⁺yalàᐟ ki-kotàk xíleᐟ m-xǎlifàᐟ xa-kə́mma yomé naxòš xadə́rwa.ᐟ* 'The child who had received a blow from the teacher would become ill for several days.' (140)

(5) *ó ⁺torbá ⁺mlitə́t fəssé dehwé əlhá baóx ki-šə̀dràwaleᐟ čún ə̃́t enóx ⁺čimé zə̀lloxᐟ jùwe nə̃́š əntyalé.ᐟ* 'Since you went with your eyes closed, another person took the bag full of gold coins that God had sent for you.' (60)

In some cases a demonstrative is used with a head nominal whose referent has been mentioned in the preceding context or is perceptible in the speech situation. Even here, however, the restrictive relative clause, with which the head is syntactically linked, can be regarded as the primary anaphor of the demonstrative. In such situations the demonstrative is often a near deixis form, e.g.

(6) *xà nǎfárᐟ m-famìl,ᐟ ya šammə̃̀š,ᐟ lélət ay-xlulàᐟ ayné kullú ⁺xleèᐟ kí madéwalu báat ⁺kalo ⁺hatə̃̀nᐟ ⁺masrə̀xwalu.ᐟ* 'A member of the family or a beadle would announce all the gifts that they brought for the bride and groom on the night of the wedding.' (93)

(7) *ána ayné kəmmá qəsməttə́t áy xlulá kí mirìlìᐟ kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí.ᐟ làxxaᐟ teatrù widená.ᐟ* 'I wrote a play about all these aspects of a wedding that I have described. I have staged it here in a theatre.' (97)

(8) *ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttuᐟ fǎqàtᐟ xayùᐟ ày dadáx-ile.ᐟ* 'These brothers of yours whom you see, only one of them is from your father.' (64)

A syndetic relative clause after a definite nominal head is sometimes non-restrictive, i.e. it occurs in a context where the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify the referent of the head nominal without further modification. In such cases the function of the relative clause is to add further information concerning the head. The non-restrictive relative is often put in a separate intonation group, e.g.

(9)   *xà-yoma⌐ ya-bratèw,⌐ ki-šəmmáw Marjané ⁺Xatùn-wele,⌐ fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan.⌐* 'One day, however, this daughter of his, whose name was Marjane Xatun, thought (to herself) saying "I shall not speak for a few days."' (2)

(10) *abúlen ezén xa-dánka tapúg dahèn⌐ əl-d-áy ⁺amartèw,⌐ ki-axčà jwằn-ila,⌐ maprxə̀nna b-šə́mme.⌐* 'I want to go and kick his palace, which is so beautiful, and make it fly into the sky.' (45)

(ii) Indefinite Nominal Head

Syndetic relative clauses introduced by *ki* also have indefinite nominals as heads. The clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive according to whether the indefinite nominals have a specific or non-specific referent. Restrictive clauses occur after nominals with non-specific referents, e.g.

(1)   *b-kré kwáwalu báat msafré ki-gdéwa m-malwawè.⌐* 'She would rent them out to travellers who came from the villages.' (186)

(2)   *wa-⁺rába náše ki-là xəzyúla ayolú ki-g-Urmí xlulyé mà-jur godíwalu.⌐* 'Many who have not seen it know how weddings were held in Urmi.' (97)

(3)   *gal-kúd xabrà⌐ ki-là-ayəxwa jwằn amrəxwalé⌐ əllàn dahíwa.⌐* 'For every word that we did not know how to say well they would beat us.' (137)

(4)   *kud-nắš kì⌐ doltà ətwale⌐ ba-d-úne ⁺kasbè⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bàldi šadə̀rwa.⌐* 'Anybody who was wealthy would send gifts to the poor.' (108)

When the indefinite nominal head has a specific referent, the relative clauses is non-restrictive

(5)   *ə̀twa⌐ xá-danka əlhá manə́xle Azíz ⁺Parà,⌐ kí ⁺arelé kyìwale,⌐ ⁺rába gdéwa gebèw.⌐* 'There was a certain Aziz Para, may he rest in peace, whom the Christians used to know and they often went to him.' (189)

(6)   *ítwa xá məšpaxá-š kì⌐ əlhá mazə́dlu Xakšùri kí⌐ šúlə d-à y⌐ xoškbằr⌐ … godìwale.⌐* 'There was one family, Xakšuri, who, may God increase them, conducted business in dried fruit.' (152)

(7)   *ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhə̀m-ile⌐ áy xlulə́t áy Urmì m-báli zə́lle amrənwà.⌐* 'I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important.' (92)

(iii) Pronominal Head

The head may be an independent pronoun. The most common construction consists of a demonstrative pronominal head followed by a restrictive relative clause. The anaphor of the demonstrative is the descriptive content of the relative, e.g.

(1) *ó ki-la-dhɔ́lle g-qórət dadéw ləbbéw qəllè.*| 'The one who did not beat on the grave of his father took pity.' (69)

(2) *ayné-š kí madewalù*| … *⁺masrɔ̀xwalu.*| 'He annoucned the things that they brought.' (93)

Constructions with 1ˢᵗ or 2ⁿᵈ person pronominal heads have non-restrictive relative clauses, e.g.

(3) *ána ki-dɔ́qna xwára mɔ́nnax xoíšt wadèn.*| 'I, who am an elder, am pleading with you.' (17)

(iv) Relative Clause Separated from Head

The relative clause may be divided from its head by intervening material, such as a verb, copula or existential particle. In such cases it may be restrictive (1–4) or non-restrictive (5):

(1) *fãqát dádət d-ay-bronà-ile*| *ki-⁺rahmèw ədyelé*| *qorá la-dhɔ̀lle.*| 'He was the father only of the son who took pity and did not beat the grave.' (70)

(2) *kəmmát doktoré-š idàylu*| *ki-lá-⁺msulu əlláx mamqè,*| *rešú ⁺qətyè xadoré.*| 'So many doctors come who cannot make you speak and have their heads cut off.' (17)

(3) *⁺rába ⁺ràba*| *báte kwéwa ki-là damxíwa.*| 'There were many houses in which (people) did not sleep.' (91)

(4) *hamɑ́n ò ažán-ile*| *ki-zɔ́llan ləxmá šaqolè*| *mɔ́re* … 'He is the policeman who, (when) we went to buy bread, said … ' (182)

(5) *zargăré ìtwa,*| *kí dehwè,*| *šul-dehwà godíwale.*| 'There were goldsmiths, who traded in gold.' (129)

This construction is found where an independent quantifier is presented by an existential particle, e.g.

(6) ⁺bassòr ítwa lóka kì| jùwe šúla kwéwalu.| 'There were only a few who had a different profession' (123)

(7) ⁺bassór ítwa ki-b-krè yatwíwa.| 'There were only a few who dwelt in a rented property.' (154)

(v) Propositional Antecedent

The antecedent of a relative clause introduced by *ki* may be the propositional content of the preceding discourse, e.g.

(1) ⁺hatā́n ⁺m-yān-núra perwà,| kí ⁺yanì| behrà ⁺paloté,| nurá behrá ⁺paloté ilà.| 'The groom would pass by the side of the fire, which signifies the bringing out of light, the fire is the bringing out of light.' (79)

(2) aynè| goymé ⁺rába paxilulà godíwa ⁺m-hudaé.| kí bod-mà?| ayné jwằn ⁺mā́l madulú,| jwằn zabonú.| 'The Muslims were very jealous of the Jews. Why was this? (literally: which why?) They brought fine goods and made good sales of them.' (126)

14.1.1.2. -t

The use of the particle *–t* to connect the head to the relative clause is attested in the text corpus only after the generic pronominal heads *mǎni-t* 'whoever' and *ma-t* 'whatever', and after adverbials. The particle *–t* occurs also in a number of other expressions that take a clause as a complement, which will be considered in the section on content clauses (§14.4.).

(i) mǎni-t

(1) mǎni-t áde báew fǝssé palèn.| 'Whoever comes, I shall give out money to him.' (22)

(2) mǎni-t átta adé láxxa ⁺la-mse ǝl-bráti mamqelà,| réšew ⁺b-qatǝ̀nne.| 'Whoever comes here now and cannot make my daughter talk, I shall cut off his head.' (32)

Constructions such as these with initial generic relative phrases are related in function to conditional sentences. Indeed, in (3) and (4) the conditional particle *ǎgar* is combined with *mǎni-t*:

(3) ni⁺šā́n d-o-pardá yà-wela| mǎni-t ǎgàr| pùč xabré| máqe bar-⁺kálo ⁺hatằn| ó pardà| ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatyàle.| 'The symbolic meaning of the

curtain was this, that whenever somebody spoke bad words be-
hind (the back) of the bride or the groom, the curtain would cut
him off in front of them.' (88)

(4) *kí ⁺yaní ăgàr│ ⁺hál attá-š mănì-t│ ⁺qətrà ⁺ysíra hawé│ ⁺yä́n xa-pùč
xábra míra hawé│ o-pardá šarèwale,│ ayné šəryè xadóru.│* 'This signi-
fies that if until now somebody had tied a knot or said a bad
word, the curtain would release him and these would become re-
leased.' (90)

This ambiguity in the grammatical category of the head is likely to
have been a factor that conditioned the preservation of the –*t* particle when
heads that are unambiguously nominals lost it.

(ii) ma-t

(1) *má-t abyát aná ⁺məssén baáx odèn.│* 'Whatever you want I can do
for you.' (10)

(2) *má-t nä́š m-əlhá abè│ əlhá baéw kwòl.│* 'Whatever a person wants
from God, God would will give to him.' (109)

(3) *má-t wə́dlu ya-bráta rešáw là mrəmlalé.│* 'Whatever they did, the girl
did not raise her head.' (6)

(4) *má-t mə́rax baí qä́mol kə́mma dayqè│ gèna már.│* 'Say again what you
said to me a few minutes ago.' (34)

(5) *ma-t ə́tti lə́tti kúllu didàx-ilu.│* 'Whatever I have (literally: I have I
have not) will all be yours.' (8)

In (6) the head *ma-t* is combined with the relative particle *ki*:

(6) *má-t ⁺lazə́m-wele m-šuqà│ má-t kí là qílwa│ gərgə́šlule báat belà.│*
'They carried off home whatever they needed from the market,
whatever was not burned.' (168)

(iii) Adverbial Head

The –*t* particle is used before some heads that have the function of spatial or
temporal adverbs such as *lokət* 'where' and *waxtət* '(the time) when', e.g.

(1) *⁺hal ki ⁺matəxwa lókət taltewali.* 'until we arrived where they
would hang me.' (G:94)

(2) ⁺*urusné wáxtət wə́rru gáat Urmì,*| *mən-nǽš šúla lə̀twalu.*| 'At the time that (=when) the Russians entered Urmi, they did not interfere with anybody.' (172)

Such expressions are sometimes combined with *ki*, e.g.

(3) *măsàl*| *amrén baxùn*| *xá-danka jwǽn măsălà*| *wáxtət kí* ⁺*urusné g-d-áy qráwət dunyé g-arbi-w xà*| *kí b-adéwa gáat Urmì,*| *arbi-w-xá arbi-w-trè.*| 'I'll tell you an anecdote, a nice anecdote, from the time the Russians were about to come into Urmi, in the World War in (19)41, (19)41 or (19)42.' (172)

(4) *yómət ki-*⁺*urusné ədyèlu,*| *mən-nǽš šula-lə́twalu.*| 'The day the Russians came, they left people alone.' (178)

The same applies to the interrogative spatial interrogative *leka?* 'where?', which can function as an adverbial head of a relative construction, combined either with –*t* alone or with both –*t* and *ki*, e.g.

(5) *ana-lékət xirèn,*| *šansáx* ⁺*rába bahurtèla.*| 'Wherever I have looked, your fortune is very bright.' (18)

(6) *lekə́t ki-šəm-d-áy bratà*| *m-šəmmáw šə́mma ìt,*| ⁺*mazzaléw* ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába bahurtèla.*| 'Wherever the name of the girl appears, there is (mention) of her name, its fortune is very bright.' (15)

14.1.1.3. Asyndetic Relative Clause

A few relative constructions containing indefinite head nominals with specific referents are asyndetic, with no connective particle, e.g.

(1) *kə́mma* ⁺*baté-itwa* ⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába aqə̀rwa-welu ba-*⁺*də́ǵde.*| 'There were some houses in which the Jews were very close to one another.' (153)

(2) *xa-kə́mma dánke-š ítwa xánči* ⁺*dərdiyè-welu.*| 'There were some who were rather scattered.' (153)

(3) *bắle xá-nắfar ìt*| *fắqát ăgár la-maqyàt,*| *o-*⁺*rába jəgréw gdè.*| 'But there is one person who will be very angry if you do not talk.' (28)

14.1.2. The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses

When the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, it is expressed by the subject inflection of the verb or copula. When the referent of the head has some other grammatical relation in the relative clause, this is expressed by coreferential pronominal suffixes in the appropriate syntactic position. This is illustrated in the foregoing examples. Some structures, however, require further comment.

When the referent of the head nominal has the role of direct object in the relative clause, the relative clause in principle has a resumptive element whether the head be definite or indefinite. A resumptive element tends to be omitted, however, after the generic pronominal heads *măni-t* and *ma-t*, e.g.

(1)   *má-t abyát aná ⁺məssén baáx odèn.*ˈ 'Whatever you want I can do for you.' (10)

A resumptive pronominal element is sometimes omitted when the head nominal has an adverbial function, such as locative or instrumental, within the relative clause. e.g.

(2)   *⁺rába ⁺ràba*ˈ *⁺báte kwéwa ki-là damxíwa.*ˈ 'There were many houses in which (people) did not sleep.' (91)

(3)   *g-d-úne tkánət ⁺bujáɣət áy Urmì kí*ˈ *unè*ˈ *qaračnè goymé*ˈ *xayèwa,*ˈ *lòka ⁺hudaé lá xayéwa.*ˈ 'In the suburbs of Urmi where the Muslim lower class lived—there the Jews did not live.' (153)

(4)   *bára ušwá tmanyá yomé ki-elá ⁺masse kəxlìwa,*ˈ *tmanyaмənjì lélət áy elá*ˈ *biqqùr godíwa.*ˈ 'After seven or eight days in which they ate matzos during the festival, on the eighth night of the festival they made visits.' (104)

(5)   *áxča šənnéle ki-ána gwiràn.*ˈ 'It is so many years that I have been married.' (64)

Examples with adverbial resumption within the relative clause:

(6)   *g-madrásət áy doltà-š,*ˈ *ki-qaráxwale lóka bod-ód ⁺hudaè-welan*ˈ *góyme ⁺rába azyát godìwalan.*ˈ 'In the state school, where we used to study, since we were Jews the Muslims greatly mistreated us.' (146)

(7)   *⁺tmaní g-əmmá ⁺hudaát ay-Urmì*ˈ *⁺batè*ˈ *ki-gáwe yatwíwa ay-nòšu welú.*ˈ 'Eighty percent of the Jews of Urmi owned the houses that they lived in.' (154)

Note the position of the adverbial quantifier ⁺*raba* in (8) before the *ki* particle:

(8)   *ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhə̀m-ile| áy xlulə́t áy Urmì m-báli zə́lle amrənwà.|* 'I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important.' (92)

A relative clause in some cases is reduced in form with no finite verb or copula. In (9), for example, an infinitive form without subject inflection occurs in a relative clause. In (10) an attributive phrase without a copula occurs after the relative particle:

(9)   *bǎ́le yomə́t šabbàt| ⁺rába zaáne xadráwa kì| ⁺hudaé m-pə́lgət ⁺wə́rxa kí knə̀štá izalà| deríwa gòl-bara| bod-ód góyme ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatèwale.|* 'But on Saturday many times it happened that the Jews turned back from halfway along the road that they had gone to synagogue, since the Muslims would block their way.' (157)

(10) *ána ki-də́qna xwára mə́nnax xoĩ́št wadèn.|* 'I, who am an elder, am pleading with you.' (17)

14.2. PREPOSED MODIFIER CLAUSES

Non-restrictive deontic clauses such as *əlha ⁺natəre* 'May God preserve him', *əlha manəxle* 'May God preserve him', *əlha mazədlu* 'May God increase them' may be placed as asyndetic modifiers before a nominal head, e.g.

(1)   *ə̀twa| xá-danka əlhá manə́xle Azíz ⁺Parà,| kí ⁺arelé kyìwale,| ⁺rába gdéwa gebèw.|* 'There was a certain Aziz Para, may he rest in peace, whom the Christians used to know and they often went to him.' (189)

(2)   *ítwa xá məšpaxá-š kì| əlhá mazə́dlu Xakšùri kí| šúlə d-ày| xoškbə̀r| … godìwale.|* 'There was one family, Xakšuri may God increase them, who conducted business in dried fruit.' (152)

When used as modifiers in this way, the verb may be replaced by a nominal form with the –*t* annexation ending, as in (3) and (4):

(3)   *rábta knə̀štá áy əlha-maníxət šéx Abdullà ⁺m-trosá-wele| ⁺rába jwǎ́n knəštà-wela.|* 'The large synagogue of sheikh Abdulla, may he rest in peace, was truly very beautiful.' (155)

(4) *bắle əlhá maníxət dadì,*| *ləbbèw qílwa.*| 'But my father, may he rest in peace, had pity.' (143)

14.3. Indirect Questions

Various subordinate clauses that are introduced by interrogative particles may be classified as indirect questions. These are embedded under verbs such as 'to know', 'to say', 'to ask', 'to see', 'to understand', e.g.

(1) ⁺*čobắn lá-ayole ma-òd.*| 'The shepherd did not know what to do.' (33)

(2) *ána áyolen ma-xdír əl-d-ay-bratà.*| 'I know what has happened to the girl.' (39)

(3) *kyí mən d-émnu tká* ⁺*məsse adè.*| 'They knew from what place (the gifts) could come.' (107)

(4) *kyát kəmmá rešé* ⁺*hal-attá* ⁺*qətyé xdirí ki-ắt la-maqulàt?*| 'Do you know how many heads have so far been cut off because you do not talk?' (26)

(5) *ò kyél bod-má ya-šulá xdír.*| 'He will know why this has happened.' (58)

(6) *gắrag ằt-ayet báa la-maqulá.*| 'You should know why she does not speak.' (23)

(7) *dadán-əš xaá lèwe*| *ki-baqréx mánne èmnyan bronéw-ilex.*| 'Our father is not alive for us to ask him which of us is his son.' (66)

If an indirect question clause that is introduced by an interrogative particle contains a subject or object constituent that is not in the scope of the question, this is often placed before the particle, e.g.

(8) *xzímun xáltət* ⁺*kaló mà wátta!*| 'See what the aunt of the bride has done!' (94)

(9) *ána báxun amrèn*| *atxún emnixún bronèw-iletun.*| 'I shall tell you which of you is his son.' (67)

(10) *aná-abulen xắš ayén āt-baí mà-mərax.*| 'I want to know again what you said to me.' (34)

(11) *attá fkárri ắt ma-marèt.*| 'Now I have understood what you are saying.' (49)

(12) *gál en-nòšaw xazyá*⌐ *reší má-jur* ⁺*qatùlətte*⌐ 'Let her see with her own eyes how you cut off my head.' (36)

The embedded interrogative clause may be introduced by the particle *ki*, e.g.

(13) *kyétun kí g-belà*⌐ *kəmmá otaǵé ə̀twala.*⌐ 'You know how many rooms she had in the house.' (185)

(14) *wa-*⁺*rába náše ki-là xəzyúla ayolú ki-g-Urmí xlulyé mà-jur godíwalu.*⌐ 'But many who have not seen it know how weddings were held in Urmi.' (97)

(15) *abúlen xánči-š m-xlulə́t ay-gằban maqén,*⌐ *ki-mà-jur xlulá godíwa g-Urmí.*⌐ 'I want to talk a little about weddings in our community, how they would hold weddings in Urmi.' (71)

(16) *bár-o azén amrén ki-má-jur dahìwa.*⌐ 'After that I shall go onto say how they beat us.' (137)

14.4. SUBORDINATE CONTENT CLAUSES

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of 'content clauses'. These function either as subject or direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers. In most cases these subordinate clauses are introduced by the subordinating particle *ki*, which is sometimes combined with the particle *–t* resulting in the form *ki-t*.

14.4.1. *ki*

The particle *ki* without any other clausal conjunction introduces the following types of content clause.

14.4.1.1. *Factive Complement Content Clauses*

Clauses of assumed factual content that function as subject or object nominal constituents in the main clause are generally introduced by *ki*. In all cases they follow the main verb.

When functioning as object, they are typically complements of verbs such as 'to say', 'to know', 'to see', e.g.

(1) *míre ki-⁺g-wərxá baí hawəllè.*| 'He said that He (God) would pro-
     vide for me on the way.' (56)

(2) *máre kí-⁺mse brátox màmqela.*| 'He says that he can make your
     daughter speak.' (19)

(3) *kyát ki-aná xa-⁺šultanèlen.*| 'You know that I am a king.' (10)

(4) *at-kyát ki-aná ⁺mbúlax nāš-lètti.*| 'You know that I have nobody
     except you.' (8)

(5) *xəzyén ki-kəxwáw ⁺rába qwəltà*| *⁺rába bahurtelà.*| 'I have seen that
     her star is very strong, is very bright.' (14)

(6) *xyará xazúla kì*| *sehrá ⁺wír xel-ewà.*| 'She looked and saw that the
     moon had passed behind a cloud.' (111)

   In (7) the object complement clause is anticipated by a coreferential
pronominal phrase in the normal position for direct objects before the verb:

(7) *əl-d-áy mbáli zə́lle amrə́nwa baxún kí ⁺m-hudaé zargàr-əš kwéwa.*| 'I
     forgot to say to you that there were also goldsmiths among the
     Jews.' (129)

   Occasionally the particle *ki* is omitted before an object complement
clause, e.g.

(8) *ána áyolen əl-dadáx āt-⁺rába gbàtte.*| 'I know that you love your
     father a lot.' (28)

   After verbs of perception, the perceived situation is often expressed
asyndetically as in (9) and (10). The structure of such constructions is am-
biguous as to whether the nominal after the main verb is the direct object of
this verb or the subject of an embedded clause:

(9) *xzéli tre-qušé gal-⁺də́ǵde màqulu.*| 'I saw two birds speaking with
     each other.' (44)

(10) *bázi wáxt xazə́twa ó bronà,*| *ó ⁺yalà*| *ki-kotàk xíle*| *m-xălifà*| *xa-
     kə́mma yomé naxòš xadə́rwa.*| 'On some occasions you would see
     the boy, the child who had received a blow from the teacher, be-
     come ill for several days.' (140)

   A similar type of ambiguity is exhibited by a construction without a *ki*
particle such as (11), in which the preposition *bar* could be construed as
taking the following nominal as its complement or the whole clause:

(11) *átta báxti ⁺smíxa bar-syáme smoqè amblén.*ˈ 'Now my wife is wait-ing for me to bring red shoes.' (36)

In some constructions expressing perception the situation perceived has lost its finite verbal component, e.g.

(12) *goymé ⁺rába ⁺rába əllán ⁺təmyè kyíwa.*ˈ 'The Muslims considered us to be very unclean.' (124).

When the clause functions as a subject constituent in the main clause, it has 3fs. subject agreement on the main verb or copula, e.g.

(13) *mà-jur xadráwa*ˈ *kí xa-xèt-zaa-š bráta ydə́lta?*ˈ 'How could it happen that she has given birth another time to a girl?' (121)

(14) *⁺g-mədrə́š zdélew ó-wela kì*ˈ *⁺xălifà*ˈ *là dahə́lle.*ˈ *⁺rába zadèwa.*ˈ *g-kučá zdélew ó-wela kí ⁺hál belá ⁺maté ⁺yāl-goymè azyàt la-odíle,*ˈ *la-árqi baréw la-dahìle.*ˈ 'In the Jewish school his fear was that the teacher would beat him. He was very afraid. In the street his fear was that before he arrived home Muslim boys would harm him, would run after him and beat him.' (138)

(15) *bắle yomə́t šabbàt*ˈ *⁺rába zaáne xadráwa kì*ˈ *⁺hudaé m-pə́lgət ⁺wə́rxa kí knəštá izalà*ˈ *deríwa gòl-bara*ˈ *bod-ód góyme ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatèwale.*ˈ 'But on Saturday many times it happened that when the Jews were half way to the synagogue they would turn back, since the Muslims would block their way.' (157)

(16) *bod-ó wéla kì*ˈ *kullàn*ˈ *⁺hudáe lòka*ˈ *pàrča zabníwa.*ˈ 'It was for this reason that all of us, (all) the Jews there would sell material.' (125)

(17) *yá-wela kí m-otə́ǧ partfíwale tàra.*ˈ 'This is why they threw him out of the room.' (90)

A factual content clause introduced by *ki* may function as a specifier of a nominal in the main clause, as in constructions such as (18):

(18) *axnì*ˈ *bad-baxtulà ə́twalan*ˈ *kí xǎlifè*ˈ *kí əllàn*ˈ *⁺g-mədrə̀š*ˈ *dàrs malpíwa*ˈ *⁺rába dahìwalan.*ˈ 'We had the misfortune that the teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot.' (137)

14.4.1.2. Non-factive Complement

The particle *ki* on some occasions introduces a complement clause expressing an activity that is as yet unfulfilled or only potential from the viewpoint of the main verb. This is attested in the complements of verbs such as ∅*by* 'to want', *qbl* 'to accept', ⁺*mssy* 'to be able', etc., e.g.

(1) *lá-abulen ki-⁺ktabé kalwí réšew ⁺qətyà.*| 'I do not want the books to write that his head was cut off.' (34)

(2) *gbéwa kì*| *xa-enèw*| … *ya-tunnù enéw*| *kór xadrí* 'He wanted one of his eyes or both of his eyes to become blind.' (1)

(3) *lá-qablex ki-tkanà dwə́qta pešá.*| 'We do not permit any shop to remain closed.' (127)

(4) ⁺*ánjaġ* ⁺*məsséwa kì*| *báat* ⁺*yaléw-inan báat baxtèw*| *xà-tika lóxma* ⁺*hasə́lwa.*| 'He could barely manage to obtain a piece of bread for his children and for his wife.' (50)

(5) *ána b-d-ò-fkər wə́dli*| *ki-šənnáw zóda amrə̀nnu.*| 'I had the idea of saying that her age was more (than it really was).' (42)

14.4.1.3. Causal Clauses ('because, since')

(1) *našoqə́lla ki-mqèla.*| 'He kisses her, because she spoke.' (41)

(2) *kyát kəmmá rešé* ⁺*hal-attá* ⁺*qətyé xdirí ki-ə́t la-maqulàt?*| 'Do you know how many heads have so far been cut off because you do not talk?' (26)

(3) *kullú čapkè dahíwa,*| *kullú raqlìwa,*| *ki-*⁺*hatə́n xabušé ni*⁺*šanà widíle əl-*⁺*kaló,*| *kí mən-d-ò lelé*| *kalò*| *ay-nošèw-ila.*| 'Everybody clapped hands and they all danced, because the groom threw the apples at the bride, because from that night the bride belonged to him.' (81)

The complements of 'rejoicing' and 'thanking' as in (4) and (5) can be classified as causal:

(4) ⁺*rába* ⁺*psə̀xlan kí ədyélu.*| 'We were very happy that they came.' (173)

(5) *əl-əlhá škúr wadéx ki-əlhá hammešá gallàn-wele.*| 'We thank God that God was always with us.' (178)

Occasionally causal clauses may be expressed asyndetically, by simple juxtaposition to the adjacent clause without a subordinating conjunction, e.g.

(6) ⁺*raba* ⁺*raba* ⁺*psəxla xāš* ⁺*banadām xzela.* 'She was very glad to see a human being again' (G: 98)

14.4.1.4. Purpose

Clauses with this function contain an irrealis ⁺*qatəl* (§10.2.1.1.) or ⁺*qatəlwa* (§10.2.2.1.) verb form:

(1) ⁺*doyə́t áy* ⁺*kalò*| *m-Tehrə̄̀n*| *xá* ⁺*qətta parčà*| *šdiré ba-*⁺*hatə̄̀n*| *ki-ódlu jarkèt-inan*| *šalwalè.*| 'The maternal uncle of the bride has sent a piece of material from Tehran to the groom for him to make into a jacket and trousers.' (96)

(2) *ána qə́mli yrə̀qli*| *kí əllí lá dahə̀l.*| 'I got up and ran away so that he would not beat me.' (147)

(3) *lá* ⁺*msélu dárs yalpìwa*| *kí xà-tka* ⁺*matéwa.*| 'They could not study properly in order to attain a (professional) position.' (150)

(4) *əl-d-áy* ⁺*masmoxulle ki-réšew* ⁺*qatèle.*| 'They make him stand up in order to cut off his head.' (35)

(5) *aqlàw* ⁺*lečə̀ttá*| *ki-ə̄́t réšaw* ⁺*zòr hawét.*| 'Tread on her foot, so that you will be dominant over her.' (80)

Occasionally one of the nominal participants of the verb is placed before the *ki*, e.g.

(6) *ədyele dadew ki xazewale.* 'He came to see his father.' (G:99)

Purpose may also be expressed asyndetically without a subordinating particle (§10.2.1.1. v), e.g.

(7) *ána b-ezén àtta šúla odə́nne.*| 'I shall go to do this job right now.' (47)

14.4.1.5. Result

(1) *má šulá-xdir ki-ə̄́t la-maqulàt?*| 'What event has happened with the result that you do not talk?' (17)

(2) *xa-šulá là-xdir ki-ləbbáx dóq la-maqyát.*¦ 'Nothing has happened such that your heart should be troubled and you do not speak.' (18)

(3) *dahólu xà-jur-wela kí*¦ *bázi wáxt xazátwa ó bronà,*¦ *ó* ⁺*yalà*¦ *ki-kotàk xíle*¦ *m-xălifà*¦ *xa-kómma yomé naxòš xadárwa.*¦ 'Their beating was of such a nature that on some occasions you would see the boy, the child who had received a blow from the teacher, become ill for several days.' (140)

On some occasions the particle is most idiomatically translated 'until', e.g.

(4) *xákma* ⁺*wáda šuqà*¦ *bóš pəšlà*¦ *ki-náše yawáš yawáš genà*¦ *reš-šùlu* ⁺*mtélu.*¦ 'For some time the market remained empty, until people slowly again returned to their jobs.' (168)

14.4.1.6. Temporal clauses

When used with the function of a temporal conjunction, it introduces a factual event and has the sense of 'when', e.g.

(1) *bára ki-gal-telefón gallí mqèle,*¦ *màre*¦ *át mănilet?*¦ 'Afterwards, when he spoke with me on the telephone, he said "Who are you?"' (187)

A definite subject or direct object constituent is often fronted before the conjunction, e.g.

(2) *tkané ki-atxún dwaqètunu,*¦ *šuqà*¦ *malùl xadóra,*¦ *šuqà*¦ ⁺*pasuxtá là maxwulá,*¦ *šuqá m-sqilulá pyalà.*¦ *bălé atxún tkané kí palxètunu,*¦ *ó šuqà*¦ *hamán sqilulá gədyà,*¦ *wa-muštaryè-š gdé,*¦ *wa-šuqá šulà godá.*¦ 'When you close the shops, the market becomes depressed, the market does not appear to be happy, the market loses its beauty. But, when you open the shops, the market acquires this beauty, the clients come and the market does business. Because you close your shops, the market does not do business, the Muslims do not do business.' (133)

(3) *qrawót áy Túrkine kí ədyèlu*¦ *əl-armanyè* ⁺*rába* ⁺*mjizìlu.*¦ 'When the army of the Turks came, they harassed the Armenians greatly.' (167)

(4) ⁺*kaló ki-ədyáwa gáat belà,*¦ ⁺*rába əntəzằr kwéwalu ki-bratá,*¦ *ya-* ⁺*kalò,*¦ *bronà yádla.*¦ 'When the bride had come into the home,

people had great expectation that the girl, the bride, would give birth to a son.' (115)

(5) ⁺*kalò| ki-bratá yadlàwa| jùwe šúla-š godíwa.|* 'When a daughter-in-law gave birth to a girl, they did something different'. (120)

14.4.2. *bar* ('after')

The conjuction *bar*, optionally followed by *ki* or *ki-t*, is used with a temporal function. The subordinate clause may be placed either before or after the main clause:

(1) *bar ki-t dməxlan lele, dadi qala hwəlle əlli.* 'After we went to bed, my father spoke to me.'

(2) *bar šəmša ⁺plətla, qəmle.* 'After the sun rose, he got up.' (G:100)

(3) *xəre əllaw bar ləwšala* 'He looked at her, after she had put it on.' (G:98)

14.4.3. *ba-xatrət* ('because, in order that')

This conjunction, generally followed by *ki*, is used to express cause (1–2) or purpose (3):

(1) *awùn-ilu| áxča naŠé melí ba-xatrə́t ki-àt la-maqulát.|* 'It is a pity that so many people die because you do not speak.' (17)

(2) *ba-xatrə́t ki-bratí mqèla,| ə́t-əš má-t àbulet,| má-t míren ána godén baox-kwèn.| wa-xánči maxyané zamrané raqlané adè,| maxé zamrì,| ba-xatrə́t ki-bratí mqità.|* 'Since my daughter spoke, whatever you want, whatever I promised, I shall give to you. Let some musicians, singers and dances come, let them play and sing, since my daughter has spoken.' (43)

(3) *ba-xátrət ki-juwé-⁺wada broná yadlà,| jừr ba-jứr ixále báaw kwíwa.|* 'In order that she would give birth to a boy another time they would give her all kinds of food.' (120)

14.4.4. *m-qulbət* ('instead of')

This conjunction, optionally combined with *ki*, is used with irrealis ⁺*qatəl* or ⁺*qatəlwa* verb forms, e.g.

(1) *dadí ədyéle m-qulbə́t ki-adé geb-marasxaná əllí xazè,¦ awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka ⁺plə̀tlele.¦* 'My father came and instead of coming to the hospital to see me, he first went and had him (the teacher) released from there (the police station).' (148)

14.4.5. ⁺*hal* ('until, before, by the time that')

This is connected directly to the content clause, e.g.

(1) *g-kučá zdélew ó-wela kí ⁺hál belá ⁺maté ⁺yāl-goymè¦ azyàt la-odíle¦ la-árqi baréw la-dahìle.¦* 'In the street his fear was that before he arrived home Muslim boys would harm him, would run after him and beat him.' (138)

(2) ⁺*hazər wədwalela hal adənwa.* 'He had prepared it by the time I came.' (G:98)

The clause introduced by ⁺*hal* may contain a negator as in (3). Note also the placement of the subordinate clause before the main clause in this example. The effect of this is to put greater prominence on the main verb:

(3) *aná ⁺hál lá ⁺matéx aná mə-tkí lá ⁺barbtèn.¦* 'I shall not budge from my place until we arrive.'

In some cases it is combined with the particle *ki* (4) or with *ki* and *-t* (5):

(4) *ó-jur-inan ya-šúla xdə́rre ⁺hal-ki-yá ⁺šultána d-áy Pahlawì¦ ədyèle.¦ wá yawə́š yawáš yawə̀š¦ ⁺ará xánči ⁺spèla.¦* 'In this way the events took place, until king Pahlavi came and gradually there was some relief.' (169)

(5) *kə́mma yomè¦ kullù¦ kùd-yom¦ kùd-lel¦ bél ⁺hatə̀n¦ xlulà kəwyáwa,¦ ⁺hál kí-t idáyle léle d-áy pardìn šaroé.¦* 'For several days all of them—every day, every night the wedding took place at the house of the groom, until the night of the releasing of the curtain came.' (84)

Occasionally the clause introduced by the particle is presented as being connected in sense to a greater degree with what follows it. The effect of this is that it expresses an action that is the end point of what precedes but at the same time the starting point of what follows. In such contexts the appropriate English translation is often 'until when …' This is the case in (6),

in which the perfect verb form *zil* that comes after the particle is used with the function of setting the background for what is to come (§10.3.3.2.):

(6) *broná dahə̀lwale.⏐ dahə̀lwale.⏐ kwə́lwale əl-dadà.⏐ dadá dahə̀lwa,⏐ kwə́lwale əl-bronà.⏐ ⁺hal kí-t ya-bronà⏐ yá axóni zóra ləbbéw zìl⏐ mdéwalule belà.⏐* 'The son beat him and beat him. Then he gave him to the father. The father beat (him) and gave him to the son. (This went on) until (when) the boy, my young brother, had fainted, they sent him home.' (142)

The phrase ⁺*hal ki* or ⁺*hal ki-t* is used before temporal adverbial phrases without a finite verb, e.g.

(7) *bratá-inan broná-š əl-⁺də́ǧde ⁺hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.⏐* 'The girl and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding.' (73)

(8) ⁺*hál ki-d-o-lelé-š ⁺kaló hála là xəzyáwale.⏐* 'Until that night he had not yet seen the bride.' (82)

14.4.6. *kəmmət* ('as much as, however much')

When the quantifier particle *kəmma* governors a subordinate content clause, it is combined with the particle –*t* and generally expresses the sense of 'as much as' or 'however much', e.g.

(1) *dahétun g-qaréw kəmmə̀t ⁺məssétun.⏐* 'Beat his grave as much as you can.' (67)

(2) *ána ⁺məssén amrén baxún kì⏐ g-kullá yriwulá kəmmə́t xdíra g-Urmì ⁺hudaé m-kúllu məllətyé bi-zóda azyàt grišú.⏐* 'I can tell you that in all the confusion that happened in Urmi (literally: however much happened), the Jews suffered more damage than other communities.' (170)

In (3) it is used to express temporal quantification and has the sense of 'whenever':

(3) *kəmmə́t adə̀xwa⏐ m-malà⏐ awwál awwál belán gezə́xwa geb-d-ó ⁺otāǧ b-kré doqə̀xwala.⏐* 'Whenever we came from the village, our family would immediately go to her and rent a room.' (188)

It may have an exclamatory sense, e.g.

(4)   *kəmmə́t ⁺hudaé lwèlu,| tqèlu!|* 'How the Jews implored and pleaded!' (128)

In some constructions that contain a noun argument in the embedded clause, the quantification of the proposition is semantically equivalent to the quantification of the noun, e.g.

(5)   *kəmmə́t doktoré-š idàylu| ki-lá-⁺msulu əlláx mamqè,| rešú ⁺qətyè xadoré.|* 'So many doctors come who cannot make her speak and have their heads cut off.' (17)

(6)   *kəmmə́t daftaré səfré ⁺ktabé attá plixén xirèn-əllu.|* 'I have just now opened so many books and looked in them.' (15)

14.4.7. *imə̆nət* **'when'**

The temporal interrogative *iman?* 'when? is connected to a clause with the subordinating suffix *–t* to form a temporal clause. This may be used in the sense of 'when' or 'whenever'. If it refers to an action in the future, the irrealis *⁺qatəl* form is generally used, e.g.

(1)   *imə̆̃nət àde,| aná ixalá kwèn baéw.|* 'When he comes, I shall give him food.'

(2)   *imə̆nət ⁺g-aqa hawet, xayu maqlətta.|* 'Whenever you are in trouble, burn one of them.' (G:94)

(3)   *imə̆̃nət abulètun,| abúlu našé adé elčulà,| bratxún abúlula ba-bronù.|* 'Whenever you want (to receive them), some people want to come to request a betrothal, they want your daughter for their son.' (72)

14.4.8. *magon* **('as, like')**

This may govern a content clause directly (1–3) or in combination with the particle *ki* (4–5):

(1)   *magón kyétun* 'as you know' (164)

(2)   *kullá ⁺wadá ⁺hudaé hamméša g-⁺tìna hawé magón kəmrí.|* 'All the time the Jews were "in the mud," as they say.' (170)

(3)   *wa-ò-jur-inan| magòn ⁺lazə́m-ila| lá ⁺msélu dárs yalpìwa.|* 'In this way (= and so) they could not study as it was necessary.' (150)

(4) *əlhà,¦ magon-kì¦ kyèt¦ ó-jur bài-š hól.¦* 'God, provide for me as you think best.' (51)

(5) *magón ki-axní ədyélan láxxa g-Ereṣ Yisraèl,¦ ⁺rabayù¦ m-óka zə̀llu.¦* 'Just as we came to the Land of Israel, the majority of them left there.' (193)

14.4.9. *əl-* ('to')

This is attested in (1), in which the preposition *əl-* is connected directly to the content clause:

(1) *xá-danka ⁺m-baruxáwət ay-⁺hatã̀n¦ dawtalàb xadə́rwa¦ əl-mewanì gódwa¦ əl-⁺hatã̀n¦ yómət arotà.¦* 'One of the friends of the groom would volunteer to host the groom on the Friday.' (85)

14.4.10. *čun*

This Iranian particle is used before content clauses with the following functions.

14.4.10.1. *Causal Conjunction ('because)*

(1) *čún wasità wadé,¦ kúd-nāš gắrag xabréw qabə̀lle.¦* 'Because he is making a (final) will, everybody must agree to his request.' (37)

(2) *ắt čún ⁺šultànelet¦ ayolèt.¦* 'Since you are a king, you know.' (66)

(3) *ó ⁺torbá ⁺mlitə́t fəssé dehwé əlhá baóx ki-šə̆dràwale¦ čún ắt enóx ⁺čimé zə̀llox¦ jùwe nắš əntyalé.¦* 'Since you went with your eyes closed, another person took the bag full of gold coins, which God had sent for you.' (60)

14.4.10.2. *'As'*

(1) *bắle čún kyètun¦ g-⁺rába tkánət áy dunyè¦ əllán šàr mandéwa.¦* 'Now, as you know, in many places in the world people would accuse us' (101)

14.4.10.3. *Introducing Factual Object Complement Clause*

(1) *yə́lli čún ⁺arel-ile.¦* 'I knew that he was a Christian.' (188)

14.4.11. The Conjunctive Element *od*

Some conjunctions are connected to a subordinate content clause by the element *od*, which can be analysed as a combination of the demonstrative pronoun *o* and the subordinating particle *-d*. Note the voiced realization of the particle in this context.

14.4.11.1. bod-od ('because')

The conjunction that is most commonly found with the connective element *od* is *bod* 'on account of'. Causal clauses introduced by *bod-od* may be placed before or after the main clause, e.g.

(1)   *bod-ód atxún tkanxún dwaqètunu,*⸠ *šuqà*⸠ *šúla lá wadè,*⸠ *goymè šúla la-wadú.*⸠ 'Because you close your shops, the market does not do business, the Muslims do not do business.' (133)

(2)   *là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra*⸠ *bod-ód hála zùrtela.*⸠ 'We do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband, because she is still young.' (76)

(3)   ⁺*rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa,*⸠ *bod-ód* ⁺*hatán hála l-*⁺*kaló là xəzyáwale.*⸠ 'Many such cases happened, because the groom had not yet seen the bride.' (82)

   The conjunctive phrase *bod-od* may be combined with *ki*, e.g.

(4)   ⁺*yalà,*⸠ *zadùle*⸠ ⁺*g-mədrā́š qarè*⸠ *bod-ód kì*⸠ *xălifá kotàk dahə́lle.*⸠ 'A child is afraid to study at school since the teacher beat him.' (139)

(5)   *gáat áy patirè-š*⸠ … ⁺*hudaè*⸠ *məšxà,*⸠ *guptè,*⸠ *xalwè,*⸠ ⁺*qaṫģé là kəxlíwa.*⸠ *bod-mà?*⸠ *bod-òd kí*⸠ *g-belá làtwalu,*⸠ *m-šuqà-š lá šaqlíwa*⸠ *bod-ód kì*⸠ ⁺*hamès welé.*⸠ 'At Passover … the Jews did not eat oil, cheese, milk or yoghurt. Why? Because they did not have them in the house nor did they buy them from the market because they were products with leaven.' (161)

14.4.11.21. reš-d-od ki

The preposition *reš* 'upon, concerning' is attested in (1) as a subordinating conjunction connected to the clause by *od ki*:

(1) *mqélan reš-d-ód kí ⁺kalò¦ ki-bratá yadlàwa¦ jùwe šúla-š godíwa.¦* 'We have spoken about how they acted differently when a daughter-in-law gave birth to a girl.' (120)

14.5. CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

A cleft construction involves the splitting of a simple clause into two components that are linked in a predicative relationship, with part of the contents embedded in a subordinate clause. In English this syntactic restructuring is often used to express narrow focus on one constituent, e.g. *I want food > What I want is food ~ It is food that I want.* In the J. Urmi dialect cleft constructions are generally not used to express focus on a constituent in this way. Rather narrow focus is usually conveyed by the movement of the nuclear stress (§12.1.1.). Cleft type constructions are, nevertheless, occasionally found. This applies to (1), in which a temporal adverbial has a copula enclitic:

(1) *áxča šənnéle ki-ána gwiràn.¦* 'It is so many years that I have been married' (64)

The embedded clause *ki-ána gwiràn* does not express presuppositional information, but rather new information, so differs in its informational status from the embedded clause in an English cleft construction such as: *A: Have you been married five or six years? B: It is six years that I have been married.*

Similar constructions with adverbials are attested in (2)–(4), but here there is no explicit subordinating particle introducing the embedded clauses, so they are better termed quasi-cleft constructions.

(2) *aná əsrí šənnéle láxxa šùla godén.¦* 'It is tweny years (that) I have worked here.' (54)

(3) *broní xa-šatéle məskìr.¦* 'My son has been missing for a year.'

(4) *jwắn wéle mlə̀ploxi¦* 'You have taught me well.'

Note also a parallel type of construction with an exclamatory adverbial in (5):

(5) *kəmmá ⁺wádele šulà widé!¦* 'How long he has been working!'

A quasi-cleft construction is also found in (6), which is an indirect question.

(6) *là ayolú|̀ èmnyu ílu bron-dàdu-ile.|* 'They do not know which of
    them it is that is the (true) son of their father.' (65)

As in (1)–(5) the clause *bron-dàdu-ile* is not presuppositional. The use of
the plural copula form agreeing with the interrogative *èmnyu* indicates,
moreover, that the embedded clause is the grammatical predicate rather
than the grammatical subject of the cleft construction. This no doubt applies
also to the structure of (1)–(5). In (7) and (8), which are constructions ex-
pressing a content similar to (6) but without clefting, the interrogative is
clearly the grammatical subject:

(7) *dadán-əš xaá lèwe|̀ ki-baqréx mə́nne èmnyan bronéw-ilex.|* 'Our father
    is not living that we may ask him which of us are his son.' (66)

(9) *ána báxun amrèn|̀ atxún emnixún bronèw-iletun.|* 'I shall tell you
    which of you are his son.' (67)

14.6. CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

14.6.1. Constructions with the Particle *ăgar*

Conditional constructions consist of a subordinate clause expressing the
condition (protasis) and a main clause expressing the consequent (apodosis).
The protasis is generally introduced by the particle *ăgar* 'if', which is of Ira-
nian origin. The *ăgar* clause is in the majority of cases placed before the
apodosis clause, though in some cases it is tagged on after the apodosis.

14.6.1.1. Form of the *ăgar* clause

A variety of different verbal forms are used in protasis clauses introduced by
ăgar clauses. Many of these have been mentioned already in the desrcrip-
tions of the functions of verbal forms. These are brought together here for
the sake of convenience.

(i) *ăgar ⁺qatəl (irrealis)*

This expressed a possible situation in the future:

(1) *ắgar ắd mənní xoìš odét,|̀ aná gdèn.|* 'If you ask me, I shall come.'

(2) *ắgar-əš bratá abyá ⁺jahə́l hawè,|̀ ábya gállew gorà,|̀ aná qablèn.|* 'If
    the girl wants and he is young, if she wants to marry him, I would
    agree.' (22)

In (3) the predicate of the irrealis verb is an active participle (§10.13.2.):

(3) *ăgár la-maqyantá hawyá ⁺šultána rešàn ⁺b-qatéle.*| 'If she will not speak (at all), the king will cut off our head.' (12)

Examples with verbs that do not have distinct realis and irrealis ⁺qatəl forms:

(4) *ắgar la-maqyàt,*| *rešî ⁺qətyà b-xadə́r.*| 'If you do not speak, my head will be cut off.' (38)

(5) *ắgar gallí là-maqya,*| *xá-danka səllí ⁺m-salmáw dahèn.*| 'If she does not speak to me, I'll give her face a slap.' (23)

(ii) ăgar ⁺qatəlwa (irrealis)

This is used in the protasis of conditional constructions denoting either a possible situation in the past (1–2), a counterfactual situation in the past (3–4), or an impossible situation in the future (5), e.g.

(1) *ăgár mewanì odíwa g-belá,*| *kúd ⁺məndə̀ġ g-béla kwéwalu.*| 'If they entertained guests in the house, they would have everything in the house.' (163)

(2) *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá ⁺kaló maxlpiwalà,*| *⁺məssèwa.*| 'If they wanted to change the bride even on the night of the wedding, they could.' (82)

(3) *ăgár ána ayènwa*| *ắd belà-ilet,*| *gdénwa ba-xazoòx*| 'If I had known that you were in the house, I would have gone to visit you.'

(4) *ăgàr*| *magón našé əllán malpìwa*| *táfqa má-t ána ə́dyom ayolèn*| *⁺táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa.*| 'If they had taught us like human beings, perhaps I would have known three times as much as I know to-day.' (145)

(5) *ăgár ⁺adènwa*| *baqàtta godénwale, bắle là-gden.*| 'If I were to come, I would do it tomorrow, but I shall not come.'

(iii) ăgar ⁺qtəlle

The ⁺qtəlle form is sometimes used in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the past or future that is temporally and/or logically anterior to the situation described in the apodosis, e.g.

(1) *qắmol ⁺urusné idàa,⸢ ⁺batə́t ay-⁺hudaé kullù⸢ ni⁺šaná gal-dəmmà,⸢ gắllə d-áy smoqà,⸢ idá smoqà,⸢ ni⁺šǟn dréwalulu⸢ kí ăgár Hítler ⁺mtèle⸢ ⁺almắn ⁺mtéle Urmì,⸢ kí ayé ⁺hudaé leka ità⸢ kì⸢ ⁺məssé tèz ⁺maspélu b-ídə d-áy ⁺almannè.⸢* 'Before the Russians came, they had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand, so that if Hitler came, the Germans came to Urmi, they would know where the Jews were and could quickly hand them over into the hands of the Germans.' (173)

(2) *ắgar aná məllì,⸢ bar-mənnì⸢ ⁺šultantá b-xadràt.⸢* 'If I die, after me you will become queen.' (8)

(3) *ăgár ⁺čarà wə́dlxun,⸢ ⁺msèlxun bratí mamqetunwalá,⸢ ki-hèč.⸢ ắgar la,⸢ rešət-tùnnxun⸢ ⁺qətyà b-xadə́r.⸢* 'If you find a solution and can make my daughter speak, then nothing (will happen to you). If not, the head of both of you will be cut off.' (11)

(iv) ăgar ⁺qtila hawe

This expresses a possible resultant state in the present:

(1) *ăgár ó zilà hawé,⸢ aná là gdén.⸢* 'If he has gone, I shall not come.'

(v) ăgar ⁺qtila hawewa

This is used in the protasis of conditional constructions to refer to a resultant state in the past that is anterior to the past event of the apodosis (1), e.g.

(1) *ắgar dadə́t ⁺kalò⸢ sandàq xdirá hawéwa xa-záa,⸢ gắrag dadə́t ⁺hatǟn sandáq xadə́rwa.⸢ ya dádət ⁺hatǟn sandáq xdíra hawéwa,⸢ dádət áy ⁺kalò b-xadə́rwa.⸢ bǎle,⸢ ắgar tunnù⸢ sandáq xdirá hawéwa ga-awwàl,⸢ m-xá-danka famìl,⸢ m-xá-danka məšpaxà⸢ kawòd kwíwale⸢ wa-godíwale sandàq⸢ gáat knəštà.⸢* 'If the father of the bride had been a godfather once (already), the father of the groom had to become the godfather. Or, if the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion). But, if both had been godfather before, they gave the honour to a family member and made him the godfather in the synagogue.' (119–120)

The form is also used in the protasis of a conditional construction expressing a counterfactual resultant state in the past, e.g.

(2) *ăgár tə́mmal ədyà hawə́nwa[|] xazənwale.[|]* 'If I had come yesterday, I would have seen him.'

(vi) ăgar ⁺qatlana hawe

The active participle is occasionally used in a protasis that denotes an event that the speaker judges to be impossible. This is attested with verbs of movement, e.g.

(1) *ăgár lóka ezanà hawén,[|] héč ⁺məndə́ġ b-maštxèn.[|]* 'If I were to go there, I would not find anything.'

(vii) ăgar ⁺qatole

The ⁺*qatole* form may be used in the protasis of a conditional construction to refer to a factual situation in the present, e.g.

(1) *ágar bratì gallí la-maqulá[|] gal-mə̀ni b-maqyá?[|]* 'If my daughter does not talk to me, who will she talk to?' (20)

14.6.1.2. Form of the Apodosis

The verb form in the apodosis clause is generally the one that would be expected in an independent clause with the same tense, aspect and mood. In counterfactual conditional constructions, however, the past ⁺*qatəlwa* form is used in the apodosis with functions that are not normal in independent main clauses, viz. a perfective action in the past (1) or the future (2):

(1) *ăgár ána ayènwa[|] ə́d belà-ilet,[|] gdénwa ba-xazoòx[|]* 'If I had known that you were in the house, I would have gone to visit you.'

(2) *ăgár ⁺adènwa[|] baqàtta godénwale, bə́le là-gden.[|]* 'If I were to come, I would do it tomorrow, but I shall not come.'

14.6.2. Gapping of Protasis or Apodosis

The contents of a protasis or apodosis may be reduced in cases where it can be recovered from the surrounding context. In (1) the complement of the verb ⁺*mssy* 'to be able' is omitted in the protasis:

(1) *attá ⁺hatə́n b-adé aqlàx ⁺lečlá,[|] bə̆lé ăgár ⁺məssát ə̀t aqléw ⁺lučlá.[|]* 'Now the groom will come and tread on your foot, but, if you can, *you* tread on his foot.' (83)

In (2), which contains a series of two alternative conditions, the apodosis of the first condition is reduced to *ki heč* and the contents of the second protasis consists only of the negator *la*:

(2)   *ăgár* ⁺*čarà wə́dlxun,*| ⁺*msèlxun bratí mamqetunwalá,*| *ki-hèč.*| *ắgar là,*| *rešət-tùnnxun*| ⁺*qətyà b-xadə́r.*| 'If you find a solution and can make my daughter speak, then nothing (will happen to you). If not, the head of both of you will be cut off.' (11)

14.6.3. Relative Clauses with Generic Heads

Relative clauses with generic nominals or pronouns as their head are functionally similar to protasis clauses. They may contain irrealis verb forms, e.g.

(1)   *mắni-t áde báew fəssé palèn.*| 'Whoever comes (= If anybody comes), I shall give out money to him.' (22)

Such initial relative phrases are sometimes not resumed by a pronominal element in the apodosis, reflecting the fact that they are interpreted as propositions rather than nominals, e.g.

(2)   *emnú muštárye kí idaá-welu ba-šaqolè*| ⁺*hudaé marà-welu*| *axní ədyóm là zabnéx.*| 'Any clients who came to buy (= If any clients came to buy), the Jews said "We shall not sell today."' (131)

14.6.4. Constructions with the Particle *ki*

The particle *ki-* is used in protasis clauses that may be translated by English 'if'-clauses that express a factual situation, e.g.

(1)   *ki-gal-*⁺*šultanà ki-la-maqulá,*| *gallàn b-maqyá?*| 'If she does not speak to the king, will she speak with us?' (12)

14.7. ASYNDETIC CONDITIONAL AND TEMPORAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Some clauses that are not introduced by subordinating conditional particles have a function equivalent to protasis clauses. This applies to (1) in which the first clause has an imperative form:

(1)   *xà kắlima mqí,*| *xà kălimà,*| *ắt ganì parqát.*| 'Speak one word (= If you speak one word), you will save my life.' (38)

In (2) and (3) the first clause has an irrealis form, like protasis clauses:

(2) *mə́re bái ya-náša kí əl-⁺Balqə́z kyèlwala kí m-malwawé ⁺arelé adéwa gezéwa gebàw.* 'That man said to me that he knew Balqəz, because (if) Christians came from the villages, they would go to her.' (189)

(3) *yá dádət ⁺hatə̀n sandáq xdíra hawéwa, dádət áy ⁺kalò b-xadə́rwa.* 'Or, (if) the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion).' (119)

In (4) the protasis of a temporal construction is expressed by an infinitive:

(4) *awwalmənjì yadolàw bronà yadə́lla, broná-š gdèwa, awwalmənjí elkí m-kohenè šaqlíwale.* 'If when she gives birth first, she gives birth to a son, a son was born, they would buy the firstborn son from the priests.' (117)

Temporal constructions may also be expressed by the asyndetic combination of clauses, as in (5), where the initial clause expresses a situation that overlaps temporally with the action in the following clause:

(5) *zore welan, ⁺damxəxwa reš ⁺gare* (When) we were young, we used to sleep on the roof.' (G:98)

14.8. Concessive Constructions

A concessive sense may be given to a clause by using the Iranian expression *ba-ham-in ki*, the basic meaning of which is inclusive 'with also this that', e.g.

(1) *ba-ham-ín kí aná gisà-ilen, aná gdén gebòx.* 'Although I am tired, I shall come to you.'

(2) *ba-ham-ín kí ó kpinà-wele, ixála la xə̀lle.* 'Although he was hungry, he did not eat.'

In these sentences, the truth of the situation expressed in the subordinate clause is not in question. The concessive sense is that the situation described in this clause might lead one to expect that the proposition of the main clause would be false but, in fact, this is not the case.

A conditional 'even if' construction is related, in that it indicates that the situation of the main clause is not expected to follow from the condition

but nevertheless will do so. The difference from a concessive construction is that the truth of the protasis is not certain. In (3)–(5) this is expressed by an inclusive construction with the particle *-əš* (§13.1.3.):

(3)   *agàr*ˈ *əl-xá-danka brónət ay-*⁺*šultanawè*ˈ *ya júwe-bronà,*ˈ ⁺*talubà-š hawé*ˈ *abùlatte,*ˈ *là-nxup.*ˈ 'If you love a son of a king or another boy, even if he be a beggar, do not be ashamed.' (10)

(4)   *ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá* ⁺*kaló maxlpiwalà,*ˈ ⁺*məssèwa.*ˈ 'Even if they wanted to change the bride on the night of the wedding, they could.' (82)

(5)   *nišé ăgár* ⁺*qanšár molà-š hawé*ˈ *ga-qorà-š daróttu*ˈ *ắgar šə́nnu xà-šata*ˈ *zòda amróttu,*ˈ *maqè.*ˈ 'Even if women are facing death, even if you put them in the grave, if you say their age is one year more (than it really is), they speak.' (42)

In (6) the particle *-əš* is used in a protasis clause to express the sense of 'if still':

(6)   *bắle ăgár ò,*ˈ *aynè šulé godíwalu,*ˈ *bratà-š yadláwa,*ˈ *tremənjí zaá-š bráta yadlàwa,*ˈ ⁺*m-trosa gdé-mara kì*ˈ *áy ləbbá qyalà-wela.*ˈ 'But, if, despite their doing these things, she still gave birth to a girl, she gave birth to a girl a second time, in truth it can be said that she was miserable.' (121)

15.   THE LEXICON

15.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The main purpose of this chapter is to present inventories of lexical items arranged into various semantic fields in order to facilitate the comparison of the lexicon of Jewish Urmi with that of other NENA dialects. First a few general remarks regarding the lexicon of the dialect are in order.

The lexicon has been massively influenced by Azeri Turkish and Kurdish, which has resulted from a long period of contact with these languages. The Jews would have been in immediate contact with Azeri Turkish within the town of Urmi itself and exposed to Kurdish dialects in the countryside, where they frequently travelled as itinerant tradesmen. Many loanwords that have entered the dialect through these languages are Arabic or Persian in origin. Since a large proportion of these are common to both Kurdish and Azeri Turkish, it is generally difficult to establish which language was their immediate source, unless they exhibit some phonetic feature typical of Turkish or Kurdish.

Garbell (1965b), who made a detailed study of the influence of Turkish and Kurdish on the Jewish Urmi dialect, calculated the following proportions of loaned items in the dialect, arranged according to grammatical category:

Nouns

Out of a sample of 1621 items:

Kurdish	20.17%
Turkish	11.08%
Kurdish/Turkish	30.88%
Total	68.96%

Loans are found across all semantic fields, though to a lesser extent in items relating to kinship, parts of the body, basic foodstuffs and domestic animals.

Adjectives

Out of a sample of 132 items

Kurdish	11.38%
Turkish	8.13%
Kurdish/Turkish	8.13%
Total	23.57%

The loans comprise mainly adjectives denoting bodily defects and colours.

Prepositions

Out of a sample of 27 items

Kurdish	22.22%
Turkish	18.52%
Kurdish/Turkish	18.52%
Total	59%

Verbal roots

Out of a sample of 375 items

Kurdish	20.26%
Turkish	1.90%
Kurdish/Turkish	5.86%
Total	28%

Particles

Out of a sample of 85 items

Kurdish	18.58%
Turkish	12.90%
Kurdish/Turkish	22.35%
Total	54.11%

In loanwords there are a few deviations in correspondence between the phonemes of the source language and those that occur in the word in the

Jewish Urmi dialect. It is likely that in many cases the loanwords in the NENA dialect have preserved an earlier stage in the phonology of the source language. Alternatively they may reflect dialectal variations that have ceased to exist or are at least undescribed. Some such features are as follows.

In the final sequence /ik/ in Azeri Turkish, the /k/ is replaced by /g/, e.g. T. *kiprik* 'eyelash' = J. Urmi *kəprəg*.

The Turkish /g/ phoneme preceding back vowels is replaced by /q/, e.g. T. *gaz* 'goose' = J. Urmi *qāz*.

The Turkish /y/ in word final position is replaced by /g/ or /k/, e.g. T. *tüy* 'feathers, down' = J. Urmi *tuk*.

The Turkish /x/ phoneme in word and syllable final position is replaced by the corresponding voiced phoneme /ġ/, e.g. T. *čaxmax* 'flint' = J. Urmi ⁺*čaġmaġ*.

Kurdish /ġ/ in word initial position is occasionally replaced by /q/, e.g. K *ġarib* 'stranger' (< A) = J. Urmi *qariba*.

In Turkish loanwords the original final unrounded vowels are not assimilated in lip-rounding to those of the preceding syllable, e.g. T. *guyu* 'well' = J. Urmi *quyi*, T. *tülkü* 'fox' = J. Urmi *tulki*.

The Jewish Urmi dialect contains also a substantial Hebrew lexical component. With regard to the phonological form, it should be noted that a historical unvoiced pharyngal *ḥ in such Hebrew loanwords is realized as /h/ or zero with velarization of the word, e.g. ⁺*hatān* 'bridegroom' < *ḥātān*, ⁺*psy* 'to celebrate Passover' < *psḥ*. This development differs from the shift *ḥ to /x/ in words of Aramaic stock in the dialect, suggesting that the Hebrew words entered the dialect when the Aramaic shift *ḥ > x had already taken place.

15.2. SEMANTIC FIELDS

In the following lists the source language of the loanwords is indicated in so far it could be established. Some words that are likely to be loans but are of uncertain origin are left unmarked.

15.2.1. The Human Body

body	*jandag* (T/K)
head	*reša*
hair (collective)	*məsye*
hair (individual item)	*məsta*

face	⁺*salma*
forehead	*bena*
eye	*ena*
pupil	*gilət ena,* ⁺*bulaxta* (T)
eyelash	*kəprəg, kəpriga* (T)
upper eyelid	⁺*xasət ena*
eyebrow	⁺*qaša* (T)
nose	*poqa*
nostril	*tfənka* (K)*, bəzzət poqa*
nasal mucus, snot	*təntina*
ear	⁺*nahalta*
ear lobe	*təxyət* ⁺*nahalta, čečkət* (K) ⁺*nahalta*
cheek	⁺*yanaqta* (T)
inside of cheek	⁺*awurda*
mouth	*pənna*
corner of the mouth	*čečkət* (K) *pənna, jajgət pənna*
lip	*sbəlta*
moustache	*səmbele*
tooth	*kaka*
molar tooth	*anga*
tongue	*lišana*
gum	*šamakta*
jaw	*čanakta* (K/T)
throat	*balota*
uvula	*dəlčakta* (T)
Adam's apple	*qərqra* (K?)*,* ⁺*xərxra*
spittle	*roqe*
chin	*čana, čanaga, čanakta* (K/T)
beard	⁺*dəqna*
neck	*pqarta*
nape of the neck	⁺*qafa* (K/T < A)
shoulder	*kpana*
elbow	*dərsakta* (T)
hand	*ida*
wrist	*bilagta* (T/K)*, lalət* (K < P) *ida, lulakta* (K)
knuckle	*gāh*
span of the hand	⁺*siṭa*
arm	⁺*qola* (T)
upper arm	⁺*mazu* (P)
armpit	*xel* ⁺*qola* (T)*,* ⁺*qoltəġ* (T/K)

finger	*+sbota*
thumb	*+tanjət* (K) *+sbonye, buyum* (T)
little finger	*qulunčiqa* (K)
fingernail	*+tpərta*
chest	*sənga* (K)
stomach	*kasa*
breast (of woman)	*xədya*
bosom	*xpaqa*
thigh	*+buda* (T)
back	*+xasa*
backbone	*+qətrət +xasa*
navel	*šura*
lap	*+xana*
testicle	*škalta*
buttocks	*šərma*
shin	*sdunət* (K < P) *aqla, lulgət* (K) *aqla*
knee	*diza* (T/K)
leg; foot	*aqla*
instep	*panja* (K)
calf of the leg	*mačət* (K) *aqla*
heel	*+dabbanta* (T/K)
ankle	*jga*
skin	*məška*
sweat	*araq* (K/T < A)
wrinkle	*+qərmita*
bone	*garma*
skull	*tappət* (T/K) *reša*
top of skull	*+qappāġ* (T/K) *reša*
brain	*moxa*
artery, vein	*damarta*
blood	*dəmma*
heart	*ləbba*
rib	*+qaburqa* (T/K)
lung	*+rala, +lara*
liver	*koda*
intestine	*miya*
kidney	*kčulta*
urine	*jurta, jore*
excrement	*əxre*

15.2.2. Family Relations

man, husband	*gora*
woman, wife	*baxta* (K)
father	*dada* (T)
mother	*⁺daa* (K)
brother	*axxona*
sister	*xalunta*
grandfather	*sona*
grandmother	*sota*
son, boy	*brona*
daughter, girl	*brata*
baby (m.)	*⁺yala sawa*
baby (f.)	*⁺yalta sawta*
children	*⁺yale*
paternal uncle	*amona*
paternal aunt	*amta*
maternal uncle	*⁺doyi* (T)
maternal aunt	*xalta* (T/K < A)
paternal cousin (m.)	*bron amona*
paternal cousin (f.)	*brāt amona*
maternal cousin (m.)	*bron ⁺doyi* (T)
maternal cousin (f.)	*brāt ⁺doyi* (T)
father-in-law	*xəmyana*
mother-in-law	*xmala*
son-in-law	*xətna*
daughter-in-law	*kalda*
husband of the sister of spouse	*bar ⁺janāġ* (K/T)
wife of the brother of spouse	*bar ⁺janaġta* (K/T)
brother of husband	*ədma*
brother of wife	*axon baxti*
husband of sister	*gorət xalunta*
sister of husband	*bar xmaa*
sister of wife	*xaluntət baxta*
wife of brother	*baxtət axona, galəm⁺baji* (T)
wife of paternal uncle	*baxtət amona, am-dosti*
wife of maternal uncle	*baxtət ⁺doyi* (T)
son of sister	*bron xalunti*
daughter of sister	*brāt xalunti*
stepmother	*oga* (T/K) *⁺daa*

stepfather	*oga* (T/K) *dada*
stepson	*oga* (T/K) *brona*
stepdaughter	*oga* (T/K) *brata*
nuclear family	*famil* (E)
relatives, extended family	*rabta famil* (E)
young unmarried man	*jwanqa* (K), ⁺*jahəl gora* (K/T < A)
young unmarried woman	⁺*jahəl* (K/T < A) *brata*
grandson	*nawaga* (K/T < P)
granddaughter	*nawagta* (K/T < P)
grandchildren	*načiča* (K/T < A)
widower	*armila*
widow	*arməlda*
only son	*tak* (K/T < P) *brona*
bride	⁺*kalo*
groom	⁺*hatān* (H)

15.2.3. Natural Phenomena

rain	⁺*mətra*
thunder	*gargome*
lightning	*bərqe* (K < A)
snow	*talga*
ice	⁺*buz* (T/K)
hail	⁺*dolu* (T)
wind	*poxa*
storm	⁺*borān* (K/T)
fog	⁺*dumān* (T/K)
light	*bəhra*
darkness	*xəška*
shade	*kolga* (T)
earthquake	*zəlzəla* (P < A)
hill	*dəkka* (K < A), *tappa* (T/K)
water	⁺*moe*
sky	*šəmme*

15.2.4. Basic Attributes

big	⁺*rəwwa*
small	*zora*
long	*yarixa*
short	*kərya*

high	*+rummana*
low	*kula* (K)
wide	*+patuxa*
narrow	*nəqla, iqa*
fat (man)	*šamina*
thin (man)	*+arəq* (T)
thick (object)	*xlima*
thin (object)	*dayqa*
fine (flour)	*narin* (T)
strong	*qəwya*
weak	*sust* (P)
heavy	*yaqura*
light	*qalula*
soft	*rakixa*
hard	*+səwya*
good	*šbira*
bad	*xriwa, puč* (T/K)
happy	*baxtawār* (T/K), *+pasuxa*
jolly	*+psixa, +pasuxa*
sad	*malul* (T/K < A)
hungry	*kpina*
thirsty	*+səhya*
sweet	*xəlya*
bitter	*marila*
smooth	*mašuxa, sāf* (P)
rough	*+qotər* (T)
wet	*talila*
dry	*wiša*
sour	*+xamusa*
tired	*gisa*
deep	*+čxur* (T)
shallow	*dayāz*
pregnant	*aqlaw yaqurtela, píša b-+yala*
beautiful	*sqila*
dirty	*šəxtana*
clean	*qliwa*

15.2.5. Colours

white	*xwara*

black	*koma*
red	*smoqa*
green	*⁺yašəl* (T)
light green	*gog* (T)
yellow	*zarda* (K)
blue	*⁺abi* (K/T < P)
brown	*qahwai* (K < P/A)
pink	*⁺čahrai* (K)

15.2.6. Verbs Relating to Basic Activities

to be born	*xdr, ⁺m-daa xdr*
to wake up	*⁺ryš*
to sleep	*⁺dmx*
to lie down	*⁺dmx, ⁺šty*
to rise	*qym*
to bathe, to wash (men)	*sxy*
to wash (women), to shower	*xyp*
to wash (an object)	*xll*
to wash (clothes)	*msy*
to dress (oneself)	*lwš*
to undress (oneself)	*šlx*
to buy	*šql*
to sell	*zbn*
to put (on solid surface)	*dry*
to put (only on liquid)	*dry*
to take	*šql, ∅nty*
to take (so/sth to some place)	*∅mbl*
to take away	*∅nty*
to remember	*m-bala ∅dy*
to forget	*m-bala ∅zl*
to search	*blbl*
to find	*⁺m-štx*
to speak	*mqy*
to grow up	*⁺rwy*

15.2.7. Verbs Relating to Movement

to go	*∅zl*
to come	*∅dy*
to return	*dyr*

to stand, stop	^+smx
to ascend	ysq
to descend	kwš
to enter	$^+\varnothing wr$
to reach, arrive	^+mty
to leave, depart	^+plt
to run	yrq
to walk	rxš, gal aqle $\varnothing zl$
to cross	pyr
to approach	aqərwa xdr
to fly	prx
to jump	nndy
to pull	grš
to push	zrp (K)

15.2.8. Verbs of Perception

to see	xzy
to look (at)	xyr (əl-)
to hear	šmy
to listen to	^+msl
to feel, touch	tqr
to taste	^+tmy
to understand	fkr (K < A)
to smell	rixa m-ryx
to sniff	m-ryx

15.2.9. Verbs Relating to Aggression and the Infliction of Injury

to kill	^+qtl
to hit	mxy
to cut	^+qty
to scratch	xyk
to slap	səlli (K/T < P) dhl
to knock (at the door)	^+tptp
to bite (animal)	jnw (K/T)
to sting (insect)	^+tpy
to tear	jlq (K)
to destroy	m-xrw

TEXTS

THE PRINCESS WHO REFUSED TO TALK

(1) ítwa létwa xa-⁺šultanà.ǀ ya-⁺šultaná ə̀twaleǀ xá-danka bratà.ǀ əl-bratéw ⁺ràba gbéwala.ǀ ⁺rába ⁺rába gbèwala.ǀ gbéwa kìǀ xa-enèwǀ əlhá la-òdǀ ya-tunnù enéwǀ kór xadrí bắle əl-bratèwǀ xá-danka məstá rešá ⁺bassór la-hawyà.ǀ ya-⁺šultanàǀ ⁺rába-š qudràt ə̀twalé.ǀ ⁺rába qwə̀ttà ə̀twalé.ǀ xabréw-əš ⁺rába perwà.ǀ (2) bắlèǀ xà-yomaǀ ya-bratèw,ǀ ki-šəmmáw Marjané ⁺Xatùn-wele,ǀ fkə́r-wədla ámra xa-kə́mma-yome ána b-là-maqyan,ǀ xazyán dadí ma-b-òd.ǀ ya-bráta là-mqela.ǀ ⁺šultaná wàxt-wele šaydánwaǀ ki-bod-má bratéw la-màqula.ǀ (3) kəmmə̀t doktoré ga-dúnye ə́twaǀ ga-olkàǀ doktoré mədyìleǀ mắni-t-əš ⁺là-msaa-weleǀ əl-d-áy-brata mamqewalàǀ xabrá hiwalá-wele rešèw ⁺qatáa-welule.ǀ heč-⁺čára là-xadora-wela.ǀ bráta la-maqaà-wela.ǀ

(4) xa-yomà,ǀ tré-danke wazír ə̀twale,ǀ wazír mə́re báat ⁺šultanà,ǀ mə́re wazìrǀ ⁺šultanà hawe-basimá,ǀ bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá.ǀ balkí ləbbàw m-xayán píš.ǀ balkí ešìqa əl-xa-dánka broná lá-mara.ǀ xánči maxyané zamrané madéx laxxàǀ mar-xánči əl-bratàǀ kefáw xòš b-odíla.ǀ bálki maqyà,ǀ ləbbáw paló́x maqyà.ǀ (5) ⁺šultaná ya-xabrá qbə̀llele.ǀ ⁺šultaná čápke dhə̀lle.ǀ nokár ədyelè.ǀ mə̀reǀ már maxyané-nan zamrané raqlané adè,ǀ xánči raqlìǀ əl-d-áy bratà.ǀ bálki ləbbáw paló́x gallán maqyà.ǀ maxyané zamrané ə̀dyelu,ǀ bratá mədyàlu.ǀ bráta ədyéla ytəwlà.ǀ (6) bráta là-l-a-gab xə́rra,ǀ là-l-o-gab.ǀ rešáw təltèlaleǀ ⁺qanšàr.ǀ ayné zmə̀rru,ǀ rqə̀llu,ǀ mxèlu.ǀ raqlanè ədyélu.ǀ má-t wə́dlu ya-bráta rešáw là mrəmlalé.ǀ (7) ⁺šultaná m-xelá xyarà-weleǀ ki-bratá kə̀mma qalandartá,ǀ bod-má haxxà xdirá.ǀ ⁺šultaná mə-xdúg la-ayolá-wele m-òdwa.ǀ čápke dhə̀lleǀ kúllu maxyané raqlané zə̀llu.ǀ əl-bratàǀ mqimàle.ǀ

TEXTS

THE PRINCESS WHO REFUSED TO TALK

(1) There was once a king. This king had a daughter. He loved his daughter very much. He loved her very much. He wanted one of his eyes—God forbid—or both of his eyes to become blind rather than have a single hair lacking from the head of his daughter. This king had a lot of power. He had a lot of power. His word always prevailed. (2) One day, however, this daughter of his, whose name was Marjane Xatun, thought (to herself) saying 'I shall not speak for a few days and see what my father will do'. The girl did not speak. The king was almost going mad, since (he wanted to know) why his daughter was not talking. (3) He brought as many doctors as there were in the world, in the country, and whoever could not make the girl speak he would give an order and they would cut off his head. No solution was found. The girl did not talk.

(4) One day—he had two ministers—one minister said to the king, the minister said 'May the king be well, perhaps the girl has had a bad dream. Perhaps she is angry with one of us. Perhaps she is in love with a boy and does not tell. Let us bring here some musicians and singers, let them cheer her up a little. Perhaps she will speak, her heart will open up and she will speak'. (5) The king agreed. The king clapped his hands. A servant came. He said 'Let the musicians, singers and dancers come, let them dance a little for this girl. Perhaps her heart will open and she will speak with us'. The musicians and singers came and they brought the girl. The girl came and sat down. (6) The girl did not look this side or that side. She hung her head in front (of them). They sang, danced and played music. The dancers came. Whatever they did, the girl did not raise her head. (7) The king was watching her secretly, for (he wondered) why the girl had become so wretched. The king out of his worry did not know what to do. He clapped his hands and all the musicians and dancers went away. He raised the girl up.

(8) ǝdyéle máre bràti.⌐ āt-kyát ki-aná ⁺mbúlax nāš-lǝ̀tti.⌐ ǎgar aná mǝllì,⌐ bar-mǝnnì⌐ ⁺šultantá b-xadràt.⌐ ma-t ǒtti lǝ́tti kúllu didàx-ilu.⌐ bod-mà la-maqulát?⌐ mqì!⌐ xa-trè-kǎlime gálli mqí!⌐ mǝ́nni lǝ́bbax pìš?⌐ jǝgráx ǝdyè?⌐ (9) g-d-ay-⁺rabtà,⌐ armón ⁺rabtà,⌐ ⁺b-rǝwwá belà,⌐ gal-axčá otaǧé yan xaznè,⌐ gal-nokǎrawè,⌐ gal-⁺qarawašè,⌐ xayú baáx puč-xàbra miré?⌐ ⁺yān-púč xulmà xzitát⌐ zǝ̀dyat,⌐ lišanàx dwíq?⌐ (10) ǎgàr⌐ ǝl-xá-danka brónǝt ay-⁺šultanawè⌐ ya júwe bronà,⌐ ⁺talubà-š hawé⌐ abùlatte,⌐ là-nxup,⌐ ⁺mǝssát bái amràt.⌐ aná ⁺mǝssén baáx ⁺čarà-oden.⌐ kyát ki-aná xa-⁺šultanèlen.⌐ má-t abyát aná ⁺mǝssén baáx odèn.⌐ bod-mà la-maqulàt?⌐ mqì!⌐ (11) bráta har-o-júr rešáw tǝltyà,⌐ ⁺m-ótaǧ ⁺palóta izalà.⌐ ⁺šultaná ⁺rába xduglú xadorè.⌐ čápke daholè,⌐ waziré idàylu.⌐ mǝ̀re⌐ waziré jwǎ́n šmìmun!⌐ ána áxči gal-bráti mqèli⌐ xa-kǎlimá ⁺jwábi la-hwǝ̀llale.⌐ ána ⁺rába ⁺rába xdúg wadèn.⌐ zadúlen ǝl-d-ay bratì⌐ xa-púč šulá b-rešàw ǝdya hawé.⌐ aná baxún ⁺tahá yomé mholtà híwalen.⌐ ⁺hál ⁺tahá yomè.⌐ ǎgár ⁺čarà wǝ́dlxun,⌐ ⁺msèlxun bratí mamqetunwalá,⌐ ki-hèč.⌐ ǎgar là,⌐ rešǝt-tùnnxun⌐ ⁺qǝtyà b-xadár.⌐ (12) ⁺šultána ⁺palóte tàra m-otǎ̀ǧ.⌐ ayné tre-waziré gal-⁺dǝ́ǧde màqulu.⌐ máre ma-òdex?⌐ mà amréx ba-⁺šultaná?⌐ ki-gal-⁺šultanà ki-la-maqulá,⌐ gallàn b-maqyá?⌐ má-t wadéx lá xadorà.⌐ ⁺šultaná ǎgár la-maqyantá hawyá ⁺šultána rešàn ⁺b-qatéle.⌐ (13) màra⌐ gal-⁺dǝ́ǧde màqulu⌐ wazíre máru ba-⁺šultanà.⌐ mar-adè⌐ amréx báew xǎ́š o-bratá madéla laxxà.⌐ nòšan galláw maqéx⌐ xazéx balkì⌐ naxpà⌐ m-tré-danke yá-jur ⁺dǝqna-xwaré našè⌐ balkí maqyà.⌐ xabru-xà wadúle gal-⁺dǝ́ǧde waziré.⌐ (14) ⁺šultana idàyle⌐ rešá makopù⌐ máru ⁺šultaná hawé basimà.⌐ axní natijà ⁺mtélan.⌐ xǎ́š bráta ǎgar ⁺mǝssét madétta laxxà,⌐ xa-ána m-aqǝ̀rwa⌐ bratá xazǝ̀nna,⌐ maqén gallàw.⌐ xazèn⌐ ana-lél-xen g-kǝxwè xirén,⌐ xǝzyén ki-kǝxwáw ⁺rába qwità⌐ ⁺rába bahurtelà.⌐ wa-lá hamónen xa-pučulá b-rešáw ǝdyá hawè.⌐ abúlen xazèn⌐ mayàwile.⌐ (15) o-xét wazirá máre ⁺šultaná basimà⌐ aná-š ⁺g-ktabè⌐ kǝmmát daftaré sǝfré ⁺ktabé attá plixén xirèn-ǝllu.⌐ lekǝ́t ki-šǝm-d-áy bratà⌐ m-šǝmmáw šǝ́mma ìt,⌐ ⁺mazzaléw ⁺rába ⁺rába bahurtèla.⌐ ána abúlen xazèn⌐ aná-š xa-galláw maqén xazèn⌐ bod-mày o-bráta la-maqulá.⌐

(8) He came and said 'My daughter, you know that I have nobody except you. If I die, after me you will become queen. Whatever I have[8] will all be yours. Why do you not speak? Speak! Speak one or two words to me! Are you upset with me? Are you angry? (9) In this big palace, in a big house, with so many rooms, treasures, with servants and maid servants, has one of them said a bad word against you? Or have you had a bad dream and have had a fright and your tongue has become tied? (10) If you love a son of a king[9] or another boy, even if he be a beggar, do not be ashamed. You can tell me. I can sort it out for you. You know that I am a king. Whatever you want I can do for you. Why do you not speak? Speak!' (11) The girl with her head hung down in the same way (as before) went out of the room. The king became very worried. He clapped his hands and the ministers came. He said 'Ministers, listen well! I spoke a lot with my daughter, but she did not reply a single word. I am very worried. I am afraid that something untoward has happened to this daughter of mine. I give you a moratorium of three days, up to three days. If you find a solution and can make my daughter speak, then nothing (will happen to you). If not, the head of both of you will be cut off'. (12) The king went out of the room. The two ministers spoke with one another. 'Now, what shall we do? What shall we say to the king? For, if she does not speak to the king, will she speak with us? Whatever we do will not work. If she does not speak, the king will cut off our head'. (13) Now, the ministers spoke to each other and then said regarding the king 'Let him come and let us tell him to bring the girl here again. We shall talk to her ourselves. Let's see, perhaps she will be ashamed with two such senior people, perhaps she will speak'. The ministers agree among themselves. (14) The king came in. They bowed and said 'May the king be well. We have reached a decision'. (One minister said) 'If you can bring the girl in again, I should like to see the girl from close up and speak with her. Let me see, last night I looked at the stars and saw that her star is very strong, is very bright. I do not believe that something evil could have come upon her. I want to see what is the matter with her'. (15) The other minister said '(May) the king (be) well, I also have just opened several books and looked in them. Wherever the name of the girl appears, there is (mention) of her name, its fortune is very bright. I also want to see, let me also talk with her and see why the girl is not talking'.

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[8] Literally: whatever I have I have not.
[9] Literally: kings.

(16) ⁺šultaná čápke daholè⌐ nokár idàyle⌐ máre bráta mar-adyà.⌐ əl-bráta
madùlula.⌐ máre wazír b-xawòd,⌐ má-t ábulet gal-bratá maqèt.⌐ wazír idáyle
⁺qánšar bratà⌐ màre⌐ (17) azəztì,⌐ xài,⌐ āt-kyát ki-áxni kullán əllàx gbéx.⌐ bod-mà
lá maqulát?⌐ ayolát ki-dadáx m-xdúg xánči-piš šàydən.⌐ kəmmát doktoré-š idàylu⌐
ki-lá-⁺msulu əllàx mamqè,⌐ rešú ⁺qətyè xadoré.⌐ ⁺awùn-ilu⌐ áxča našé melí
ba-xatrát ki-àt la-maqulát.⌐ ána ki-də́qna xwára mə́nnax xoíšt wadèn,⌐ ⁺məssát
baí amrát mà-xdir,⌐ má šulá-xdir ki-ä́t la-maqulàt?⌐ ána gal-dadáx maqèn⌐ baáx
⁺čára gòd.⌐ (18) là maqulá.⌐ máre o-xét wazír idàyle.⌐ tasbehéw ⁺palotə̀llu.⌐
əl-tasbehéw xyarè.⌐ əl-lišanàw xyaré.⌐ máre bràti,⌐ ána fkə́r wadén ki-gə̆rág
maqyàt.⌐ bod-ód ana-lékət xirèn,⌐ šãnsáx ⁺rába bahurtèla.⌐ xa-šulá là-xdir
ki-ləbbáx dóq la-maqyát.⌐ kyát ki-dadáx wáxt-ile šaydə̀n.⌐ ä́t əl-dadáx là-gbate?⌐
mə̀ì!⌐ la-maqulà.⌐

(19) la-maqulà.⌐ máre xa-dankà⌐ nokár idàyle.⌐ máre ⁺šultaná basìma⌐
xá-danka ⁺čobã́n ədyè⌐ máre kí-⁺mse brátox màmqela.⌐ ⁺šultaná már-ade làxxa.⌐
(20) lá-abulen nã̆š adé.⌐ xá-danka doktór là madétun.⌐ nã̆š lá-abulen áde gálli
maqè,⌐ bod-ód ã̆gar bratì gallí la-maqulá gal-mã̀ni b-maqyá?⌐ là-abulen.⌐ (21)
wazír marè⌐ ⁺šultaná-hawe basìma.⌐ áxča našé ə́dye ⁺čára là-widu⌐ balkí yá əlhà
šdírele,⌐ ya-našá ⁺mə́sse ⁺čára òd.⌐ máre adé xazéx mà maré.⌐ (22) ⁺čobã́n
idàyle⌐ gal-xa-danká ⁺torbà⌐ ay-ixalà⌐ wiyoré ⁺luwà.⌐ ⁺əl-báte ⁺bənyané xyarè⌐
maré ⁺šultanà⌐ šəmyén ki-ä́t fəssè palulét.⌐ máre là,⌐ aná ga-šahré ⁺jə̀r
⁺məsrixén.⌐ mã̆nì-t⌐ əl-bratí ⁺mə́sse mamqelà⌐ baèw⌐ fəssè-nan⌐ dehwè ba-hawén.⌐
ã̆gar-əš bratá abyá ⁺jahə́l hawè,⌐ ábya gállew gorà,⌐ aná qablèn,⌐ ána ⁺ràzi
xadrén.⌐ ána yà-xabra mirə́nne.⌐ bã̆le là mirén⌐ mã̆ni-t áde báew fəssé palèn.⌐ (23)
o-⁺čobã́n máre bod-mà la-maqulá bratóx?⌐ máre là-ayolen.⌐ āt-ə̀dyet,⌐ gə̆rag
ä̀t-ayet báa la-maqulá.⌐ máre mar-adyá laxxà.⌐ ã̆gar gallí là-maqya,⌐ xá-danka
səllí ⁺m-salmáw dahèn,⌐ magón bulbúl maqyà.⌐ mdí aná ərbè məmqyén.⌐ má-jur
⁺lá-msen əl-brátox màmqənna?⌐ xá mar-adyà,⌐ xazén bod-mà la-maqulá.⌐

(16) The king clapped his hands. A servant came. He said 'Let the girl come'. They brought the girl. He said 'Minister, please, speak with the girl as much as you want'. The minister came up before the girl and said (17) 'My dear, (by) my life, you know that we all love you. Why are you not talking? You know that your father has almost gone mad with worry. So many doctors come who cannot make you speak and have their heads cut off. It is a pity that so many people die because you do not speak. I, who am an elder, am pleading with you, can you tell me what has happened, what event has happened with the result that you do not talk? I shall talk to your father and he will find a solution for you'. (18) She did not speak. Now, the other minister came. He took out his rosary. He looked at his rosary. He looked at her tongue. He said 'My girl, I think you should talk, because wherever I have looked, your fortune is very bright. Nothing has happened such that your heart should be troubled and you do not speak. You know that your father is beginning to go mad. Don't you love your father? Speak!' She did not speak.

(19) She did not speak. Now, a servant came in. He said '(May) the king (be) well, a shepherd has come. He says that he can make your daughter speak. King, let him come here'. (20) 'I do not want anybody to come. Do not bring me a single doctor. I do not want anybody to come and talk to me, for if my daughter does not talk to me, who will she talk to? I do not want it'. (21) The minister said 'May the king be well. So many people have come and not found a solution. Perhaps God has sent this one, and this man is able to find a solution'. He said 'Let him come and let's see what he says'. (22) The shepherd came with a bag of food. He came inside. He looked at the grand buildings[10] and said 'King, I have heard that you are handing out money'. He said 'No, I have made a proclamation in the towns that whoever can make my daughter talk, I shall give him money and gold. Furthermore, if the girl wants and he is young, if she wants to marry him, I would agree, I would be happy with this. I have made this statement. I have not said that I shall hand out money to whomsoever comes'. (23) The shepherd said 'Why does your daughter not speak?' He said 'I do not know'. You have come. You should know why she does not speak'. He said 'Let her come here. If she does not speak to me, I'll give her face a slap and she will speak like a nightingale. Bring her, I have made even sheep talk. How could I not make your daughter talk? Let her come and I shall see why she does not talk'.

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[10] Literally: the houses and the buildings.

(24) bratá madúlula ⁺*luwà.*ˈ *ya-*⁺*čobā̃ xyaré əlláw marèˈ kə́mma sqə̀ltelat!ˈ kə́mma jwằn-ilat!ˈ háyf léwe la-maqulàt?ˈ bod-má* ⁺*là̃l xdírat?ˈ ba-mà la-maqulát?ˈ kyát ki-ăgár āt-la-maqyàt,ˈ* ⁺*šultaná reší b-*⁺*qàtele.ˈ bratá la-maqulà.*ˈ

(25) bratá la-maqulà,ˈ ⁺*čobā̃ máre baat-*⁺*šultanàˈ* ⁺*šultaná hawe-basimàˈ kə́mmət láxxa našé mar-*⁺*pálti tàra.ˈ ā́t-əš* ⁺*plút tàra.ˈ bráta šúqla tàk laxxá.ˈ ána mamqə̀nna.ˈ (26) kullú* ⁺*palótu tàra.ˈ šultán-əš* ⁺*palóte tàra.ˈ bráta ták pyašá yatowà.ˈ* ⁺*čobā̃ idáyle ba-bratá maré xzí xà.ˈ kyát kəmmá rešé* ⁺*hal-attáˈ* ⁺*qətyé xdirí ki-ā́t la-maqulàt?ˈ ăgar la-maqyàt,ˈ réši-š* ⁺*qətyà b-xádər.ˈ (27) ána awùn-ileˈ* ⁺*yalè-tti,ˈ baxtà-tti.ˈ ána ədyèn.ˈ ba-xatrì ba-xatrì trè-kălime mqí!ˈ gáat laxxá nã́š lèt.ˈ fă̆qàtˈ aná inán ằd-ilex.ˈ har-gàlli,ˈ gàlli mqí!ˈ* ⁺*məstùri!ˈ dhùlli!ˈ rúq* ⁺*b-salmì!ˈ má-t abulát gàlli.ˈ bráta rešáw la-maromàlle.*ˈ

(28) máre xzì.ˈ ána áyolen əl-dadáx āt-⁺*rába gbàtte.ˈ ayné kullú wazirèˈ wăkilé láxxa ki-gáat béla itàˈ kullú əlláx àbulu.ˈ bắle xá-năfar ìtˈ fă̆qát ăgár la-maqyàt,ˈ o-*⁺*rába jəgréw gdè.ˈ ó-š əlhà-ile.ˈ ăgar la-maqyàt,ˈ ána gezén geb-əlhà.ˈ kəmrén əlhà,ˈ əlhà.ˈ (29) bráta qyamà.ˈ mára áxča nóšox là-mgusla!ˈ bráta mára bàewˈ aná tasmìm dwəqtán,ˈ inằd dwə́qtan,ˈ* ⁺*tahà yomé̃ˈ là maqyán,ˈ ki-ga-kúllu* ⁺*ktabèˈ ay-dunyèˈ kalwìˈ ki-brắt* ⁺*šultanàˈ Marjáne Xatùn,ˈ là-mqela.ˈ (30) máre āt-là-mqelax,ˈ əllí-š ga-*⁺*tína šəràx.ˈ ána là-abulen kalwí ki brắt* ⁺*šultána là-mqela,ˈ* ⁺*šultanàˈ réšət áy* ⁺*čobā̃* ⁺*qtelelè.ˈ laxxá bráta* ⁺*palóta izalà.*ˈ

(31) ⁺*palóta izàla,ˈ* ⁺*šultana idàyle.ˈ máre* ⁺*šultaná basimà,ˈ šmélox xzélox má-jur mqèla?ˈ* ⁺*šultaná máre ána là šəmyén.ˈ máre gálli là-mqela.ˈ máre attá* ⁺*palotáw xəzyàliˈ gálli là-mqela.ˈ (32) máre bắle gálli mqèla.ˈ máre là,ˈ dúgle dàgolet.ˈ* ⁺*jàllātˈ idá reš-d-ày!ˈ m-əqrà dhullé!ˈ rešèw* ⁺*qtilé!ˈ máre* ⁺*qurbā̃ dinóx xádren máre* ⁺*šultaná aná làˈ dúgla là-məri.ˈ ya-mqèla gálli.ˈ mə́ri làˈ ána là šəmyén.ˈ ána mə́ri mắni-t átta adé láxxa* ⁺*lá-mse əl-bráti mamqelà,ˈ réšew* ⁺*b-qatə̀nne.*ˈ

(24) They brought the girl in. The shepherd looked at her and said 'How comely you are! How beautiful you are! Is it not a pity that you do not talk? Why have you become dumb? Why do you not talk? You know that if you do not talk, the king will cut off my head'. The girl did not talk.

(25) The girl did not talk and the shepherd said to the king 'May the king be well, let the people here go outside. You also go outside. Leave the girl alone here. I shall make her talk'. (26) Everybody went outside. The king also went outside. The girl stayed alone sitting. The shepherd came and said to the girl 'Have a look. Do you know how many heads have so far been cut off because you do not talk? If you do not talk, also my head will be cut off. (27) It is a pity for me, I have children, I have a wife. I have come (here). For my own sake, speak two words! There is nobody here. Only I and you are (here). Speak with me, just with me! Curse me! Strike me! Spit in my face! (Do) with me whatever you want'. The girl did not lift her face.

(28) He said 'Look. I know that you love your father a lot. All these ministers and officials who are in the house, they all love you. But there is one person who will be very angry if you do not talk. He is God. If you do not talk, I shall go to God. I shall say 'God, God'. (29) The girl got up. She said 'Do not tire yourself so much!' The girl said to him 'I have decided and am determined not to talk for three days, so that in all the books of the world they write that the daughter of the king, Marjane Xatun, did not speak'. (30) He said '(If) you do not speak, you will bury me.[11] I do not want them to write that the daughter of the king did not speak and the king cut off the head of the shepherd'. At this point the girl went out.

(31) She went out and the king came in. He said '(May) the king (be well), did you hear and witness how she spoke?' The king said 'I have not heard'. He said 'She did not speak with me'. He said 'I saw her just now as she came out, but she did not speak with me'. (32) He said 'But she spoke with me'. He said 'No, you are lying. Executioner, come and (deal with) this man! Beat him thoroughly![12] Cut off his head! He said 'I implore you.'[13] He said 'King, I did not lie.' She spoke with me. I said 'No, I have not heard (this). I said that whoever comes here now and cannot make my daughter talk, I shall cut off his head'.

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[11] Literally: You have smeared me with mud.
[12] Literally: Beat him from the root.
[13] Literally: May I become the sacrifice of your religion.

(33) ⁺čobā́n lá-ayole ma-òd.ǀ màreǀ ⁺šultaná basìmaǀ kyét ma b-òdǀ xá bratóx mar-adyà.ǀ bratóx mar-adyá laxxà.ǀ ā́t nóšox ⁺tšíla bar-⁺stòlǀ már la-xazyàlox.ǀ ána gállaw maqènǀ ā́t m-qálaw šamə̀tte.ǀ *(34)* bratá idàyla.ǀ ⁺šultana nóšew ⁺tašùlela.ǀ kullú ⁺palótu tarà.ǀ màreǀ má-t mə́rax baí qǎ̆mol kómma dayqèǀ gèna már.ǀ aná-abulen xǎ̆š ayén āt-baí mà-məraxǀ mórax anàǀ āt-lá-abulat gallí maqyát ki-⁺ktabé kalwì,ǀ aná-š mə̀ri báaxǀ lá-abulen ki-⁺ktabé kalwí réšew ⁺qətyà.ǀ har-áyne xàbre máru bái.ǀ màr!ǀ bod-mà la-maqulát?ǀ *(35)* bráta ⁺palotá izàlaǀ lá maqulà.ǀ jəgràw idáyle.ǀ ⁺šultaná ⁺palotè.ǀ màreǀ ⁺šultána là-šmelox?ǀ móre ána jwǎ̆n šméli.ǀ móre ā́t əllì mašlofét.ǀ aná ⁺šultanà-hawen,ǀ āt-baí dúgle dagolèt!ǀ ⁺jallə̀t idáyle.ǀ našè idáyluǀ əl-d-áy ⁺masmoxulle ki-réšew ⁺qatèle.ǀ *(36)* máre ⁺šultaná ⁺qurbànox xadrén.ǀ máre xzì.ǀ ána belà-tti,ǀ ⁺yalè-tti,ǀ baxtà-tti.ǀ átta báxti ⁺smíxa bar-syáme smoqè amblén.ǀ xá daqíqa xoíšt wadén ⁺smùxǀ bráta mar-ádya làxxa.ǀ gál en-nòšaw xazyáǀ reší má-jur ⁺qatùlətteǀ bálki maqyà.ǀ *(37)* ⁺šultaná máre là!ǀ bára wazír máre ⁺šultaná basìmaǀ ya-qalandàrǀ ⁺smíx ba-réšew ⁺qatoè.ǀ čún wasità wadé,ǀ kúd-nāš gǎ̆rag xabréw qabə̀lle.ǀ ⁺šultaná qabolè.ǀ čápke daholè,ǀ bráta madùlula.ǀ *(38)* máre ba-bràta,ǀ máre Marjàne,ǀ xá awwál xzí ⁺šultanà,ǀ xzí dadàxǀ má-jur réši ⁺qatùlele.ǀ ⁺rahmàx adé!ǀ xà kǎ̆lima mqí,ǀ xà kǎlimà,ǀ ā́t ganì parqát.ǀ ǎ̆gar la-maqyàt,ǀ reší ⁺qətyà b-xadə́r.ǀ *(39)* lá maqulà.ǀ réšew makopùlle.ǀ hár ⁺jallə̆t xanjár ⁺maromə̀lla.ǀ ⁺šultaná máre xàǀ tré ⁺tàha.ǀ téz ⁺čobā́n ⁺palotèǀ qyáme màreǀ ána àyolen,ǀ ána áyolen ma-xdír əl-d-ay-bratà.ǀ ána àtta mamqónna.ǀ kullxún ⁺xamèš xdúrun.ǀ kúllu nǎ̀š már la-maqé.ǀ *(40)* máre ⁺šultaná hawe-basìma,ǀ xoíšt wadèn,ǀ dastúr hòl.ǀ xábra hól màrǀ əsrí-w xá-danka ⁺šamalé mar-madè,ǀ əsrí-w xà-danka.ǀ əsrí-w xá-danka ⁺šamalé madùlu.ǀ ⁺šultaná màreǀ ána má-t maré wadèn,ǀ bǎ̆le áyne ⁺šamalé ba-mà-ilu?ǀ *(41)* móre ⁺šultaná hawe-basìma,ǀ āt-là-ayolet ki-ódyom bratóx əsrí-w xà šatá-tta?ǀ téz bratá qyamà,ǀ ⁺naré daholà,ǀ mára lá là,ǀ ána əsrì šənné-tti!ǀ ⁺šultaná ⁺rába ⁺pasoxè,ǀ l-bratéw xatoqə̀llaǀ našoqə́lla ki-mqèla.ǀ

(33) The shepherd did not know what to do. He said '(May) the king (be) well, you know what one should do, let the girl come, let the girl come here. You hide yourself behind the chair. Let her not see you. I shall speak with her. You will hear her voice'. (34) The girl came. The king hid himself. They all went outside. He said 'Say again what you said to me a few minutes ago. I want to know again what you said to me. You said you do not what to talk to me so that the books will write (about it) and I said to you that I do not want the books to write that his head was cut off. Say to me the same words. Say (them)! Why do you not speak?' (35) The girl went out without talking. She was angry. The king came out. He said 'King did you not hear?' He said 'I heard very well. You are cheating me. I am a king and you are telling me lies!' The executioner came. The people came. They make him stand up in order to cut off his head. (36) He said 'King, I implore you'.[14] He said 'Look. I have a home, I have children, I have a wife. Now my wife is waiting for me to bring red shoes. I entreat you to wait for a minute. Let the girl come here. Let her see with her own eyes how you cut off my head and perhaps she will talk'. (37) The king said 'No!' Then the minister said '(May) the king (be) well, this poor man is waiting for his head to be cut off. Because he is making a (final) will, everybody must agree to his request'. The king agreed. He clapped his hands and they brought in the girl. (38) He said to the girl, he said 'Marjane, first see how the king, see how your father cuts off my head. Have mercy. Speak one word, one word and you will save my life. If you do not speak, my head will be cut off'. (39) She did not speak. They pushed down his head. The executioner lifted the knife. The king said 'One, two, three'. Quickly the shepherd extricated himself, stood up and said 'I know, I know what has happened to the girl. Now I shall make her talk. All of you be quiet. Let nobody speak'. (40) He said 'May the king be well, I request you to give an order. Make an announcement and say 'Let them bring twenty-one candles, twenty-one'. They brought the twenty-one candles. The king said 'I shall do whatever he says, but what are these candles for? (41) He said 'May the king be well, don't you know that today your daughter is twenty-one years old?' The girl quickly got up and shouts saying 'No, no, I am twenty!' The king became very happy and embraced and kissed his daughter, because she spoke.

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[14] Literally: May I become your sacrifice.

(42) máre ⁺šultaná ⁺l-čobā́n ⁺saroxə̀lle˩ máre ma-yə̀llox?˩ má wə̀dlox?˩ ə́t gal-má-fkər əl-d-ay-bratá məmqiyə̀lox?˩ máre ⁺šultaná hawe-basìma.˩ ə́t dardə́t nišé là kyə́tte.˩ nišé ăgár ⁺qanšár molà-š hawé˩ ga-qorà-š darə́ttu˩ ắgar šə́nnu xà-šata˩ zòda amrə́ttu,˩ maqè.˩ ána b-d-ò-fkər wə́dli˩ ki-šənnáw zóda amrə̀nnu,˩ màqya.˩ bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé.˩ wa-yə̀lli˩ wa-ya-šúla wə̀dlile.˩

(43) ⁺šultaná dastúr hwə̀lle˩ máre ba-xatrə́t ki-bratí mqèla,˩ ə́t-əš má-t àbulet,˩ má-t míren ána godén baox-kwèn.˩ wa-xánči maxyané zamrané raqlané adè,˩ maxé zamrì,˩ ba-xatrə́t ki-bratí mqità.˩

THE BIRD WHO BOASTED

(44) xa-yomá Šlómo ha-mélex ytíwwa ⁺g-otaġèw,˩ panjarà˩ ⁺támaša wadà-wele˩ batè,˩ ïlanè.˩ mə̀re˩ xzéli tre-qušé gal-⁺də́ġde màqulu.˩ (45) qúš gorá ba-qúš baxtá marè˩ kyát-ma baxtà,˩ ya-Šlómo ha-mélex xá-jur jəgrí madùlele.˩ abúlen ezén xa-dánka tapúg dahèn˩ əl-d-áy ⁺amartèw,˩ ki-axčǎ jwə̀n-ila,˩ maprxə̀nna b-šə́mme.˩ (46) qúš ki-baxtà-ila mára˩ ⁺janə̀m˩ mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?˩ Šlómo ha-mélex mà widé?˩ awùn-ile˩ šúqle yatə́w b-⁺yān-nòšew.˩ mà šula-ttóx mənnéw?˩ bod-má dəmmà mandulét?˩ bára doqìlox,˩ bára ⁺qatlìlox.˩ (47) là,˩ ána b-ezén àtta šúla odònne.˩ Šlómo ha-mélex əl-qū́š ⁺saroxə̀lle.˩ mára ága qùš,˩ mar-xazèn.˩ āt-kullóx xa-⁺čangèlet˩ gal-xá ⁺sbotí ⁺məssén ə̀llox ⁺qatlén.˩ ə́t mà-jur ⁺məsséta ⁺əl-amartí gal-xá-danka tapùk˩ mapərxə́tta b-šə̀mme?˩ (48) marè˩ ⁺qurbànew xdə́rri,˩ ə́t mà šulá-ttox?˩ ə́t bod-má b-šúli yarowèt?˩ ə́t bod-mà b-šúlət góra baxtá yarowèt?˩ kúd gorá geb-báxta nóšew paqèla.˩ ána geb-báxti nóši pəqyàli.˩ ə́t ba-ma-yà maqét?˩ (49) Šlómo ha-mélex ⁺rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà.˩ máre sí-lox xài,˩ kéfox wùdla!˩ attá fkə́rri ə́t ma-marèt.˩

(42) Now, the king called the shepherd and said 'How did you know? What did you do? With what scheme did you make this girl talk?' He said 'May the king be well. You do not know the illness of women. Even if women are facing death, even if you put them in the grave, if you say their age is one year more (than it really is), they speak. I had the idea of saying that her age was more (than it really was) so that she would talk. Only this method would result in her being made to talk. I knew this and so this is what I did'.

(43) The king made a decree and said 'Since my daughter spoke, whatever you want, whatever I promised, I shall give to you. Let some musicians, singers and dances come, let them play and sing, since my daughter has spoken'.

THE BIRD WHO BOASTED

(44) One day King Solomon was sitting in his room and at the window he was watching houses and trees. He said: I saw two birds speaking with each other. (45) The male bird said to the female bird 'You know what wife, this King Solomon makes me so angry. I want to go and kick his palace, which is so beautiful, and make it fly into the sky'. (46) The bird who was the wife said 'My dear, what business do you have with him? What has King Solomon done? It is a shame (to behave in this way), leave him in peace.[15] What business do you have with him? Why are being provocative.[16] They will arrest you afterwards, then kill you.' (47) 'No, I shall go and do this job right now.' King Solomon shouted to the bird. He said 'Mr bird, let me see. You in total are (no more than) a single handful. I can kill you with a single finger of mine. How could you make my palace fly in the air with kick?' (48) He said 'With respect,[17] what is this to do with you? Why do you interfere with my affairs? Why are you interfering with the affairs of a husband and wife? Every husband boasts to his wife.[18] I boasted to my wife. Why should you say such a thing?' (49) King Solomon was very amused with this story. He said 'My dear, enjoy yourself! Now I have understood what you are saying.

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[15] Literally: Let him sit at his own side.
[16] Literally: Why are you bringing blood.
[17] Literally: I have become his sacrifice.
[18] Literally: puffs himself up with his wife.

A Missed Opportunity

(50) ítwa góra baxtà˩ wazyătú jwān-là-wela.˩ góra baqatyóm gezə̀lwa,˩ léle gdèwa,˩ ⁺ánjaġ ⁺məsséwa kì˩ báat ⁺yaléw-inan báat baxtèw˩ xà-tika lə́xma ⁺hasə́lwa.˩ (51) bə́le kul-lél damoxèw˩ idèw palə́xwalu˩ kmə́rwa əlhà,˩ magon-kì˩ kyèt˩ ó-jur bài-š hól.˩ ána ⁺awùn-ilen!˩ áxča šənnè˩ xaí tré la-xdìr.˩ hár gal-d-áy ⁺ruzì˩ ána yomí maporə̀nne.˩ (52) Elyáhu ⁺hannawí idáyle g-xulmèw.˩ máre gòra,˩ tār-šəmmé plə́xle baòx.˩ baqattá šulá izalòx˩ ⁺g-wərxà˩ əlhá xa-jwə́n jwə́n xaznà hwíləllox.˩ ⁺g-wərxá b-xazə̀tta.˩ antə̀tta.˩ gal-d-ó ⁺məssét kullà˩ šulòx,˩ belòx,˩ ⁺bənyanòx,˩ má-t ít lét duz-odə̀ttu ba-nóšox tkanà palxét.˩ (53) góra baqatyóm qyamè,˩ ⁺m-pəsxanulèw˩ máre baxtá əlhá hwə̀lle.˩ la-ixalá ixalè˩ là heč-⁺məndə́ġ.˩ xá-tika ləxmá antùle˩ máre əlhá hwílelan gáat ⁺wərxà.˩ yaroqè,˩ izàle.˩ izále ba-šulèw.˩ (54) izále ⁺g-wərxà,˩ xá-danka korpì-itwa.˩ mən-d-ó korpì˩ ya-góra gə́rag pèrwa.˩ fkə̀r-wədle˩ máre aná əsrí šənnéle láxxa šùla godén.˩ gə-əsrí šənné mən-d-ay-korpì˩ ení plixè pyarén.˩ xa-ení ⁺čemə̀nnu˩ xazén ⁺məssén mən-d-áy korpí perèn.˩ (55) enéw ⁺čyamə̀llu,˩ korpí pyarə̀lla.˩ ⁺rába ⁺pasoxé ki-enéw ⁺čimé korpí pirə̀lla.˩ ⁺matúle šulèw,˩ šuléw wadə̀lle.˩ (56) bərdān-birá fkə̀r wadé˩ màre˩ là hamonén əlhá dúgle dagə̀l.˩ lél-xen b-xulmí ə̀dye˩ Elyáhu ⁺hannawí šdirə́lle baì˩ míre ki-⁺g-wərxá baí hawə̀lle.˩ bas-kèlu?˩ bod-mà la-xzéli.˩ (57) fkə́r-wade bálki dyarì.˩ dyaréw mən-šulá ⁺asə̀r,˩ ⁺g-wərxá xazúle héč-⁺məndəġ lèt.˩ xazúle hèč-⁺məndəġ.˩ ⁺matúle belà,˩ báxta mára mà?˩ máre héč la-maqyàt.˩ báxta əllí məšlifù.˩ lá izalì˩ lá idayì˩ ⁺g-wərxá hèč-⁺məndəġ létwa.˩

A MISSED OPPORTUNITY

(50) There were (once) a husband and wife. There situation was not good. The man went out in the morning and came back at night. He could barely manage to obtain a piece of bread for his children and for his wife. (51) Now, every night, when he went to bed, he would open his hands and say 'God, provide for me as you think best.[19] I am in a miserable state. For so many years I have not advanced in life.[20] I am eking out my day with this salary'. (52) The prophet Elijah came to him in his dream. He said 'Man, the door of heaven has opened for you. Tomorrow, when you go to work, on the way God has given to you a very fine treasure. You will see it on the way. You should take it. With this you can put everything in order, your work, your house, your family, whatever it is, and you can open a shop for yourself'. (53) The next day the man got up. He joyfully said 'Wife, God has provided'. He did not eat any food, nothing. He took a piece of bread. He said 'God has provided for us on the way'. He went off running. He went to his work. (54) As he went along, on his way there was a bridge. The man had to cross the bridge. He thought and said 'I have worked here for twenty years. For twenty years I have crossed this bridge with my eyes open. Let me close my eyes and see whether I can cross this bridge'. (55) He closed his eyes and crossed the bridge. He was very happy that he had crossed the bridge with his eyes closed. He arrived at his work and did his work. (56) Suddenly he thought, saying 'I do not believe that God lies. Last night he came in my dream. He sent the prophet Elijah to me. He said that He (God) would provide for me on the way. But where are they?[21] Why did I not see (them)'. (57) He thought 'Perhaps when I return (I'll see them)'. On his return from work in the evening, he saw that there was nothing on the road. He saw nothing. He arrived home and his wife said 'What (news)?' He said 'Don't say anything. Wife, they have deceived me. Neither when I went nor when I came back was there anything on the road'.

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[19] Literally: as you know, in that way give to me.
[20] Literally: My one has not become two.
[21] I.e. the things God promised me.

(58) *mára xa-sí-lox geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*⌐ *bqúr mənnèw,*⌐ *ó ⁺mar-aqὲl-ile.*⌐
ò kyél bod-má ya-šulá xdír.⌐ *baqatyóm qyamè,*⌐ *izalé geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*⌐ *máre
aġái Šlómo ha-mèlex*⌐ *máre xà axxa-šulá b-reší ədyé.*⌐ *lelé Elyáhu ⁺hannawí
ədyéle g-xulmì.*⌐ *zə́lli ⁺g-wərxà.*⌐ *korpí piràli.*⌐ *dyarí-š ədyèli,*⌐ *⁺g-wərxá
héč-⁺məndəġ là-xzeli.*⌐ *ána là hamónen əlhá dúgla dagə́l.*⌐ *bod-mà ya-šúla
xdə́rre?*⌐ (59) *Šlómo ha-mélex fkὲr wadé,*⌐ *fkὲr wadé.*⌐ *máre bàew*⌐ *mar-xazèn.*⌐
m-korpí mà-jur pə́rrox?⌐ *máre korpì*⌐ *ána əsrì šənnéle m-ó-ka raxšén*⌐ *gal-éni
plixè.*⌐ *bɑ̆le ó yomà*⌐ *mári xa-ení ⁺čemὲnnu perén xazèn*⌐ *⁺məssèn mən-d-áy korpí
perén.*⌐ *ení ⁺čimíli pὲrri.*⌐ (60) *máre enóx ⁺čimílox pərròx.*⌐ *ó ⁺torbá ⁺mlitə́t fəssé
dehwé əlhá baóx ki-šədràwale*⌐ *čún ə́t enóx ⁺čimé zòllox*⌐ *jùwe nɑ̆š əntyalé.*⌐ *ə́t
gɑ̆rag enóx là ⁺čemətwálu.*⌐ *əlhá baóx hwὲlle*⌐ *bɑ̆le ə́t ixaláw là yəllóx.*⌐ (61) *bɑ̆le
⁺m-trosá ki-Šlómo ha-mélex ⁺hoxmà-ttox*⌐ *də́rre ədyéle ba-baxtèw*⌐ *⁺qazyá
miràle.*⌐ *la-xèn m-korpí enéw čimè la-pyára-wele.*⌐

FATHER AND SONS

(62) *xá məšpaxà*⌐ *xa-famíl gal-⁺də́ġde kullú xayèwa.*⌐ *bratà*⌐ *híwalu gorà,*⌐ *xlulá
wὲdla.*⌐ *xá-yoma ədyèla*⌐ *mára dὲy*⌐ *⁺amān-ha-šém lá-ayolan m-òdan.*⌐ *xá-gora
məšlifὲlli,*⌐ *zílan gàllew.*⌐ *zadúlan gorí ayèl,*⌐ *⁺talὲqli.*⌐ (63) *baàw*⌐ *jəgràw idáyle.*⌐
əsrá-š ⁺yále ə̀twala,⌐ *bronawé ⁺mbul-xa-bratà,*⌐ *əsrà-š ⁺yále bronawé-twala.*⌐
bronawé kullú ytíwiwa ya-jùr g-⁺otə́ġ⌐ *gal-⁺də́ġde qaraà-welu.*⌐ *šmèlu kí*⌐ *bratà*⌐
xaluntà⌐ *xaluntú mà-məra ba-⁺dàa.*⌐ (64) *⁺daá mára bàaw,*⌐ *mára bràti,*⌐ *⁺aqláx
lèka-ile?*⌐ *mə́ra.*⌐ *áxča šənnéle ki-ána gwiràn,*⌐ *ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttu*⌐ *fɑ̆qὲt
xayù*⌐ *ὰy dadáx-ile.*⌐ *ayne-xét kullù*⌐ *m-jùwe gure-ilu.*⌐ *⁺hal-attá là-qbəltan*⌐ *dadáx
ayèl.*⌐ (65) *⁺yalé šamùlule ya-xabrá*⌐ *⁺ràba niga⁺rɑ̆n pyašú.*⌐ *là ayolú*⌐ *èmnyu ílu
brōn-dàdu-ile.*⌐ *émnyu lèwu.*⌐ *mən-⁺daù-š la-baqorú.*⌐ *kúlla ⁺wadá g-d-ay-fkὲr
welú.*⌐ *izalù*⌐ *geb-Šlómo ha-mèlex.*⌐

(58) She said 'Go to King Solomon. Ask him, he is clever. He will know why this has happened'. In the morning he got up and went to King Solomon. He said 'My lord, King Solomon, such-and-such a thing has happened to me. At night the prophet Elijah came (to me) in my dream. I went on my way. I crossed the bridge. When I came back on my return I saw nothing on the way. I do not believe that God lies. Why has this happened?' (59) King Solomon thought and thought. He said to him 'Let me see. How did you cross the bridge?' He said 'I have been walking across there for twenty years with my eyes open. But on that day I said "Let me close my eyes and cross, let me see if I can cross this bridge." I closed my eyes and crossed'. (60) He (the king) said 'You closed your eyes and crossed. Since you went with your eyes closed, another person took the bag full of gold coins, which God had sent for you. You should not have closed your eyes. God provided for you, but you did not recognize this provision'.[22] (61) (He said) 'It is indeed so, King Solomon, that you have wisdom'. He returned home to his wife and told her the judgement. He never again crossed the bridge with his eyes closed.

FATHER AND SONS

(62) A family used to live together. They gave the daughter away (in marriage) and she had a wedding. One day she came and said 'Mother, for God's sake I do not what to do. A man has seduced me and I have gone with him. I am afraid that my husband will know and divorce me'. (63) She became angry with her. She had ten children, sons, as well as a daughter. She had ten sons. The sons were all sitting together in the room reading.[23] They heard what their sister said to the mother. (64) The mother said to her, she said 'My daughter, where is your intelligence?' She said 'It is so many years that I have been married, but these brothers of yours that you see, only one of them is from your father. All the others are from different men. Until now I have not allowed our father to know'. (65) The boys heard these words and became very worried. They did not know which of them were their father's son and which of them were not. They did not ask their mother. They were constantly thinking about this. They went to King Solomon.

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[22] Literally: its (i.e. the bag's) food.

[23] Literally: were sitting this way, in the room together they were reading.

(66) màru⌐ Šlomó ha-mélex hawé basimà⌐ áxni xá axxa-xabrá šəmyéx
⁺m-daàn.⌐ ⁺rába niga⁺rằn-ilex.⌐ dadán-əš xaá lèwe⌐ ki-baqréx mắnne èmnyan
bronéw-ilex,⌐ o-dádət èmnyan-ile.⌐ ất čún ⁺šultànelet⌐ ayolèt.⌐ baàn mar-xazex⌐
èmnyan brōn-dadán-ilex.⌐ (67) Šlómo fkə̀r wadé,⌐ fkə̀r wadé.⌐ máre xzìmun.⌐
ezétun reš-qórət dadxùn.⌐ kùd mánxun xá-danka ⁺síwa antétun.⌐ dahétun
g-qoréw kəmmə̀t ⁺məssétun.⌐ jəgrèw ⁺paltétune.⌐ dhúlun g-qorèw,⌐ bára ⁺idámun
gebì,⌐ ána báxun amrèn⌐ atxún emnixún bronèw-iletun.⌐ (68) yaroqùlla
reš-qorət-dadú.⌐ kúd-mənnu xá-danka ⁺siwà antúlu,⌐ daholù,⌐ daholù,⌐ daholù,⌐
daholù.⌐ xayú ⁺smix kanắr là daholé.⌐ paroqù.⌐ idàylu geb-Šlómo ha-mélex,⌐
màru⌐ dhállan bắle héč-⁺məndəġ là-yəllan.⌐ (69) máre lá atxun-là-ayoletun,⌐ bắle
anà-ayolen.⌐ kullxùn dhállxun?⌐ máru là,⌐ yà⌐ xayù⌐ là dhəllé.⌐ axní dhə̀llan,⌐
mə́ran báa la-dahòlet?⌐ máre ána là dahén.⌐ máre ò-ile brōn-dadxún.⌐ ó
ki-la-dhálle g-qórət dadéw ləbbéw qəllè.⌐ bronéw ò-ile.⌐ atxún héč mənxún bronéw
lewétun.⌐ (70) ⁺ondà yəllú⌐ ki-yá dadú lèwe⌐ fằqát dádət d-ay-bronà-ile⌐
ki-⁺rahmèw ədyelé⌐ qorá la-dhə̀lle.⌐ dadú jùwe-naš xdír,⌐ ki-⁺daú la-maqulà,⌐ bắle
dádət d-ò broná,⌐ čun-Šlómo ha-mélex mə̀re⌐ o-broná g-qórət dadéw la-dhálle
ləbbèw qíl⌐ dadéw ò-ile.⌐

WEDDINGS

(71) abúlen xánči-š m-xlulə́t ay-gằban maqén,⌐ ki-mà-jur xlulá godíwa g-Urmí.⌐
kullán kyéxwa xlulá g-Urmí ⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.⌐ ⁺rába məllətyè-š⌐ jur-ba-júr
xlulyé əttù,⌐ bắle fkə́r wadén ki-didàn⌐ ⁺rába ⁺rába ay-xazoè⌐ ⁺rába ay-šamoè
ilá.⌐

(72) elčyè gdéwa.⌐ kəmríwa ba-bratxùn⌐ bélə d-áy ⁺flankás abúlu adè⌐ el-
čulà.⌐ xábra kwìwa.⌐ kəmríwa imắnət abulètun,⌐ abúlu našé adé elčulà⌐ bratxún
abúlula ba-bronù.⌐

(66) They said 'King Solomon, may you be well. We have heard such words from our mother. We are very worried. Our father is not alive for us to ask him which of us is his son, of which of us is he the father. Since you are the king, you know. (Tell) us so that we may see which of us is the son of our father'. (67) Solomon thought and thought. He said 'Look, go to the grave of your father. Each of you take a stick. Beat on his grave as much as you can. Provoke his anger. Beat on his grave, then come to me and I shall tell you which of you is his son'. (68) They ran to the grave of their father. Each of them took a stick and beat and beat and beat and beat. One of them was standing aside not beating. When they finished, they came to King Solomon and said 'We beat but we did not come to know anything'. (69) He said 'No, you do not know, but *I* know. Did all of you beat?' They said 'No, this one—one of them—did not beat. We beat. We said "Why do you not beat?" He said "I shall not beat."' He (the king) said 'He is the son of your father. The one who did not beat on the grave of his father took pity.[24] *He* is his son. None of you are his son'. (70) Then they knew that he was not their father, but he was the father only of the son who took pity and did not beat the grave. Their father turned out to be another man, who their mother did not talk about, but he (the mother's husband) was the father of that son, since King Solomon said 'That son did not beat the grave of his father since he took pity. His father is that (one in the grave)'.

Weddings

(71) I want to talk a little about weddings in our community, how they would hold weddings in Urmi. We all knew that a wedding in Urmi was well worth seeing. Many nations have different types of wedding, but I think (one of) ours is very much worth seeing and hearing about.

(72) The messengers of the betrothal would come. They would say that the family of so-and-so want to come to ask for your daughter's hand. They would give the message. They would say 'When you agree, some people want to come to request a betrothal, they want your daughter for their son'.

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[24] Literally: His heart burnt.

(73) ⁺*dallaltà gezáwa.*˺ *elčyè gdéwa.*˺ *ba-*⁺*daáw kəmríwa kì*˺ *bratáx abúləxxa ba-bronàn.*˺ *bratá-inan broná-š əl-*⁺*də́ǵde* ⁺*hal-kì lel-xlulá lá xazéwa.*˺ *bas-*⁺*daát bratà*˺ *dadə́t bronà,*˺ *o-dada-*⁺*dáat bráta baqrìwa*˺ *m-dada-*⁺*dáa ay-bronà:*˺ *bróna mà gód?*˺ *mà la-gód?*˺ *šuléw mà-ile?*˺ *mà lewé?* *(74) má-t-wele kəmrìwa*˺ ⁺*rába taarìf godíwa*˺ *bronán xá bronèle.*˺ ⁺*jəgára là garə́š.*˺ ⁺*qumə́r là* ⁺*tə́l*˺ *gal-blané là gezél.*˺ *kud-šabbát knəštà gezél.* *(75)* ⁺*dáat ay-bratà-š mára*˺ ⁺*walla bratán-əš xa-bràtela.*˺ *m-béla tára la-*⁺*pàlta.*˺ *gal-nə́š là maqyá.*˺ *jwǎn šəftè godá.*˺ *jwǎn marqayè godá,*˺ *jwǎn* ⁺*tòz antyá.* *(76) áxča-š abyané əttà máyle.*˺ *bǎle áxni hála là-abulex brátan hawə́xxa l-góra*˺ *bod-ód hála zùrtela.*˺ ⁺*dáat* ⁺*hatàn-əš mára*˺ *kúlla əsrà šənné tafáat ə́ttu*˺ *broní m-bratá* ⁺*rə̀wwa ba-hawé.*˺ *əsrá šənné xa-*⁺*məndə̀ǵ léwu.* *(77) ó-jur-inan* ⁺*sawdaú xadóra gal-dəǵdè.*˺ ⁺*dáat* ⁺*kálo qyamà*˺ *kalleqànd madulá.*˺ *hiwálu ba-d-áy elčyè,*˺ *báat dáda* ⁺*dáa d-áy bronà,*˺ *gal-*⁺*pasoxè-nan*˺ *gal-rə̀qla,*˺ *gal-zamòre,*˺ *izalù,*˺ ⁺*hal-kì*˺ *léle d-áy xlulà.*˺

(78) lélət xlùla,˺ *xlulá godíwa ušwá yomé ušwá lelawè.*˺ ⁺*kálo madewalà.*˺ ⁺*masəmxíwa gáat* ⁺*hayàt*˺ *gál marqolè,*˺ *gál zamòrè,*˺ *gál šraè,*˺ *gál* ⁺*šamalè*˺ *gál* ⁺*sandúq d-áy jehèz.*˺ ⁺*masmxiwalà.* *(79) brona-ày*˺ ⁺*hatə́n masqíwale reš-*⁺*garè.*˺ *nurà godíwa lóka.*˺ ⁺*hatə́n* ⁺*m-yān-núra perwà,*˺ *kí* ⁺*yanì*˺ *behrà* ⁺*paloté,*˺ *nurá behrá* ⁺*paloté ilà.* *(80) tré xabušé smoqé kwíwa b-idèw.*˺ *kəmrìwa əl-d-áy xabušé dhúllu g-reš-*⁺*kalò,*˺ *kí ayét kí* ⁺*kaló qəsməttòx-ila.*˺ *bàra-š*˺ *košét təxyà*˺ *aqlàw* ⁺*lečəttá*˺ *ki-ə́t réšaw* ⁺*zòr hawét.* *(81) yasə́qwa reš-*⁺*garè.*˺ *xabušé dahə̀lwalu*˺ *g-reš-*⁺*kalò.*˺ *kullú čapkè dahíwa,*˺ *kullú raqlìwa,*˺ *ki-*⁺*hatə́n xabušé ni*⁺*šanà widíle əl-*⁺*kaló,*˺ *kí mən-d-ò lelé*˺ *kalò*˺ *ay-nošèw-ila.*˺

(73) A matchmaker would go.[25] The messengers would come. They would say to her mother 'We want your daughter for our son'. The girl and the boy did not see each other until the night of the wedding. But the mother of the girl (asked) the father of the boy, the parents of the girl asked the parents of the boy: 'What does the boy do?' and so forth 'What is his profession?' and so forth.[26] (74) Whatever (type of person) he was, they praised him saying 'Our son is an (exemplary) son. He does not smoke. He does not gamble. He does not go out with girls. Every Saturday he goes to synagogue. (75) The mother of the girl says 'Our daughter also is an exemplary daughter. She does not go out of the house. She does not speak with people. She makes dumplings well. She patches (clothes) well. She dusts well. (76) Indeed, she has so many suitors. But we do not yet want to give our daughter away to a husband, since she is still young. The mother of the groom says 'My son will be older than the girl, with a difference in all of ten years. Ten years are nothing'. (77) In this way they negotiate with one another. The mother of the bride rises and brings a stick of sugar. They give it to the messengers and to the father and mother of the boy. They go off with merriment, dancing and singing, until the night of the wedding.

(78) The night of the wedding—they would hold a wedding for seven days and seven nights. They would bring the bride. They would make her stand in the courtyard, making her dance, with singing, with lamps, with candles, with the box of the dowry. They would make her stand. (79) They would take the boy, the groom, up onto the roof. They would make a fire there. The groom would pass across the side of the fire, which signifies the bringing out of light, the fire is the bringing out of light. (80) They would give him in his hand two red apples. They said 'Knock these apples on the head of the bride, so that you know that the bride is your destined fortune. Then go downstairs and tread on her foot, so that you will be dominant over her'. (81) He would go up onto the roof. He would knock the apples on the head of the bride. Everybody clapped hands and they all danced, when the groom threw the apples at the bride, because from that night the bride belonged to him.

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[25] This is a woman who originally makes the match and announces the arrival of the messengers to the family, after which she departs.

[26] Literally: What does he do? What does he not do? What is his profession? What is it not?

(82) ⁺hál ki-d-o-lelé-š ⁺kaló hála là xəzyáwale.⌐ ắgar abéwa-š lel-xlulá ⁺kaló maxlpiwalà,⌐ ⁺məssèwa.⌐ ⁺rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa,⌐ bod-ód ⁺hatắn hála l-⁺kaló là xəzyáwale.⌐ *(83)* ⁺hatắn kwašé təxyà.⌐ daát ⁺kaló marà⌐ attá ⁺hatắn b-adé aqlàx ⁺lečlá.⌐ bắlé ăgár ⁺məssát ằt aqléw ⁺lučlá⌐ ki-ằt rešéw ⁺zór hawyát.⌐ bắle hamméša ⁺hatằn⌐ aqlát ⁺kalò ⁺léčwala.⌐ géna aqláw ⁺lyačằlla,⌐ čápke da-holù,⌐ raqolù.⌐ *(84)* izalú gáat ⁺otằǧ,⌐ ixalà,⌐ šatoè,⌐ raqolè,⌐ zamorè.⌐ kə́mma yomè⌐ kullù⌐ kùd-yom⌐ kùd-lel⌐ bél ⁺hatằn⌐ xlulà kəwyáwa,⌐ ⁺hál kí-t idáyle léle d-áy pardìn šaroé.⌐ *(85)* ⁺hatắn masxoè godíwa.⌐ bár lel-xlulà⌐ baqatyómət yōm-aròta⌐ ⁺hátān masxoè godíwa.⌐ maxyané zamranè madéwa.⌐ xá-danka ⁺m-baruxáwət ay-⁺hatằn⌐ dawtalàb xadə́rwa,⌐ əl-mewanì gódwa⌐ əl-⁺hatằn⌐ yómət arotà.⌐ amblíwale ⁺hamằm.⌐ yà⌐ baáw kəmrìwa⌐ ⁺hatán masxoè.⌐ amblíwale ⁺hamằm.⌐

(86) ⁺m-hamắm dèrwa⌐ ⁺ásər gal-⁺baruxawèw,⌐ gal-mùsika⌐ amblíwale knəštà.⌐ baqatyóm šabbàt,⌐ baqatyóm gèna⌐ amblíwale knəštà,⌐ géna m-knəštá gal-mùsika madríwale belà.⌐ ba-kullú mewané šəftè kwíwa,⌐ šəftè kəxlíwa.⌐ yá xlúlət áy ⁺huppà.⌐ *(87)* attá ⁺matéx réšə d-ày⌐ pardín šaroè.⌐ pardín šaroè⌐ lélə d-áy xošèba godíwala.⌐ xá-danka pardá ⁺yasríwa m-gudà⌐ ušwà yomé,⌐ ušwà lelawé⌐ ó pardá gărág ⁺ysə̀rta hawyáwa.⌐ *(88)* ni⁺šắn d-o-pardá yà-wela⌐ ki-mắni-t ăgàr⌐ pùč xabré⌐ máqe bar-⁺kálo ⁺hatằn⌐ ó pardà⌐ ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatyàle,⌐ la-qablà,⌐ la-qablì⌐ kí ya-šxinà,⌐ yá pardà,⌐ yá paròxet⌐ áyne xabré qbìle xadrí.⌐ *(89)* bára qemíwa zamrìwa.⌐ pardà⌐ šarèwala.⌐ əl-⁺hatằn⌐ m-otằǧ partfíwale tára reš-syamè.⌐ bod-mà partfíwale tára?⌐ kəmríwa átta xén ằt⌐ gorà xdirét.⌐ ba-nòšox⌐ ⁺fəssè ⁺b-haslét⌐ máre baxtà xdirét.⌐ xén áxni ə́llux là-⁺msex ⁺tašéx.⌐ ằt gezét nóšox əl-nòšox ⁺tašét.⌐

(82) Until that night he had not yet seen the bride. Even if they wanted to change the bride on the night of the wedding, they could. Many such cases happened, since the groom had not yet seen the bride. (83) The groom comes downstairs. The mother of the bride says 'Now the groom will come and tread on your foot, but, if you can, *you* tread on his foot, so that *you* will be dominant. However, the groom always would tread on the bride's foot. Now, he treads on her foot and they clap hands and they dance. (84) They go into the room, to eat, drink, dance and sing. For several days all of them— every day, every night the wedding took place at the house of the groom, until the night of the releasing of the curtain came.[27] (85) They would perform the bathing of the groom. After the night of the wedding, on the Friday morning, they would perform the washing of the groom. They brought musicians and singers. One of the friends of the groom would volunteer to host the groom on the Friday. They took him to the baths. They called this the washing of the groom. They took him to the baths.

(86) He returned from the baths and in the evening they took him to synagogue with his friends and with music. On Saturday morning, again in the morning they took him to synagogue and again brought him back from synagogue to the house with music. They served wheat dumplings to all the guests and they ate the dumplings. This is the wedding of the canopy. (87) Now we come to the releasing of the curtain. They would perform the releasing of the curtain on the Saturday night. They would draw a curtain over the wall. For seven days and seven nights the curtain had to be closed. (88) The purpose of the curtain was this, that whenever somebody spoke bad words behind (the back) of the bride or the groom, the curtain would cut him off in front of them. It does not allow (this). For this tabernacle,[28] this curtain, this covering does not allow these words to be accepted. (89) Then they would rise and sing. They released the curtain. They threw the groom out of the room onto the shoes.[29] Why did they throw him out? They would say 'You have already become a husband. You must earn money for yourself. You have become the master of a wife. We cannot shelter you anymore. You should go and look after yourself'.

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[27] The seventh night, at the end of the wedding.
[28] Literally: divine spirit.
[29] I.e. on the shoes that were piled up outside, since it was a holy place.

(90) yá-wela kí m-otā́ǧ partfíwale tàra.| géna gdèwa,| gèna partfíwale tára.| tré-zae ⁺tahá-zae ya-šúla godìwale.| o-párda šarèwala.| kí yaní ăgàr| ⁺hál attá-š mănì-t| ⁺qətrà ⁺ysíra hawé| ⁺yán xa-pùč xábra míra hawé| o-pardá šarèwale,| ayné šəryè xadóru. (91) ⁺hatằn| ínan ⁺kálo béhra ⁺palotù.| ⁺hal bahorè.| ⁺rába ⁺ràba báte kwéwa ki-là damxíwa.| jarimằn| gal-⁺dɔ́ǧde raqlìwa,| zamrìwa,| wà| xlulà| áy ušwá yomé ušwá lelawé parqàwa.|

(92) ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhằm-ile| áy xlulát áy Urmì m-báli zɔ́lle amrənwà.| lélət xlulà| mewanè| fəssè,| čěk,| là madéwa.| yá xa-zóra dehwà madéwa.| ya goryè madéwa| ya parčá báat jullè madéwa.| ya amằn madéwa.| ò-jur| ⁺xleè madéwa. (93) bằle| ayné-š kí madewalù| xà nằfár| m-famìl,| yá šammằš,| lélət ay-xlulà| ayné kullú ⁺xleè| kí madéwalu báat ⁺kalo ⁺hatằn| ⁺masrəxwalu.| mà-jur gódwa?| amréx mằsălan xaltə̀t| ⁺kalò| goryè mditá. (94) goryé dóqwalu b-idèw| kmərwa| bá bá bá bà| ⁺azíze mewanè| xzímun xáltət ⁺kaló mà wə́tta!| xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm| áy šušà,| áy awuršúm sqilè| goryé mabruqé mdità| báat ⁺kalò.| əlhá manté ⁺kaló ⁺hatằn| gal-xaltə̀t| áy ⁺kalò| ⁺talafyé šbirè odílu. (95) ya xadə́r amón ⁺kalò| là ədyé,| là xilé,| lá šətyè,| bằle xà dankà| dehwá šdiré ba-⁺kalò.| əlhà| awāzyé šbirè| ⁺kaló ⁺hatā́n odílu gál amonà. (96) ya ⁺doyít áy ⁺kalò| m-Tehrằn| xá ⁺qətta parčà| šdiré ba-⁺hatằn| ki-ódlu jarkèt-inan| ⁺šalwalè.| ò-jur-inan| ayné ⁺xleè kúllu ⁺masrxìwalu.| našé čapkè dahíwa.| kúd xléta-š ⁺masroxè| bára xa-musìk maxéwa,| čàpke dahíwa.| ⁺rába ⁺rába ay-xazòe-inan| áy trəngà welá. (97) ána ayné kəmmá qəsməttát áy xlulá kí mirilì| kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí.| làxxa| teatrù widená.| wa-⁺rába náše-š teatrú xəzyùla| wa-⁺rába náše ki-là xəzyúla ayolú ki-g-Urmí xlulyé mà-jur godíwalu.|

PASSOVER

(98) léle d-áy patirè| áxni ⁺massé m-šuqà lá šaqlɔ́xwa.| tmanyà yomé| belà| tkanè-inan| šulé ⁺ysiré kwèwa.| ⁺hudàe| bèla kwéwa| w-⁺massè-š| nòšu yapéwalu.| ⁺massè-š yapéwa lòka-š| ⁺rába ⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.|

(90) This is why they threw him out of the room. Again they came and again threw him out of the room. They did this two or three times. They would release the curtain. This signifies that if until now somebody had tied a knot or said a bad word, the curtain would release him and these would become released. (91) The groom and the bride go out into the light, until it became light. There were many houses in which (people) did not sleep, they danced line dancing and they sang, and the wedding, which (lasted) seven days and seven nights, came to an end.

(92) I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important. On the wedding night the guests did not bring money or cheques. They brought a small gold coin, or they brought stockings, or they brought material for clothes, or they brought a vessel. They brought gifts such as these. (93) Now, a member of the family or a beadle would announce all the gifts that they brought for the bride and groom on the night of the wedding. How did he do this? Let us say, for example, that the maternal aunt of the bride had brought stockings. (94) He would hold the stockings in his hand and say 'Now, dear guests, see what the aunt of the bride has done! She has brought a beautiful pair of silk stockings, of nylon, of silk, shining stockings for the bride. God willing the bride and groom will reciprocate the aunt of the bride well'. (95) It may happen that the paternal uncle of the bride has not come, has not eaten, has not drunk, but he has sent a gold coin to the bride. Indeed the bride and groom should reciprocate the uncle well. (96) (It may happen that) the maternal uncle of the bride has sent a piece of material from Tehran to the groom for him to make into a jacket and trousers. In this way they would announce all the gifts. People would applaud. After announcing each gift, they would play some music and applaud. It was well worthwhile to see and very merry. (97) I wrote a play about all these aspects of a wedding that I have described. I have staged it here in a theatre. Many people have seen the stage production. But many who have not seen it know how weddings were held in Urmi.

PASSOVER

(98) On the eve of Passover we did not buy matzos from the market. For eight days (we were) at home, the shops and the workplaces were closed. The Jews were at home and they baked matzos by themselves. They baked matzos there and this was very worthwhile seeing.

(99) gezíwa ⁺xə̀tte šaqlíwa.⌐ ⁺xə́tte dánka dánka gabèwalu.⌐ bára am-blíwalu ərxèl.⌐ ərxél qalwìwala.⌐ b-krè godíwala.⌐ kúd məšpaxà,⌐ kúd famìl,⌐ gál nobtà⌐ ⁺xətté taxnìwalu. (100) madèwalu,⌐ əlkyə́t áy belà⌐ léša gòdwa.⌐ ó lešá godíwale ⁺massè.⌐ ba-tmanyá yomé ⁺rába jwə̀n ⁺massé kwéwa,⌐ rakixè-š pešíwa.⌐ gal-d-úne ⁺massè⌐ elù doqíwale. (101) bə̆le čún kyètun⌐ ⁺g-rába tkánət áy dunyè⌐ əllán šàr mandéwa⌐ kəmríwa báan kì⌐ atxùn⌐ ⁺g-massxùn⌐ dəmmót ay-⁺yálət áy gomè⌐ marowètune. ebélu ya-šúla ⁺hudáe sabə̀t odíwale⌐ kí ya-šúla duz-lèwe.⌐ zə́llu g-komsèr.⌐ ⁺rəwwə́t áy komsèr,⌐ qàdi áy goymé,⌐ mallà,⌐ imàm,⌐ xá šàhrdār⌐ mdèlu əmbə̀llulu. (102) mə́ru xzímun áxni mà-jur ⁺massé wadéx,⌐ kí báan là amrétu⌐ áxni də́mmət ay-⁺yálət goymé marowə̀xxe ⁺g-massè.⌐ əmbə́llulu ga-ərxèl,⌐ xzélu má-jur ayne-⁺xə̀tte gabúlulu,⌐ má-jur lešà wadú,⌐ má-jur yapùlu,⌐ má-jur wadù. (103) aynè⌐ ⁺rə́wwe náše kí m-tə̆rə̆fət áy goymè-nan⌐ mən-tə̆rə̆fət áy ⁺arelè,⌐ mən-tə̆rə́fət mə̆čət ədyèwa⌐ mə́ru ba-⁺hudaè⌐ áxni əllxún hamonèx⌐ áxni ayolèx.⌐ bə̆le lá-⁺msex əl-d-áyne kullù naše⌐ kí be-fkə́r be-⁺aqə̀lilu⌐ ya-xábra máru áxni mafkə̀rəxxu. (104) ya-šúla ó-jur-inan pə̀šle.⌐ bára ušwá tmanyá yomé ki-elá ⁺masse kəxlìwa,⌐ tmanyamənjì lélət áy elá⌐ biqqùr godíwa,⌐ əl-⁺də́gde xa-zoè.⌐ elá reš-šátət ⁺də̀gde⌐ g-patiré barxìwalu. (105) gezíwa belá l-belà,⌐ əl-⁺də́gde našqìwa,⌐ èla barxíwale,⌐ kəmríwa šə́nne šaté ⁺matètun.⌐ samanì daréwa.⌐ xa-sehmá gáat ⁺moè mandéwa⌐ xaš ⁺nohrà daréwa,⌐ gal xəlyanulà⌐ ki-⁺yani yá šatà⌐ idaylà⌐ báan gal-⁺baraxà-inan⌐ gal-xəlyanulà adyá.⌐

The Festival of Trees

(106) ⁺səmhá ilánə d-áy Urmì⌐ magón ay-láxxa là kəwyáwa.⌐ ba-⁺də̀gde ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi šadorè.⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi ⁺yáni ᴴməšlóax manòt.ᴴ⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bəldì⌐ ga-⁺səmha ilanè⌐ g-Urmí godìwala.⌐ lelè⌐ jwə̆́n ixàle bašlíwa.⌐ ⁺rába ⁺rába jwə̆́n ixále bašlìwa.⌐

(99) They would go and buy wheat. They selected the (clean) wheat grain by grain. Then they took it to the mill. They cleaned the mill. They hired it. Each family ground it in turns. (100) They would bring it back and the elder son of the household would make the dough. They made the dough into matzos. The matzos were very good for the eight days, they remained soft. With these matzos they performed their festival. (101) Now, as you know, in many places in the world people would slander us and say to us 'In your matzos you mix the blood of the children of Muslims'. The Jews wanted to prove that this was not true. They went to the police station. They fetched for the chief of police, the judge of the Muslims, the mullah, the imam, the mayor and took them (to their home). (102) They said 'See how we make matzos, so that you do not say to us that we mix the blood of the children of Muslims in our matzos'. They took them to the mill and they saw how they cleaned the wheat, how they made the dough, who baked it, how they made (the matzos). (103) Those important people, who had come on behalf of the Muslims, on behalf of the Christians, on behalf of the mosque, said to the Jews 'We believe you, we (now) know (the truth). But we cannot make all the people who are without understanding and intelligence and say this thing understand. (104) The situation remained the same. After seven or eight days of eating matzos at the festival, on the eighth night of the festival they made visits, in order to see one another. At Passover they gave each other blessings for the festival and for the New Year. (105) They would go from house to house, kiss one another, give festival blessings and say 'May you attain long years (of life)'. They would serve a stew of cracked wheat. They would put a piece of silver in the water and a mirror. This signified that the (new) year would come with sweetness, that it would turn out to be for us blessings and sweetness.

THE FESTIVAL OF TREES

(106) The Festival of Trees (Ṭu bə-Shvaṭ) in Urmi was not like it is here. They would send gifts[30] to each other. The meaning of 'gifts' (in Hebrew) is *məšloax manot* 'the sending of portions'. They would have the practice of sending gifts at the Festival of Trees. They would cook good food in the evening. They would cook very good food.

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[30] Consisting of sweets and other goodies.

(107) yatwìwa⌐ šwawè⌐ ⁺yá ⁺dostè⌐ ya nàše.⌐ kyí mən d-émnu tká ⁺məsse adè,⌐ yá m-reš-⁺garè⌐ yá ⁺m-otáǧ gdèwa.⌐ ⁺yalə̀ǧ mandéwa,⌐ ki-baù⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi dáre gáat ⁺yalə̀ǧ.⌐ ⁺m-garé ⁺torbà taltéwa.⌐ (108) kì⌐ áxni ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə́ldi abùlexa,⌐ ó mar-béla qèmwa⌐ má-t ⁺lazám-ile g-reš-míz ìtwa,⌐ xánči g-d-ó ⁺yalə̀ǧ⌐ yá g-d-ó ⁺torbá daréwa baèw⌐ ki-⁺yáni yà biqqúr-ila.⌐ ba-⁺də̀ǧde-š⌐ o-yomà⌐ baqatyomèw⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə̀ldi šadríwa.⌐ kud-nə̄́š kì⌐ doltà-twale⌐ ba-d-úne ⁺kasbè⌐ ⁺bə́ldi ⁺bə̀ldi šadə̀rwa.⌐

(109) léle d-áy ⁺səmhá ilanè-š⌐ kəmríwa ki tār-šəmmè paláx.⌐ má-t nə̄́š m-əlhá abè⌐ əlhá baéw kwə̀l.⌐ (110) xa-báxta qyamà⌐ mára gorà⌐ kyét šmitán ki-lélə ⁺sómha ilanè-ïla.⌐ tār-šəmmé b-pàləx.⌐ ána yasoqán reš-⁺garè⌐ xazyán tār-šə́mme paloxè.⌐ m-əlhá má-t abyàn⌐ bài kwə́l.⌐ (111) góra jəgrèw idáyle.⌐ máre ⁺jànəm⌐ šúq ayne-xabrè⌐ mára là góra⌐ ána ábulan ezán xazyàn.⌐ yasoqá reš-⁺garè.⌐ rešáw maromálle g-šəmmè.⌐ xyará xazúla kì⌐ sehrá ⁺wír xel-ewà.⌐ xánči ⁺samoxà⌐ sehrá ⁺palóṭe m-xel-ewà.⌐ (112) idáw paloxàllu⌐ mára əlhà,⌐ ⁺qurbanóx xadràn,⌐ ána nāš-didàn-ilan.⌐ ána lišə́n ha-qòdeš maqyán.⌐ tār-šəmmé attá plìx.⌐ baí xa-⁺saǧ ⁺gàna hól,⌐ ba-⁺yalí ⁺ruzí fəryà hól.⌐ ba-gorí-š ⁺aqə̀l.⌐ (113) gèna⌐ sehrá wiyoré xel-ewà.⌐ xánči ⁺samoxà⌐ géna sehrá ⁺palotè.⌐ mára əlhá la-šmèlox ma-mə́ri?⌐ ána nāš-didàn-ilan.⌐ lišə́n ha-qòdeš maqulán.⌐ ána xəzmòx-ilan.⌐ xoìšt wadán⌐ xa-⁺sáǧ ⁺gána bài hól.⌐ ⁺ruzí fəryá ba-⁺yàli hól.⌐ xa-⁺aqə̀l-əš ba-góri hól.⌐ (114) baxtá idàyla.⌐ kwašá idáyla təxyà.⌐ gorá əl-d-áy mandùləlla,⌐ xel-kotàk dahóləlla.⌐ šwawé marù⌐ baà dahólətta əl-d-áy?⌐ báxta má wə̀dta?⌐ mə́re àtta ⁺aqlí ədyéle reší.⌐

(107) Neighbours, friends, relatives would sit (together). They knew from what place (the gifts) could come. They would come either from the roof or from within the room. They threw down a scarf in order to put gifts in it for them. They hung a bag from the roof. (108) When we wanted some gifts, the owner of the house would rise—what was required was on the table and he put some in the scarf or in the bag, for this was the 'first fruits'. They would send gifts to one another on that day and the next. Anybody who was wealthy[31] would send gifts to the poor.

(109) On the eve of the festival of Trees they would say that the door of heaven opens. Whatever a person wants from God, God would will give to him. (110) (Once) a woman got up and said 'Husband, you know I have heard that it is the eve of the Festival of Trees. The heavens will open. I am going up onto the roof to see the heavens open. Whatever I request from God, he will give me'. (111) The husband became angry. He said 'My dear, stop (saying) such things'. She said 'No, husband, I want to go and see'. She went up to the roof. She raised her head to the sky. She looked and saw that the moon had passed behind a cloud. She waited a little and the moon came out from behind the cloud. (112) She opened her hands and said 'God, I implore you,[32] I belong to the Jewish people.[33] I speak the holy language. The door of heaven has now opened. Give me a healthy body. To my children give abundant provision. To my husband (give) intelligence'. (113) Again the moon passed behind a cloud. She waited a little and again the moon came out. She said 'God, did you not hear what I said? I am one of the Jewish people. I speak the holy language. I am your relative. I appeal to you, give me a healthy body. Give abundant provision to my children. Give some intelligence to my husband'. (114) The woman came back. She came back down. The husband threw her down and beat her.[34] The neighbours said 'Why are you beating her? What has the woman done?' He said 'Now intelligence has come to me!'.

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[31] Literally: who had wealth.
[32] Literally: may I become your sacrifice.
[33] Literally: I am (one of) our people.
[34] Literally: beats her under a blow.

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

(115) g-Urmì-š⌐ xa ⁺wadà⌐ g-juwè məllətyé-š ya-xábra šəmyə́nne⌐ bằle⌐ čún áxni aqə́rwa welàn⌐ ⁺b-jamátət nòšan,⌐ ⁺kaló ki-ədyáwa gáat belà,⌐ ⁺rába əntəzằr kwéwalu ki-bratá,⌐ ya-⁺kalò,⌐ bronà yádla.⌐

(116) ăgár bratà yadláwa,⌐ nāš-⁺sálma la-kwὸlwala,⌐ ⁺yani gnahàw-ile.⌐ baá bratà ydólta?⌐ bod-má bronà la-ydólta?⌐ əl-⁺daàw-əš xazewalá⌐ gállaw áxčà⌐ magón našé là maqéwa⌐ kəmríwa ⁺salmá komulà mdéla bratá.⌐ (117) bằle ăgár bronà yadláwa,⌐ kəmríwa ⁺salmá xwarì mdéla bratáx.⌐ āt-⁺salmàx hawé xwará.⌐ jwằn bráta ⁺mərwítat.⌐ awwalmənjì⌐ yadolàw⌐ bronà yadólla,⌐ broná-š gdèwa,⌐ awwalmənjí əlkí m-kohenè šaqlíwale.⌐ pədyòn godíwa baéw.⌐ (118) b-tmanyà yomé⌐ bàra-š⌐ bəgzàre godíwa.⌐ yá bəgzarè⌐ godíwala bélə d-ay-bròna⌐ ya gáat knəštà.⌐ ⁺rába áy xazoè-wela.⌐ (119) sàndaq⌐ hammešà⌐ dádət áy ⁺hatằn xadə́rwa,⌐ ⁺yà dádət ⁺kaló.⌐ ắgar dadə́t ⁺kalò⌐ sandàq xdirá hawéwa xa-záa,⌐ gằrag dadə́t ⁺hatằn sandáq xadə́rwa.⌐ yá dádət ⁺hatằn sandáq xdíra hawéwa,⌐ dádət áy ⁺kalò b-xadə́rwa.⌐ (120) bằle,⌐ ắgar tunnù⌐ sandáq xdirá hawéwa ga-awwàl,⌐ m-xá-danka famìl,⌐ m-xá-danka məšpaxà⌐ kawòd kwíwale⌐ wa-godíwale sandàq⌐ gáat knəštà.⌐ mqélan reš-d-ód kí ⁺kalò⌐ ki-bratá yadlàwa⌐ jùwe šúla-š godíwa.⌐ ba-xátrət ki-juwé-⁺wada broná yadlà,⌐ jùr ba-júr ixále báaw kwíwa,⌐ ⁺tàwa,⌐ dušà,⌐ gal-gozè,⌐ gal-pàlu,⌐ gal-qə́nnət gozè⌐ gal-⁺nabằt ⁺mərdixà,⌐ gal-jùr ba-júr ixalé.⌐ (121) ó-jur xə́lye mə́lye godíwa kwìwa báaw⌐ kí xa-xèt-zaa⌐ ⁺xasàw qawé⌐ bróna yadlà.⌐ bằle ăgár ò,⌐ aynè šulé godíwalu,⌐ bratà-š yadláwa,⌐ tremənjí zaá-š bráta yadlàwa,⌐ ⁺m-trosa gdé-imara kì⌐ áy ləbbá qyalà-wela⌐ kí mà-jur xadráwa⌐ kí xa-xèt-zaa-š bráta ydólta?⌐

THE BIRTH OF A CHILD

(115) In Urmi, and once also in other countries so I have heard, indeed since we were close together in our own community, when the bride had come into the home, people had great expectation that the girl, the bride, would give birth to a son.

(116) If she gave birth to a daughter, nobody would give her respect,[35] because (they claimed) it was her fault. 'Why has she given birth to a daughter? Why has she not given birth to a son?' If they saw her mother, they did not speak to her like (they normally spoke to) people. They said They said 'The daughter has brought shame.'[36] (117) But, if she gave birth to a son, they would say 'You daughter has brought honour.[37] May you be honoured.[38] You have brought the girl up well'. If she gave birth first to a son, if a son was born, they would buy the firstborn son from the priests. They performed the ritual of 'ransoming (the firstborn)'. (118) Then, when he was eight days old, they would perform circumcision. They would perform the circumcision either at the home of the boy or in the synagogue. It was well worth seeing. (119) The father of the groom would always become the godfather, or the father of the bride. If the father of the bride had been a godfather once (already), the father of the groom had to become the godfather. Or, if the father of the groom had been a godfather (already), the father of the bride would become (the godfather on this occasion). (120) But, if both had been godfather before, they gave the honour to a family member and made him the godfather in the synagogue. We have spoken about how they acted differently when a daughter-in-law gave birth to a girl. In order that she would give birth to a boy another time they would give her all kinds of food, omelette, honey, with walnuts, with sweet paste, with walnut kernels, with boiled sugar stick, with all kinds of food. (121) They made all these types of sweets and gave them to her so that another time her back would be strong and she would give birth to a boy. But, if, despite their doing these things, she still gave birth to a girl, she gave birth to a girl a second time, in truth it can be said that she was miserable. For how could it be that she has given birth another time to a girl?

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[35] Literally: give her face.
[36] Literally: blackness of face.
[37] Literally: whiteness of face.
[38] Literally: May your face be white.

(122) bắle ắgar bronà yadláwa,⌐ kəmríwa yelè⌐ ayné ixalé báaw hwɔ̀llan,⌐ ⁺xasàw qwéle,⌐ bronà ydɔ́lla.⌐ ò-jur-inan⌐ ayné yomanú mapirìwalu.⌐ bắlé ⁺barúx haššèm,⌐ əlhá bélew ⁺àwa⌐ ɔ́dyom kullàn ayoléx⌐ kí bratá bronà⌐ yá gnáhət bratá lèwe,.⌐ yá bronà b-yadlá⌐ yá bratà.⌐

THE PROFESSIONS OF THE JEWS

(123) ⁺hudáət Urmì⌐ ⁺məssén amrèn⌐ ⁺əččí g-əmmà,⌐ šulú ⁺bazazulà-wele.⌐ ⁺bazazulá ⁺yaní pàrča zaboné.⌐ šulá pàrča zabníwa.⌐ ⁺bassòr ítwa lóka kì⌐ jùwe šúla kwéwalu.⌐ mằsal,⌐ baqalà⌐ yá mằsàl⌐ əl-ləxmá zabnána g-šuqà,⌐ káre gúpte zabnanà.⌐ (124) ayné šulé ⁺hudaé là-⁺msewa odíwalu.⌐ bod-mà?⌐ bod-òd⌐ ⁺hudaé áxča là-welu⌐ kí mằsălan mən-d-ó tkaná šaqlí ki-o-⁺məssè⌐ yarxá ⁺palɔ̀tle.⌐ goymé-š lá šaqlíwa ⁺m-hudaà.⌐ goymé ⁺m-hudaá lá šaqlíwa.⌐ goymé ⁺rába ⁺rába əllán ⁺təmyè kyíwa⌐ wa-là šaqlíwa.⌐ (125) bod-ó wéla kì⌐ kullàn⌐ ⁺hudáe lòka⌐ pàrča zabníwa.⌐ bás muštaryù-š⌐ kúllu gòime-welu⌐ m-malwawè.⌐ ⁺yá ⁺arelè,⌐ ⁺yá goymè,⌐ ya kartwè⌐ gdéwa ⁺m-hudaé ⁺mắl šaqlíwa.⌐ (126) aynè⌐ goymé ⁺rába paxilulà godíwa ⁺m-hudaé.⌐ kí bod-mà?⌐ ayné jwằn ⁺mắl madulú,⌐ jwằn zabonú.⌐ ⁺hudaé šúlu jwằn-ile g-šuqá.⌐ bắle goymè⌐ šúlu jwắn lèwe.⌐ (127) zɔ́llu gébət ay-⁺rəwwət ay-komsèr⌐ ya-xábra ⁺məmtèlule-llew.⌐ ⁺rəwwát komsèr,⌐ m-nòšew⌐ lá ⁺m-šultanà bqàre,⌐ lá m-markàz,⌐ markáz Tehrằn-wela,⌐ xabrà hwɔ́lle,⌐ máre ⁺hudaé gắrag yomɔ́t šabbàt⌐ magón kullù⌐ tkànu palxílu.⌐ lá-qablex ki-dukanà dwɔ́qta pešá.⌐ (128) kəmmɔ́t ⁺hudaé lwèlu,⌐ tqèlu!⌐ máru ⁺jánəm axní dinàn-ile,⌐ axní héč-⁺wada šabbát šúla là godéx.⌐ axní šabbát tkána là palxéx.⌐ máre là⌐ magón kullú g-šuqá gắrag tkaná plìxa hawé.⌐

(129) əl-d-áy m-báli zɔ́lle amrɔ́nwa baxún kí ⁺m-hudaé zargàr-əš kwéwa.⌐ zargắré ìtwa,⌐ kí dehwè,⌐ šul-dehwà godíwale.⌐ ⁺sarrafè ítwa.⌐ bod-mà?⌐ bód-od áy ixàla léwe⌐ goymé mənnú šaqlìwa.⌐

(122) But if she gives birth to a boy, they would say 'See, we gave her these items of food, her womb has become strong and she has given birth to a boy'. They passed their days in this way. But, thank God, thank God,[39] today we all know that (whether) it is a daughter or a son, it is not the fault of the girl, whether she gives birth to son or a daughter.

THE PROFESSIONS OF THE JEWS

(123) The Jews of Urmi, I can say, ninety percent of them were in the cloth trade. The cloth trade means the selling of material. It was their job to sell material. There were only a few who had a different profession, such as (that of) a greengrocer or a vendor of bread in the market, or a vendor of butter and cheeses. (124) The Jews could not do these jobs. Why? Because the Jews were not so many that they would buy from that shop and he (the Jewish shopkeeper) could finish the month. The Muslims, moreover, would not buy (food) from a Jew. The Muslims did not buy from a Jew. The Muslims thought us to be very unclean and did not buy (from us). (125) It was for this reason that all of us, (all) the Jews there would sell material. But (in this trade) all their clients were Muslims from the villages. Christians, Muslims, Kurds would come and buy goods from the Jews. (126) The Muslims were very jealous of the Jews. Why? They brought fine goods and made good sales of them. The Jews did a good business in the market. But the Muslims did not do a good business. (127) They went to the chief of police and informed him of this matter. The chief of police of his own accord, without asking the king, nor the centre (of government),—the centre was in Tehran—issued an announcement saying 'The Jews should open their shops on Saturday like everybody else. We do not permit any shop to remain closed'. (128) How the Jews implored and pleaded! They said 'Sir, it is our religion. We never work on Saturday. We do not open a shop on Saturday'. He said 'No, like everybody (each) shop must be open on Saturday.

(129) I forgot to say to you that there were also goldsmiths among the Jews. There were goldsmiths, who traded in gold. There were jewellers. Why? Because there was no food that the Muslims would buy from them.

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[39] Literally: may God's house be prosperous.

(130) mà-t ⁺hudaé wə́dlu,᛫ mà-t mə́ru ebèlu᛫ ršutà hawíwa᛫ gal-fəssé là xdə́ra.᛫ mə́re gə̆rag tkané yómət šabbàt᛫ palxètunu.᛫ ⁺hudaé là-yəllu ma-odíwa.᛫ mə́re mə̆ni-t émnu ⁺hudaá tkanéw dwəqtá hawyà,᛫ b-mandéxe gáat ⁺dussə̀x.᛫ (131) majbùr xdə́ru ⁺hudaé᛫ tkánu pəlxàlu᛫ bə̆le šúlu là wə́dlu.᛫ xá pardà təltélu᛫ ytəwlu ⁺qanšár tkaná.᛫ emnú muštárye kí idaá-welu ba-šaqolè᛫ ⁺hudaé marà-welu᛫ axní ədyóm là zabnéx.᛫ tkaná dwə̀qtela.᛫ (132) má-t wə́dlu hadaé là-xdəra᛫ mə́ru gə̆rág šuqè.᛫ mə́ru bod-mà?᛫ axní mà-widex᛫ gə̆rág šabbáwe š̀ula odéx.᛫ axní šabbát šúla là godéx.᛫ (133) mə́ru tkané ki-atxún dwaqètunu,᛫ šuqà᛫ malùl xadóra,᛫ šuqà᛫ ⁺pasuxtá là maxwulá,᛫ šuqá m-sqilulá pyalà.᛫ bə̆lé atxún tkané kí palxètunu,᛫ ó šuqà᛫ hamə́n sqilulá gədyà,᛫ wa-muštaryè-š gdé,᛫ wa-šuqá šulà godá.᛫ bod-ód atxún tkanxún dwaqètunu,᛫ šuqà᛫ šúla lá wadè,᛫ goymè šúla la-wadú.᛫ (134) ⁺hudaé majbùr xdə́ru᛫ ya-xábra ⁺məmtélule l-markàz,᛫ markáz ⁺yaní Tehrə̀n,᛫ m-Tehrə́n xábra ⁺məmtélu ⁺l-šultanà.᛫ ⁺šultaná nòšew,᛫ šaxsàn,᛫ nə̀š šdə́re᛫ geb-d-ó raísət áy komsérət áy Urmì᛫ marè᛫ yá xabrà᛫ ya-šulá bod-mà widéte᛫ ⁺m-šultaná lá bqirà?᛫ əl-d-ó našá jarimà wə́dlule.᛫ (135) dastúr hwə́llu mə́ru ⁺hudaè᛫ ⁺məssé yomə́t šabbát tkanú dwiqè hawé,᛫ wa-yomə́t ay-dín tkánu palxìlu.᛫ dín áy ⁺hudáe dìn-ile᛫ ay-góyme-š ay-nòšu-ile.᛫ yá šulà᛫ ⁺šultaná là widə́lle.᛫ wa-⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺psə̀xlu᛫ yá šulá xakmá yomé grə̀šlule᛫ xakmá šwè᛫ bə̆lé ⁺axrdá dùz xdə́ra.᛫

SCHOOLS

(136) kyétun kì,᛫ úne náše ki-lá-ayolu mar-ayì,᛫ gáat Urmì᛫ əllán ⁺g-mədrə̀š᛫ lišə́n ha-qòdeš᛫ malpìwa,᛫ ⁺torà,᛫ séfer ⁺torà,᛫ qəddušè,᛫ ⁺baraxè,᛫ ayné kullú ⁺g-mədrə́š əllan malpíwalu.᛫ gáat madrasə́t áy doltà-š᛫ fàrsi malpíwalan.᛫ (137) axnì᛫ bad-baxtulà ə́twalan᛫ kí xə̆lifè᛫ kí əllàn᛫ ⁺g-mədrə̀š᛫ dàrs malpíwa᛫ ⁺rába dahìwalan.᛫ gal-kúd xabrà᛫ ki-là-ayəxwa jwə́n amrəxwalé᛫ əllàn dahíwa.᛫ aná awwál əl-d-ày amrə́nna,᛫ bára azén amrén ki-má-jur dahìwa,᛫ má-jur godìwa.᛫ (138) ⁺yála qalandár lokà᛫ ⁺tahá juré zdéle ə̀twale gáat Urmí.᛫ ⁺g-mədrə́š zdélew ó-wela kì᛫ xə̆lifà᛫ là dahə́lle.᛫ ⁺rába zadèwa.᛫ g-kučá zdélew ó-wela kí ⁺hál belá ⁺maté ⁺yāl-goymè᛫ azyàt la-odíle,᛫ la-árqi baréw la-dahìle.᛫

(130) Whatever the Jews did, whatever they said—they wanted to give bribes, but money had no effect. He said 'You must open the shops on Saturday'. The Jews did not know what to do. He said 'If the shop of any Jew from among them is shut, we shall throw him into prison'. (131) The Jews were forced to open their shops, but they did not carry out their business. They hung a curtain and sat in front of their shop. If any clients came to make a purchase, the Jews said 'We shall not sell today. The shop is closed'. (132) Whatever the Jews did, it did not work. They said 'There must be trade'. They (the Jews) said 'Why? What have we done that we must work on Saturdays. We do not work on Saturday'. (133) They said 'When you close the shops, the market becomes depressed, the market does not appear to be happy, the market loses its beauty. But, when you open the shops, the market acquires this beauty, the clients come and the market does business. Because you close your shops, the market does not do business, the Muslims do not do business'. (134) The Jews were forced to informed the centre (of government) about this matter, that is Tehran, and in Tehran they informed the king. The king himself, in person, sent a man to that chief of police of Urmi, saying 'Why have you done this thing without having asked the king?' They fined that man. (135) They made a proclamation and said 'The Jews can keep their shops closed on a Saturday and they will open their shops on week days (only). This is (in conformity) with the religion of the Jews and of the Muslims themselves. The king has not authorized this'. The Jews were very happy. They dragged on this affair for a few days, a few weeks, but in the end it was settled.

Schools

(136) You know that—those people who do not know, let them know—in Urmi in the Jewish school they taught us the Holy Language, Torah, the Torah scroll, the qiddush, blessings, all these they taught us in the Jewish school. In the state school they taught us Farsi. (137) We were unfortunate in that the teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot. For every word that we did not know how to say well they would beat us. Let me first say this, then I shall go onto say how they beat us, how they behaved. (138) The poor child there in Urmi had three types of fear. In the Jewish school his fear was that the teacher would beat him. He was very afraid. In the street his fear was that before he arrived home Muslim boys would harm him, would run after him and beat him.

(139) g-belà-š⌐ zdélew m-dadéw-wela ki-b-od-má ⁺g-mədrǽš jwǽn là ya-
lopé,⌐ bod-od-hèč ⁺wáda⌐ dadá là hamə́nwa kí⌐ bronà,⌐ ⁺yalà,⌐ zadùle⌐ ⁺g-mədrǽš
qarè⌐ bod-ód kì⌐ xălifá kotàk dahólle.⌐ hammašá əl-xălifá hamníwa.⌐ *(140)*
⁺rába-š ⁺rába-š pùč dahíwa.⌐ dahólu xà-jur-wela kí⌐ bázi wáxt xazə́twa ó bronà,⌐
ó ⁺yalà⌐ ki-kotàk xíle⌐ m-xălifà⌐ xa-kə́mma yomé naxòš xadə́rwa.⌐ daholú ⁺rába
šekàst dahíwa,⌐ ⁺rába pùč dahíwa. *(141)* xá yomà⌐ xălifá gal-bronèw⌐ kí əl-⁺yále
dárs maqrèwa⌐ əl-axonì⌐ zorà⌐ o-reš-xá-danka xábra ki-pằtax b-amə́rwale⌐
lá-⁺msele amərwalè,⌐ əl-d-aynè⌐ gal-zóra broná áy tmánya ⁺əčča šənnè⌐ magòn⌐
⁺tòp gállew,⌐ gállə dadá g-klàs ⁺tə́lwalu. *(142)* broná dahə̀lwale.⌐ dahə̀lwale.⌐
kwə́lwale əl-dadà.⌐ dadá dahə̀lwa,⌐ kwə́lwale əl-bronà.⌐ ⁺hal kí-t ya-bronà⌐ yá
axóni zóra ləbbéw zìl⌐ mdéwalule belà.⌐ šwawán zíliwa škaytà wə́dwalu m-idéw.⌐
(143) bằle əlhá maníxət dadì,⌐ ləbbèw qílwa,⌐ magón bod-ki l-bróna adè⌐ ambə́lle
doktòr⌐ ya bàew xa-doktór,⌐ awwál awwál zílwa əl-d-o xălifà.⌐ fəssè hwə́lwale,⌐
ršutà,⌐ ⁺m-dussǽx ⁺plə̀twalele. *(144)* ⁺yáni ò-jur-inan⌐ əllán mlə̀pwalu ⁺qaydət
áy d-ò-tka⌐ ya-jùr-wela⌐ wa-⁺rába ⁺rába púč-jur əl-⁺yále dahìwa,⌐ bod-ó-š ⁺yále
la-⁺msèwa⌐ m-zdélu la-⁺mséwa yalpìwa. *(145)* ána nòši⌐ ắgar ⁺m-trosà-š kí⌐
zdelà la-hawyáwa⌐ ằgàr⌐ magón našé əllán malpìwa⌐ táfqa má-t ána ə́dyom ay-
olèn⌐ ⁺táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa,⌐ bod-ód m-zdélan la-⁺msə́xwa ⁺rába
yalpə̀xwa. *(146)* g-madrásət áy doltà-š,⌐ ki-qaráxwale lóka bod-ód
⁺hudaè-welan⌐ góyme ⁺rába azyát godìwalan. *(147)* anà⌐ bára xzéli kì⌐ xălifá
là-⁺msele⌐ g-klàs⌐ ⁺g-mədrằš⌐ əllí dahə̀lwa.⌐ ána qə́mli yrə̀qli⌐ kí əllí lá dahə̀l.⌐ bằle⌐
bár-kəmma yárxe dwə́qleli gáat xiyawằn,⌐ g-kučà⌐ xa-jwǽn dhə̀lleli. *(148)* ⁺xasì
mréle,⌐ əllí əmbə́llu g-marasxanà.⌐ əl-d-ó-š əmbə́llule komsèr⌐ báat ᴴxaqiràᴴ.⌐ bára
géna hamắn hamắn yá ⁺qazya xdòra.⌐ dadí ədyéle m-qulbát ki-adé geb-
marasxaná əllí xazè,⌐ awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka ⁺plə̀tlele. *(149)* ána-š kí m-zdéli
čun-⁺yàla-weli⌐ g-marasxaná là pə́šli.⌐ qə́mli lelè,⌐ yrə̀qli,⌐ ədyéli belà.⌐ mən-d-ó
yomá mə́ri ba-dadì⌐ yá ána nóši nóši ⁺b-qatlèn,⌐ ya əllí majbúr b-lá-odet ána ezén
⁺mədrằš.⌐ ána xén ⁺mədrǽš ezána lèwen. *(150)* ána ábulen baxún amrèn⌐ ya-
⁺ràba⌐ yá xabrá taasuf-awàr-ile.⌐ ⁺məssén amrén là fắqát aná⌐ kə́mma danké
⁺yalé magoní zadèwa,⌐ wa-ò-jur-inan⌐ magòn ⁺lazə́m-ila⌐ lá ⁺msélu dárs yalpìwa⌐
kí xà-tka ⁺matéwa.⌐

(139) At home his fear was from his father (demanding) why he is not studying well at the Jewish school, because a father would never believe that a boy, a child, would be afraid to study at school since the teacher beat him. He always believed the teacher. (140) They would beat (the children) very badly. Their beating was of such a nature that on some occasions you would see the boy, the child who had received a blow from the teacher, become ill for several days. When they beat they would do much harm. They would beat very badly. (141) One day a teacher with his son, who were teaching children, (beat) my young brother, on account of a word in which he should have said *pataḥ*, which he was not able to say (correctly), and played in the class with the young boy, who was eight or nine years old, as if (he were a) ball, he (the son) together with the father. (142) The son beat him and beat him. Then he gave him to the father. The father beat him and gave him to the son. (This went on) until (when) the boy, my young brother, had fainted, they sent him home. Our neighbours went and made a complaint against him. (143) But my father, may he rest in peace, had pity (for the teacher who had been jailed), in such a way that instead of coming and taking the boy to the doctor or (bringing) a doctor to him, he first went to the teacher. He gave him money as a bribe and got him out of jail. (144) In such a way did they teach us. Such was the custom there. They beat the children very badly. Because of this the children could not (learn), because of their fear they could not learn. (145) I myself, if in truth there had not been (so much) fear, if they had taught us like human beings, perhaps I would have known three times as much as I know today, since we could not learn much on account of our fear. (146) In the state school, where we used to study, since we were Jews the Muslims greatly mistreated us. (147) I eventually decided that the teacher should not beat me in the class, at the Jewish school. I ran away so that he would not beat me. But after a few months he caught me in the street and gave me a sound beating. (148) My back hurt and they took me to hospital. They took him (the teacher) to the police for investigation. Afterwards exactly the same thing happened. My father came and instead of coming to the hospital to see me, he first went and had him (the teacher) released from there (the police station). (149) I did not remain in the hospital, on account of my fear, for I was a child. I got up in the night and ran off and came back home. From that day I said to my father 'Either I shall kill myself or you will not force me to go to school. I shall not go to school again'. (150) I want to tell you that this was very regrettable and unfortunate. I can say that (it was) not only me, but so many children like me were afraid and therefore could not study properly in order to attain a (professional) position.

(151) bắle ána ⁺barúx haššém əlhá bélew ⁺àwaˈ géna mà-t xdə́re,ˈ ⁺mséli b-qəwyəttət nóši.ˈ má-t ylipèn,ˈ má-t ayolènˈ kúlla b-qəwyəttə́t nòši xdíra,ˈ bod-òdˈ m-taasufanè,ˈ bad-baxtulà,ˈ ⁺yalulìˈ aná axčàˈ áy taaríf là-wela.ˈ wa-magoní-š ⁺rába ⁺rába juwé ⁺yalé ítwa gèna.ˈ bod-òdˈ ⁺qaydət ay-lòkaˈ ⁺rába ⁺rába jur-ba-jùr-wela.ˈ

THE JEWISH QUARTER

(152) ⁺hudaé gáat ay-daxlàˈ šúla là godíwa.ˈ ⁺g-baxčèˈ g-ilané šúla là godíwa.ˈ fắqat šúlu yá párča zabonè-weleˈ ya zargàrˈ ⁺sarrafà.ˈ ítwa xá məšpaxá-š kìˈ əlhá mazə́dlu Xakšùri kíˈ šúlə d-àyˈ xoškbằr,ˈ ⁺yáni áy medá wišàˈ godìwale,ˈ áy ⁺sawzè,ˈ áy ⁺amrà,ˈ ó-jur šùla godíwa.ˈ bắle ⁺rabayùˈ šúlə d-áy ⁺bazazulà godíwa,ˈ pàrča zabníwa.ˈ (153) ⁺hudáe ⁺batùˈ gde-imára g-markàz-welu.ˈ ⁺rabayú g-markàz-welu.ˈ kə́mma ⁺baté-itwa ⁺hudaé ⁺rába aqə̀rwa-welu ba-⁺də́ǵde.ˈ g-xa-kučà kwéwa.ˈ xa-kə́mma dánke-š ítwa xánči ⁺dərdiyè-welu.ˈ bắle g-markàz-wele belú,ˈ g-d-úne dukánət ⁺bujáǵət áy Urmì kíˈ unèˈ qaračnè goyméˈ xayèwa,ˈ lòka ⁺hudaé lá xayéwa.ˈ (154) ⁺bátu bənyánu jwằn-welu.ˈ ítwa xá-kəmma ⁺kàsbe kíˈ bélu jwằn là-wele axčá.ˈ ⁺rába pùč mapiríwalaˈ sə́twu-inan ⁺qètu.ˈ bắle ⁺rabayùˈ jwằn xayéwa.ˈ ⁺məssén amrènˈ ⁺tmaní dar-sàdˈ ⁺tmaní g-əmmá ⁺hudaát ay-Urmìˈ ⁺batèˈ ki-gáwe yatwíwa ay-nòšu welú.ˈ ⁺bassór ítwa ki-b-krè yatwíwa.ˈ ⁺báte ay-nòšu kwéwa.ˈ báte-š b-krè kwíwa.ˈ (155) g-Urmí tré-danke knəšyè itwá,ˈ xa-ràbta knəštáˈ xa-zòrta knəštá.ˈ rábta knəštá áy əlha-maníxət šéx Abdullà ⁺m-trosá-weleˈ ⁺rába jwằn knəštà-wela.ˈ àtta-š ó knəštá lóka pištélaˈ gal-tréssar dánke sə́fre ⁺torè.ˈ (156) əlhá manté xa-yóma balkìˈ ⁺wə́rxa palxàˈ yá xá-jur xadrá ki-⁺msəx aqallán aqallán uné sə́fre ⁺toré m-ókaˈ ⁺paltìlu.ˈ o-xét knəštá zòrta-wela.ˈ šéx Ruwèn kə́mriwa báaw.ˈ

(151) But I, thank God, whatever happened, was able (to get by) by my own strength. Whatever I have learnt, whatever I know has all come about through my own strength, for, regrettably and unfortunately, my childhood was not very praiseworthy. There were many many other children like me, because the situation there was very different (from here).

THE JEWISH QUARTER

(152) The Jews did not work in (the cultivation of) crops. They did not work in (vegetable) gardens or (orchards) of trees. Their profession was either the selling of material, (that of) goldsmith or (that of) jeweller. There was one family, Xakšuri, who, may God increase them, conducted business in dried fruit, in raisins, in wool, they did business in such things. But most of them carried out the cloth trade and sold material. (153) It can be said that the houses of the Jews were in the centre (of the town). Most of them were in the centre. There were some houses in which the Jews were very close to one another. They were in a quarter. There were some who were rather scattered (in different areas). But their houses were in the centre. The Jews did not live in the suburbs of Urmi where the Muslim lower class[40] lived. (154) Their houses and buildings were beautiful. There were a few poor people, whose house was not so beautiful. They had a very wretched life, both in winter and in summer. But the majority of them lived well. I can say that eighty percent of the Jews of Urmi owned the houses that they lived in. There were only a few who dwelt in a rented property. The houses belonged to them. They also rented out houses. (155) In Urmi there were two synagogues, a large synagogue and small synagogue. The large synagogue of sheikh[41] Abdulla, may he rest in peace, was truly very beautiful. That synagogue remains there even now, with twelve Torah scrolls. (156) God willing, perhaps one day a way will open, or it will come about somehow that we can bring out from there at least those Torah scrolls. The other synagogue was small. It was called (the synagogue of) sheikh Reuven.

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[40] Literally: gypsies, beggars.

[41] The title of sheikh was given to Jews who had visited the Land of Israel.

(157) kullú ayné knəšyè˩ g-mahállət áy ⁺hudaè kwéwa,˩ kì˩ ⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺hasàn-wela báu ba-knəštá izalà.˩ bắle yomát šabbàt˩ ⁺rába zaáne xadráwa kì˩ ⁺hudaé m-pə́lgət ⁺wə́rxa kí knəštá izalà˩ deríwa gòl-bara˩ bod-ód góyme ⁺qanšarú ⁺qatèwale,˩ azyàt godíwalu,˩ dahìwalu,˩ yá ⁺mastərìwalu˩ lá qablíwa ezìwa.˩

LIFE IN THE WINTER

(158) ⁺hudaè˩ g-sə̀twa,˩ ⁺màxsusan g-sə́twa,˩ g-šuqá xa-⁺məndə́ġ lá šaqlìwa.˩ kullá má-t ít lét g-bel-nòšu godíwale,˩ ixalù,˩ šatoù,˩ pəsrà,˩ qamxà,˩ ləxmà.˩ gə-sətwá ba-⁺tahà yarxé˩ ba-arbà yarxé˩ ləxmà yapéwa.˩ l-qàmxa madéwa,˩ kí m-šuqá lá šaqlìwa. (159) qalyà godíwa gáat béla˩ daréwa ki-hàwelu,˩ ⁺m-xəttè,˩ ⁺rəzzà,˩ ⁺xurtmanè,˩ m-medá wišà.˩ má-t abétun gáat béla kwèwa,˩ kí báat šuqá bod-ód ⁺rába qardà kəwyáwa,˩ ⁺rába talgà gdéwa,˩ lá ⁺mắl-əš ⁺rába gáat Urmi là ⁺mamtéwa.˩ bod-ód m-qardà-inan˩ mə́nnət áy talgà,˩ ⁺wərxawé magdlìwa.˩ ⁺wərxawé ⁺qatèwa. (160) ⁺hudaé ⁺rába ⁺rába ba-d-ay-šulà˩ fakurè-welu.˩ m-awwál sə́twa má-t ⁺lazə̀m-wele˩ gáat belá ⁺hazə́r godìwa.˩ ⁺qéta gúpta šaqlìwa,˩ daréwala gáat qupè.˩ rešáw ⁺yasrìwala˩ qoríwala ga-arà.˩ sə́twa ⁺paltìwala.˩ ⁺rába ⁺rába máre ⁺təmmà.˩ ⁺rába jwắn kəwyáwa ixalàw,˩ kxlìwa.˩ m-šuqá lá šaqlìwa.˩

(161) gáat áy patirè-š,˩ yá-xabra zə́lle m-báli amrənwále baxùn,˩ ⁺hudaè˩ məšxà,˩ guptè,˩ xalwè,˩ ⁺qatġé là kəxlíwa.˩ bod-mà?˩ bod-òd kí˩ g-belá lə̀twalu,˩ m-šuqà-š lá šaqlíwa˩ bod-ód kì˩ ⁺hamès welé.˩ ⁺bassòr tré ⁺tahá ⁺baté ítwa˩ ki-nóšu toryé-inan ərbè-itwalu gáat belá.˩ ba-nóšu gupté-inan kàre godíwa.˩ (162) bắle ⁺rabayù˩ m-šuqá tmanyá yómət elà˩ guptè-inan˩ ⁺qatġé là kxlíwa.˩ fắqát pəsrà kəxlíwa.˩

(163) g-belà˩ ⁺məlaqè taltéwa.˩ basiré taltéwa ⁺m-garè.˩ sə́twa ⁺paltìwalu˩ madéwalu ba-ixalà.˩ ⁺rába ⁺rába jwắn máre ⁺tə́mma kwèwa.˩ ăgár mewanì odíwa g-belá,˩ kúd ⁺məndə̀ġ g-béla kwéwalu.˩ kúd ⁺məndə́ġ šaqlíwa g-belà,˩ kwéwalu gáat belà,˩ ⁺lázəm lá-wela m-šuqá ba-šaqolè.˩

(157) All of these synagogues were in the district of the Jews, so that it was very easy for the Jews to go to synagogue. But on Saturday many times it happened that when the Jews were half way to the synagogue they would turn back, since the Muslims would block their way, harass them, beat them, or curse them and not let them go.

LIFE IN THE WINTER

(158) The Jews in winter, especially in winter, did not buy anything from the market. Everybody made whatever (they needed) in their own house, their food, their drink, meat, flour, bread. In winter they would bake bread for three or four months. They brought flour, for they did not buy (bread) from the market. (159) They made fried meat and put it (in storage) in the house so that they would have it (in the winter), also wheat, rice, chickpeas, dried fruit. Whatever you want was in the house. For since it was very cold and snowed a lot, they did not bring many goods to the market in Urmi. The roads would freeze on account of the cold and the snow. The roads would be blocked. (160) The Jews were very clever at this task. At the beginning of winter they would prepare whatever was necessary in the house. In summer they bought cheese and put it in pots. They sealed it and buried it in the ground. They brought it out in the winter. It was very tasty. It was very good to eat and they would eat it. They did not buy it from the market.

(161) At Passover—I forgot to tell you this—the Jews did not eat oil, cheese, milk products or yoghurt. Why? Because they did not have them in the house nor did they buy them from the market because they were products with leaven. There were a very few, two or three, houses that had their own cows or sheep in the house. They would make cheese and butter for themselves. (162) But most people did not eat cheese and yoghurt from the market for the eight days of the festival. They only ate meat.

(163) In the house they would hang bunches of grapes. They hung grapes from the roof. They would take them down in winter and bring them to eat. They were very good and tasty. If they entertained guests in the house, they would have everything in the house. They would have at hand everything in the house. There was no need to buy anything from the market.

LIFE IN WAR-TIME

(164) g-Urmì⌐ magón kyétun kì⌐ kəmráxwa dàwre,⌐ dáwrət ⁺arelè,⌐ dáwrət kartwè,⌐ dáwrət jəllonè,⌐ dáwrət ⁺urusnè,⌐ ayné kullù⌐ g-šátət ày⌐ əmmà-w⌐ ar-bassàr,⌐ ⁺hal əmmá-w əsrì⌐ ayné ətfaqé lóka pirì.⌐ (165) ⁺arelé gdèwa⌐ g-xákma ⁺wáda gáat Urmì,⌐ ⁺hukmà godíwa.⌐ ⁺talə̀n godíwa.⌐ əl-⁺hudaé azyàt godíwalu.⌐ bára jəllonè gdéwa.⌐ jəlloné ədyélu gáat Urmì⌐ ⁺ràba azyàt wə́dlu.⌐ əl-⁺hudaé ⁺ràba ⁺ràba ⁺mjizìlu.⌐ … ⁺ràba ⁺talə̀n wə́dlu l-⁺hudaé.⌐ (166) wá əl-sotí-nan sóni m-gab-dadì⌐ əl-d-úne-š har-g-xá-yoma əl-túnnu ⁺qətlìlu,⌐ bod-ód mənnù⌐ ⁺ràba ⁺mndəǧanè hawélu⌐ ⁺la-msélu hawìwa báu,⌐ mónnu áxxa əttú la-hiwalù.⌐ dhóllu ⁺qətlìlu.⌐ (167) qrawət áy Túrkine kí ədyélu⌐ əl-armanyè ⁺ràba ⁺mjizìlu.⌐ m-armanyé ⁺ràba ⁺qtə̀llu.⌐ bàra⌐ kartwè ədyélu.⌐ əl-d-úne m-óka surgùn wídilu kartwé,⌐ ⁺hukmá əntyálu b-idù.⌐ (168) bára ⁺urusnè ədyélu gáat Urmí.⌐ xakmá ⁺wadà⌐ ⁺hukmá əntyálu b-íd nòšu.⌐ šuqá-š məqlàlu.⌐ ⁺ràba našé ⁺talə̀n wə́dlu.⌐ má-t ⁺lazə́m-wele m-šuqà⌐ má-t kí là qílwa⌐ gərgə́šlule báat belà.⌐ xákma ⁺wáda šuqà⌐ ⁺bóš pəšlà⌐ ki-náše yawə́š yawə́š genà⌐ reš-šùlu ⁺mtélu.⌐ (169) ó-jur-inan ya-šúla xdə́rre ⁺hal-ki-yá ⁺šultána d-áy Pahlawì⌐ ədyèle.⌐ wá yawə́š yawə́š yawə́š⌐ ⁺ará xánči ⁺spèla.⌐ wa-yə́llu mə́ni əl-mə̀nile,⌐ ⁺šultanà mə́nile,⌐ wa-má gə́rag odì⌐ má gə́rag là-odi.⌐ (170) ána ⁺məssén amrén baxún kì⌐ g-kullá yriwulá kəmmát xdíra g-Urmì ⁺hudaé m-kúllu məllətyé bi-zóda azyàt grišú.⌐ kullá ⁺wadá ⁺hudaé hammèša ⁺g-tìna hawé magón kəmrí.⌐ (171) bə́le xá-šula gèna⌐ əl-əlhá škùr wadéx.⌐ mà-t xdír la-xdír,⌐ mà-t xadə́rwa lá xadə́rwa,⌐ gèna⌐ ⁺ràba ⁺ràba ⁺hudaè⌐ mən-d-áy ⁺ará ⁺sə̀ǧ ⁺paltíwa.⌐ wa-amrét kí aslàn⌐ ⁺m-trosá kí ídət mal-axé rešù-wela,⌐ kí magón kí axnì fkə́r wáda-welan əllán azyát godí,⌐ mumkún ⁺qatlìlan⌐ yá mà odílan.⌐

(172) mə̆sàl⌐ amrén baxùn⌐ xá-danka jwə́n mə̆sàlà⌐ wáxtət kí ⁺urusné g-d-áy qráwət dunyé g-arbi-w xà⌐ kí b-adéwa gáat Urmì,⌐ arbi-w-xá arbi-w-trè.⌐ ⁺urusné wáxtət wə́rru gáat Urmì,⌐ mən-nə́š šúla lə̀twalu.⌐ gál ⁺tangè-inan⌐ gál ⁺arabè,⌐ axní ⁺tangé báat awwalmənjì-zaa xzèlan.⌐

LIFE IN WAR-TIME

(164) In Urmi, as you know, we would say times, the time of the Christians, the time of the Kurds, the time of the Jəllone (tribal Assyrians), the time of the Russians, all these events took place there in the years (19)14 to (19)20. (165) The Christians came for some time in Urmi and held power. They plundered. They harassed the Jews a great deal. Then the Jəllone came. The Jəllone came to Urmi and caused a lot of damage. They harassed the Jews a great deal. They plundered the Jews a lot. (166) They killed both my grandmother and grandfather on my father's side in one day, because they suspected them of having many things and they could not give them to them, they suspected them in this way and they did not give them. They beat them and killed them. (167) When the army[42] of the Turks came, they harassed the Armenians greatly. They killed many of the Armenians. Then the Kurds came. The Kurds banished them from there. They took hold of power. (168) Then the Russians came to Urmi. They took control for some time. They burnt the market. They plundered many people. They carried off home whatever they needed from the market, whatever was not burned. For some time the market remained empty, then people slowly again returned to their jobs. (169) In this way the events took place, until king Pahlavi came and gradually the situation improved.[43] People knew who was who, who was the ruler, what they should do, what they should not do. (170) I can tell you that in all the confusion that happened in Urmi, the Jews suffered more harm than other communities. All the time the Jews were 'in the mud', as they say. (171) But we thank God for one thing. Whatever had happened, whatever took place, nevertheless many, many Jews escaped safely from the situation. You would definitely say that, truly, the hand of angels was over them, for we thought that they would harm us, perhaps kill us or something.

(172) I'll tell you an anecdote, a nice anecdote, from the time the Russians were about to come into Urmi, in the World War in (19)41, (19)41 or (19)42. When the Russians entered Urmi, they did not interfere with anybody. (They came) with tanks and cars. We saw tanks for the first time.

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[42] Literally: battle.
[43] Literally: the situation was cleansed.

(173) ⁺rába ⁺psɜ̀xlan kí ǝdyélu,| čapké dhɜ̀llan.| bod-mà ⁺psɔ́xlan?| bod-
òd| qǎ̀mol ⁺urusné idàa,| ⁺batɔ́t ay-⁺hudaé kullù| ni⁺šaná gal-dǝmmà,| gállǝ d-áy
smoqà,| idá smoqà,| ni⁺šɜ̀n dréwalulu| kí ǎgár Hítler ⁺mtèle| ⁺almɜ́n ⁺mtéle
Urmì,| kí ayé ⁺hudaé leká ità| kì| ⁺mǝssé tèz masbélu b-ídǝ d-áy ⁺almannè.|
(174) qǎ̀mol ⁺urusné idáa yá xábra márǝnne| kí ya-šúla xdɜ̀rre.| axní xá-
yomane gal-dádi zilɜ̀xwa| g-tkánǝ d-áy lǝxmá zabonè,| lǝxmà šaqlɔ́xwa.| lǝxmá
⁺rába b-qahtì-wele.| ixalé b-qahtì-welu| héč-⁺mǝndǝg lá maštoxà-wele.| mǎ̀ni
⁺mǝssá-wele ǎgàr| lǝxmá šaqɜ́lwa ⁺m-trosá kì| ⁺Rostàm-wele.| (175) zɔ́llan gal-
dádi géb ⁺šatɜ̀re.| xa-⁺šatɔ́r-itwa l-dadí kì,| ⁺šatǝrè| ayné ki-lǝxmà zabníwa,|
⁺rába gbèwale.| bod-ód bàu| má-t ⁺lazɜ̀m-wele| kwɜ̀lwa.| zɔ́llan ⁺smɜ̀xlan.| (176)
⁺rába-š lá ⁺smɜ̀xlan,| xa-ǝsrì našé itwá.| téz mdéle tré sangagè| tre-jwɜ́n lǝxmè,|
hwɔ́lle ba-dadì.| bára xa-dánka mǝn-d-áyne polisé ažɜ̀n| mɔ́re ba-dadì| jhùd
mɔ́re,| jhùd,| kí báat ⁺hudaé kǝmriwálu lóka jhùd.| (177) mɔ́re yá lǝxmá ǝmbul-
xúlle ⁺tahà yomé| xaaxún pišì| ǝl-kúllxun laxxà| axnì| masmrèx.| dadí mɔ́re báat
ažɜ̀n,| mɔ́re ɜ́t má-t máret ána šamùlen,| bǎ̀le axní ǝlhà-ǝttan| héč ⁺wadá axní
ǝlhá m-bálan lá ambolɜ̀xxe.| (178) ǝdyélan belàn.| yómǝt ki-⁺urusné ǝdyèlu,|
mǝn-nɜ̀š šula-lɔ́twalu.| bàra| bǝrdɜ́n xzelàn| yelé gullè mandulú,| lekɜ̀t| xa-dankà|
polís xazulù| ⁺qatòlule.| lá-yǝllan mà-xdir.| (179) bára ballì xdɔ́rra kí|
⁺g-darwazá ⁺urusné idàa| xa-danká askǎ̀rǝt ⁺urusné ⁺qtɜ̀lwalu,| bod-ód ⁺urusné
lékǝt kì| ažɜ̀n ya-askár xazà-welu| ⁺qatòla-welu-le.| (180) ǝdyélu wɔ́rru gáat
knǝštà,| ána yǝrqáli gáat knǝštà,| ⁺yalà-weli.| bára … mɔ́ru ki-áxni mɜ́nnxun šulá
lɔ́ttan laxxà,| fǎ̀qat ⁺sarbazè| ⁺yani askǎrè-nan| ažɜ̀ne balbolέx laxxá.| áxni
mǝnxún šulá lɜ̀ttan.| (181) ⁺plátli tèz ǝdyéli ⁺yɜ́n| dadí mǝštɜ̀xlile.| mɔ́re dadí idá
ezέx bèla| ⁺ará pùč-jur yarówa| bára ⁺g-wǝrxá idàan,| ⁺urusné dhɔ́llu xá-danka
ažɜ̀n,| xá-danka ažɜ̀n ⁺qtɜ̀llule.| (182) dadí xɔ́rre ǝllèw| mɔ́re bróni ayolét ya-
émni ažɜ́n-ile?| mári là.| mɔ́re hamɜ́n ò ažɜ́n-ile| ki-zɔ́llan lǝxmá šaqolè| mɔ́re
⁺hudáa ǝl-d-ay-lǝxmá ǝmbul-xùlle| xaaxún fǎ̀qat tré ⁺táha pišì.| ǝlhá ⁺rǝwwèle.|

(173) We were very happy that they came and we applauded. Why were we happy? Because before the Russians came, they had marked all the houses of the Jews with blood, with red, a red hand, so that if Hitler came, the Germans came to Urmi, they would know where the Jews were and could quickly hand them over into the hands of the Germans. (174) I am saying that this happened before the Russians came. Some days we went with my father to the shop that sold bread to buy bread. Bread was in very short supply. Foodstuffs were in short supply. Nothing could be found. Whoever could buy bread was truly a hero.[44] (175) We went with my father to the bakers. There was one baker—bakers are people who sold bread—who loved my father a lot, because he used to give them whatever they needed. We went and waited. (176) We did not wait for long, there were about twenty people. He quickly brought two loaves, two nice loaves of bread and gave them to my father. Then one of the policemen said to my father, he said 'Jhud, Jhud', for there they used to call the Jews 'Jhud'. (177) He said 'Take this bread and eat it. Your life will last for three days and then we shall destroy all of you here'. My father said to the policeman, he said 'I hear what you say, but we have God. We shall never forget God'. (178) We went back home. The day the Russians came, they left people alone.[45] Then, suddenly, we saw they were shooting bullets where they saw a policeman and killed him. We did not know what had happened. (179) Afterwards it became clear that as the Russians entered the gate, an army of Russians, they had killed him, because wherever the Russian army saw a policeman, they killed him. (180) They came and entered the synagogue. I ran to the synagogue, I was a boy. Then they said 'We shall not interfere with you here, we are only looking for soldiers here. We shall not interfere with you'. (181) I went out and quickly went back and found my father.[46] My father said 'Come, let's go home. The situation is growing worse'. Then, when we were on the way, (we saw) the Russians beat a policeman, they killed a policeman. (182) My father looked at him and said 'My son, do you know which policeman that is?' I said 'No'. He said 'He is the policeman who, when we went to buy bread, said "Jew, take this bread and eat it, your life will last for only two or three days." God is great'.

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[44] Literally: Rustam, the hero of the Shahname epic.
[45] Literally: They did not have dealings with anybody.
[46] Literally: I came to the side (of my father)—I found my father.

(183) bod-mà ay-xábra marə́nne?| hamméšá əlhá gallàn| xðìr.| dùz-ile.| là-maren áxni azyát la-gríšex m-id-goymé,| bắlé gèna| əl-əlhá škúr wadéx ki-əlhá hammešá gallàn-wele.|

Relations with the Christians

(184) Geoffrey abúle ayèl| gal-⁺arelè| gu-Urmí má-jur xayə̀xwa.| ána mə́ri báew ki-gáat Urmì| gal-⁺arelé áxni bìš-jwān| xaà-welan| m-má-t gal-goymè.| dùz-ile| unè-š axčá gallán jwān lá-welu,| bắle gal-⁺arelé bìš-⁺wərxa izalá-welan.| (185) ətwalán šwáwe ⁺arelè.| ətwalán sănatkắré ⁺arelé ki-gallú šùla godə́xwa.| mắsălan sotì,| ⁺Balqəz,| kullxún kyetúnwala əlhá manəxlà,| kyétun kí g-belà| kəmmá otaǵé ə̀twala.| (186) b-kré kwáwalu báat msafré ki-gdéwa m-malwawè.| ⁺rába muštaryàw-əš| ⁺arelè-welu.| muštaryàw| ⁺rabayú ⁺arelè-welu,| armanyè-welu.| ⁺rába-š gbèwala.| (187) anà| gállət … m-Awstrália xa-năfár galléw ⁺dòst xdírənwa.| baéw zamuryé dìsk šdə́rwali baèw.| bára ki-gal-telefón gallí mqèle,| mə̀re| ắt mằnilet?| mə́ri m-Urmìlen.| mə́re anà-š m-Urmí ədyén láxxa.| bắle ắt mằnilet?| (188) yə́lli čún ⁺arèl-ile| hatmán sotí b-ayə̀lla| mə́ri nwắg ⁺Balqəz-ìlen.| ⁺m-trosa mə́re gal-d-ay-xabrá ki-šəm-⁺Balqə́z mdeloxè| mə́re ⁺məndə̀ǧ xdə́rri| də́mmət enì ədyelú.| axčí əl-d-o-baxtá aná gbènwala.| kəmmát adə̀xwa| m-malà| awwál awwál belán gezə́xwa geb-d-ó ⁺otắǧ b-kré doqə̀xwala.| (189) mə́re bái ya-náša kí əl-⁺Balqə́z kyèlwala| kí m-malwawé ⁺arelé adéwa gezéwa gebàw.| gal-⁺arelé axní biš-jwə̀n xayə́xwa.| ə̀twa| xá-danka əlhá manáxle Azíz ⁺Parà,| kí ⁺arelé kyìwale,| ⁺rába gdéwa gebèw.| ⁺rába mónne maslahàt godíwa.| (190) géna ábulen amrén kì| gdé imára kí gal-⁺arelé axní xančí biš-⁺wərxá gezə̀xwa.| ə́twalan ⁺dostè| wa-xắš ya-xabrá m-báli la-ezél kì| kyétun kí gal⁺arelé axnì| lišanú-š bíš maqə̀xwale.| lišanán-inan áy ⁺arelè| ⁺rába əl-⁺dáǧde mašbè.| (191) axní kəmréx ba-lišanàn| márex aramìt| bắle uné kəmrí suràye,| ašurì,| lišánət ašuryè.| ki-⁺rába ⁺rába uné kəmríwa| … axni xəzmèlex.| axní m-xá dada-⁺dàa iléxa.| bắle … ya-xábra kəmríwale ba-⁺xátrət əllán ⁺mapsoxè.| (192) bằle,| gdé imára kì| m-xéla paxilulá-š godíwa mənnán ⁺rabà.| kəmríwa atxún hamméšà| šulxún biš-⁺qàbāǧ-ile.| wa-əlhá əllxún biš-zóda àbule.| xánči gallán paxulà-š godíwa.| (193) magón ki-axní ədyélan láxxa g-Ereṣ Yisraèl,| ⁺rabayù| m-óka zòllu,| m-Urmí zòllu| yá Awstràlia,| armanyé zə́llu Yằrăwằn.| wa-g-Urmí áxča ⁺aréle la-pə̀šle.|

(183) Why do I tell this story? God was always with us. It was true. I do not say that we did not suffer from the hands of the Muslims, but we thank God that he was always with us.

Relations with the Christians

(184) Geoffrey wants to know how we got on with the Christians in Urmi. I said to him that in Urmi we got on better with the Christians than with the Muslims. It is true that also they (the Christians) were not so good to us, but (on the whole) we got on better with the Christians. (185) We had Christian neighbours. We had Christian craftsmen with whom we worked. For example, my grandmother Balqəz, you all used to know her, may she rest in peace, you know how many rooms she had in the house. (186) She would rent them out to travellers who came from the villages. Many of her clients were Christians. The majority of her clients were Christians and Armenians. They loved her very much. (187) I had become friendly with somebody from Australia. I had sent him songs on a disc. Afterwards, when he spoke with me on the telephone he said 'Who are you?' I said 'I am from Urmi'. He said 'I also came here from Urmi. But who are you?' (188) I knew that he was a Christian and would definitely know my grandmother. I said 'I am the grandson of Balqəz'. 'Indeed' he said 'When you mentioned the name of Balqəz, something happened to me, my tears flowed. I loved that woman so much. Whenever we came from the village, our family would immediately go to her and rent a room'. (189) That man said to me that he knew Balqəz, because when Christians came from the villages, they would go to her. We got on with the Christians better (than with others). There was a certain Aziz Para, may he rest in peace, whom the Christians used to know and they often went to him. Many took advice from him. (190) Again I want to say that—it may be said that we got on a little better with the Christians. We had friends and again I do not forgot this—you know that we often spoke with the Christians in their language. Our language and that of the Christians are very similar to one another. (191) We call our language 'Aramaic', but they call (themselves) *suraye*, Assyrians, the language of the Assyrians. They often said that we are relatives. We are (descended) from the same father and mother. Indeed, they said this to please us. (192) But it should be said that secretly they were very jealous of us. They would say 'Your business is always more successful and God loves you more'. They were rather jealous of us. (193) Just as we came to the Land of Israel, the majority of them left there, left Urmi and went to either Australia—the Armenians went to Yerevan, and there did not remain very many Christians in Urmi.

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GLOSSARIES

Abbreviations Used in the Glossaries

I = stem I verb
II = stem II verb
Q = quadriliteral verb

A = Arabic
Arm = Armenian
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
annex. = annexation
arch. = archaic
coll. = collective
E = English
f. = feminine
fs. = feminine singular
H = Hebrew
It = Italian
imper. = imperative
interj. = interjection

intr. = intransitive
invar. = invariable
K = Kurish
lit. = literary
m. = masculine
mod. = non-attributive modifier
ms. = masculine singular
n. = noun
num. = numeral
obj. = object
P = Persian (Farsi)
part. = particle
pl. = plural
pl. tant. = pluralis tantum
prep. = preposition
pron. = pronoun
R = Russian
T = (Azeri) Turkish

GLOSSARY OF VERBS

Verbs are arranged by roots. The 3ms. present, 3ms. perfect and infinitive forms are given for each root.

∅

∅*by* **I** (*abe, əbye, aboe*) (§4.13.2.) **to want, to desire; to like, to love** | *əl-bratéw* ⁺*ràba gbéwala*| He loved his daughter a lot (2)

∅*db* **I** (*adəb, edibe, adobe*) (K/T < A) **to chastise**

∅*dy* **I** (*ade, ədye, idaa*) (§4.13.5.) **to come** | ∅*dy b-reš-* to befall; ∅*dy m-id-* to be possible for; *xošew idayle* He is happy with it / He feels like it; *šəndew ədyela* He felt sleepy; *m-bali idayle* I remember; *gde imara* It may be said; *bás yà-šula gdéwa əl-d-ó mamqoé*| Only this method would result in her being made to talk (42)

∅*mbl* **Q** (*ambəl, əmbile, ambole*) **to take (s.o./sth. to some place)** | *ana əl-d-ay* ⁺*ktāb əmblali g-*⁺*ktābxana* I took that book to the library; *héč* ⁺*wadá axní əlhá m-bálan lá ambolə̀xxe*| We shall never forget God (177)

∅*mr* **I** (*amər/kmər, mire, imara*) **to say** | *amret* You might say; as if

∅*nty* **Q** (*ante, əntye, antoe*) **to take; to take away; to overtake (e.g. sleep)** | *xabra* ∅*nty* to make a decision

∅*šq* **I** (*ašəq, ešiqe, ašoqe*) (K/T < A) **to fall in love** (*l-* with) | *balkí ešìqa əl-xa-dánka broná* Perhaps she has fallen in love with a boy (4)

∅*wd* **I** (*od, wide, wada*) **to do, to make** | *əlha l-od!* God forbid! *āt nošox wudla ki dmixet* Pretend that you are asleep

∅*wl* **II** *m-*∅*wl* (*mawəl, mwile, mawole*) **to use**

∅xl **I** (*axəl/kxəl, xile, ixala*) **to eat; to receive (a bribe, a beating). II** mxl (*maxəl, mxile, maxole*) **to give food, to feed**

∅yl **I** (*ayəl/kyəl, yile, ayole*) **to know, to recognize. II** *m-∅yl* (*mayəl, myile, mayole*) **to let know, to make known, to inform**

∅yq **I** (*eq, iq, ayoqe*) **to be narrow, to be in straits. II** *m-∅yq* (*mayəq, myiqe, mayoqe*) **to make narrow, to oppress, to harass**

∅zl **I** (*azəl/gezəl, zil, izala*) (§4.13.1.) **to go; to pass away** | *o gal aqle izale* He is walking; *zəlle be dyara* He has gone never to return; *xola zəlle bar* +*dolča* One misfortune has followed another (literally: The rope went after the bucket); referring to amorous union: *zílan gàllew*| I (f.) went with him (52); *gora xa xet la zilat?* Have you (fs.) not been married to another man? (G:91); *dadi zil* My father has passed away; *zəlle m-ida* He passed away (literally: He went from the hand)

+∅

+∅jz **I** (+*ajəz,* +*ejiz,* +*ajoze*) (K < A) **to be unwell. II** +*mjz* (+*majəz,* +*mjize,* +*majoze*) **to importune; to harry**

+∅wr **I** (+*or/*+*gor,* +*wir,* +*wyara*) **to go in, to enter, to pass** (§4.13.7.) | *g-šənne* +*wir* He is getting on (in years); *xyará xazúla kì*| *sehrá* +*wír xel-ewà*| She looked and saw that the moon had passed behind a cloud (111). **II** +*mbr* (+*mabər,*+*mbire,* +*mabore*) ∼ +*m-mbr* (+*mambər,* +*məmbire,* +*mambore*) **to take in; to bring in**

b

bdl **I** (*badəl, bdile, badole*) (K) **to deny; to hide (sth.)**

bhr **I** (*bahər, bhir, bahore*) **to become light** | *bahra-llox* May it shine for you (formula of thanks for kindling a light); +*hal bahorè*| until dawn (91). **II** m-bhr (*mabhər, məbhire, mabhore*) **to give light, to shine** | *šəmša mabhora* The sun is shining

bjbj **Q** (*bajbəj, bəjbij, bajboje*) **to crawl**

blbl **Q** (*balbəl, bəlbile, balbole*) **to search, to seek, to look for** (*reš, bar*) | *o əl-d-o bəlbəllele, bəlbəlle barew* He searched for him

bny **I** (*bane, bənye, banoe*) **to build; to cull; to strain (vegetables); to count**

bqr **I** (*baqər, bqire, baqore*) **to ask**

brbz **Q** (*barbəz, bərbiz* intr./*bərbize* tr., *barboze*) **to scatter (tr. and intr.)**

brd **I** (*barəd, bride, barode*) **to strew**

bry **I** (*bare, bərye, baroe*) **to create**

bsm **I** (*basəm, bsim* intr./*bsime* tr., *basome*) **to become well, to heal** | *ləbba bsm* to comfort; *reša bsm* to express condolence

bšl **I** (*bašəl, bšil* intr./*bšile* tr., *bašole*) **to cook (tr. and intr.)**

bxš **I** (*baxəš, bxiše, baxoše*) (K) **to excuse, to forgive** | *baxšetti!* Excuse me!

bxy **I** (*baxe, bəxe, baxila*) **to weep; to cry; to mew. II** *m-bxy* (*mabxe, məbxye, mabxoe*) **to make weep**

byz **I** (*bez, biz, byaza*) **to spill, to be spilled**

bzy **I** (*baze, bəzye, bazoe*) **to make a hole; to hollow out; to corrode**

⁺***b***

⁺*blq* **I** (⁺*baləq,* ⁺*bliqe,* ⁺*baloqe*) **to stare** | *bod-ma enox* ⁺*baloqəttu əlli?* Why are you staring at me?

⁺*bly* **I** (⁺*bale,* ⁺*bəlye,* ⁺*baloe*) **to swallow**

⁺*brbt* **Q** (⁺*barbət,* ⁺*bərbit,* ⁺*barbote*) **to move (from one's place)**

⁺*brm* **I** (⁺*barəm,* ⁺*brime,* ⁺*barome*) (T) **to twist**

⁺*brx* **I** (⁺*barəx,* ⁺*brixe,* ⁺*baroxe*) **to bless, to utter a benediction; to greet**

⁺*bsr* **I** (⁺*basər,* ⁺*bsir,* ⁺*basore*) **to diminish, to decrease; to fall short. II** ⁺*m-bsr* (⁺*mabsər,* ⁺*məbsire,* ⁺*mabsore*) **to lessen (tr.); to decrease (tr.); to deprive**

⁺*btl* **I** (⁺*batəl,* ⁺*btil,* ⁺*batole*) **to become empty; to stop working; to empty** | ⁺*moe mən-šuša* ⁺*batolənnu g-kasi* I'll empty the water from

the bottle into my stomach. **II** ⁺*m-btl* (⁺*mabtəl,* ⁺*məbtile,* ⁺*mabtole*) **to empty; to annihilate**

⁺*btn* **I** (⁺*batna* 3fs., ⁺*btina,* ⁺*batone*) **to become pregnant. II** ⁺*m-btn* (⁺*mabtən,* ⁺*məbtine,* ⁺*mabtone*) **to make pregnant**

č

čnčr **Q** (*čančər, čančir, čănčore*) **to make an effort** | ⁺*raba čənčir ba-šula* He has made a great effort (to do) this thing

čpx **I** (*čapəx, čpixe, čapoxe*) **to beat one's head and breast as a sign of mourning**

čqy **I** (*čaqe, čəqye, čaqoe*) (K) **to tear, to rend**

črd **Q** (*čarəd, črid, čarode*) **to become wide awake**

⁺*č*

⁺*čly* **I** (⁺*čale,* ⁺*čəle,* ⁺*čaloe*) **to sob**

⁺*črčy* **Q** (⁺*čarče,* ⁺*čərče,* ⁺*čarčoe*) **to become unclean (vessel)**

⁺*čym* **I** (⁺*čem,* ⁺*čime,* ⁺*čyama*) **to close, to shut** | *enéw* ⁺*čyamə̀llu*| He closes his eyes (54)

d

dgl **I** (*dagəl, dgile, dagole*) **to (tell a) lie. II** *m-dgl* (*madgəl, mədgile, madgole*) **to give the lie to**

dhl **I** (*dahəl, dhile, dahole*) (§4.13.10.) **to beat, to strike; to ring (a bell); to play (an instrument); to blow (a horn)** | ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába púč-jur əl-*⁺*yále dahìwa*| They would beat the children very badly (144). *g-* upon: *xabušé dahə̀lwalu*| *g-reš-*⁺*kalò.*| He would knock the apples on the head of the bride. (81); ⁺*g-salmew šaršiqa dhə̀lli* I slapped his face; *dahana dahə̀lle* Damn him! (literally: May a striker strike him!); *xa danka gallət idew dhə̀lle* He whacked me one with his hand

dndk **Q** (*dandək, dəndike, dandoke*) (K) **to pick, to strike with a beak**

dqdq **Q** (*daqdəq, dəqdiqe, daqdoqe*) **to knock repeatedly, to knock to pieces**

drmn **Q** (*darmən, dərmine, darmone*) (K/T) **to drug**

dry **I** (*dare, dərye, daroe*) **to put; to serve** | *drelile reš-miz* I put it on the table; *tre* ⁺*əstkane juwe araq dri!* Pour me two more glasses of arak!

dwq **I** (*doq, dwiqe, dwaqa*) **to catch, to hold, to arrest; to close (tr. and intr.); to observe (a custom); to cost; to spend (time)** | *idew doqwa* He was stingy; ⁺*wərxi dəwqale* He barred my way; *lišanàx dwíq*| Your tongue has become tied (9); *nošew* ⁺*hasid doqla* He considers himself a pious person. **II** *m-dwq* (*madwəq, mədwiqe, madwoqe*) **to close (tr.)**

dyl **I** (*del, dil, dyala*) **to be gifted with sight, to be able to see**

dyq **I** (*deq, diqe, dyaqa*) **to crush (grain)**

dyr **I** (*dar, dir, dyara*) **to come back, to return. II** *m-dyr* (*madər, mdire, madore*) **to return (tr.)** | *ləbbaw madore* He is comforting her

džmn **Q** (*dažmən, dəžmine, dažmone*) (K) **to turn into an enemy**

⁺*d*

⁺*dby* **I** (⁺*dabe,* ⁺*dəbye,* ⁺*daboe*) **to kill, to slaughter, to massacre**

⁺*dmx* **I** (⁺*daməx,* ⁺*dmix,* ⁺*damoxe*) **to fall asleep, to sleep; to lie down** | *dmixet?* Are you asleep? **II** ⁺*m-dmx* (⁺*madmə x,* ⁺*mədmixe,* ⁺*madmoxe*) **to put to sleep**

⁺*drdy* **Q** (⁺*darde,* ⁺*dərdye,* ⁺*dardoe*) **to scatter**

⁺*drš* **I** (⁺*darəš,* ⁺*driše,* ⁺*daroše*) **to expound the Law, to preach**

⁺*dry* **I** (⁺*dare,* ⁺*dərye,* ⁺*daroe*) **to scatter, to winnow**

⁺*dwy* **I** (⁺*dawe,* ⁺*dəwye,* ⁺*dawoe*) (K < A) **to pray** (*əl-* for) | *əllox* ⁺*dweli* I prayed for you

f

fkr **I** (*fakər, fkire, fakore*) (K < A) **to understand. II** *m-fkr* (*mafkər, məfkire, mafkore*) **to make understand; to explain**

fndr **Q** (*fandər, fəndir, fandore*) **to get away**

frk **I** (*farək, frike, faroke*) (K < A) **to feel with one's hand; to rub, to massage**

frmn **Q** (*farmən, fərmine, farmone*) (K/T < P) **to command, to order; to say (polite)**

fry **I** (*fare, fəre, faroe*) **to become wide. II** *m-fry* (*mafre, məfrye, mafroe*) **to widen**

⁺*f*

⁺*fsl* **I** (⁺*fasəl,* ⁺*fsile,* ⁺*fasole*) (K < A) **to cut (material for clothes)**

⁺*ftr* **I** (⁺*fatər,* ⁺*ftire,* ⁺*fatore*) (K < A) **to break a fast. II** ⁺*m-ftr* (⁺*maftər,* ⁺*məftire,* ⁺*maftore*) **to give food to a fasting person or a mourner**

g

gby **I** (*gabe, gəbye, gaboe*) **to choose, to elect; to cull** | ⁺*xə́tte dánka dánka gabèwalu*| They selected the wheat grain by grain (99)

gdl (i) **I** (*gadəl, gdile, gadole*) **to pleat**

gdl (ii) **II** *m-gdl* (*magdəl, məgdil* intr./*məgdile* tr., *magdole*) **to freeze (tr. and intr.)** | ⁺*wərxawé magdlìwa*| The roads would freeze (159)

gly **I** (*gale, gəlye, galoe*) **to uncover, to disclose**

gndr **Q** (*gandər, gəndir* intr./*gəndire* tr., *gandore*) (K) **to roll (intr. and tr.). Q II** *m-gndr* (*magndər, məgndire, magndore*) **to roll (tr.)**

gnw **I** (*ganəw, gniwe, ganowe*) **to steal. II** *m-gnw* (*magnəw, məgniwe, magnowe*) **to cause to steal**

gny **I** (*gane, gəne, ganoe*) **to set (sun), to wane, to decline** | *waxtew gnele!* His time has passed!

grd **I** (*garəd, gride, garode*) **to grate**

grgm **Q** (*gargəm, gərgim, gargome*) (K) **to thunder, to roar** | *ewa gargome* It (the cloud) is thundering.

grgš **Q** (*gargəš, gərgiše, gargoše*) **to drag, to carry off** | used where the subject is a collective group: *má-t* ⁺*lazə́m-wele m-šuqà*| *má-t kí là*

*qílwa*ˈ *gərgə́šlule báat belà*ˈ They carried off home whatever they needed from the market, whatever was not burned (168)

grp **I** (*garəp, gripe, garope*) **to shovel**

grš **I** (*garəš, griše, garoše*) **to pull, to draw; to kidnap; to last; to smoke; to suffer; to accuse** (*reš-* so.) | *rahatula grš* to take a rest; ⁺*zahamta grš* to take the trouble, to trouble oneself; ⁺*jəgara grš* to smoke; *əšta yarxe grəšle* It lasted six months. **II** *m-grš* (*magrəš, məgriše, magroše*) **to make continue; to have a female animal covered** | *dewa zuza magroše* The wolf is howling

gry **I** (*gare, gərye, garoe*) **to shave**

gržn **Q** (*garžən, gəržin, garžone*) **to become dizzy**

gwr **I** (*gor, gwir, gwara*) **to marry. II** *m-gwr* (*magwər, məgwire, magwore*) **to give in marriage** | *əl-d-ay brata məgwəralu* They gave the girl away in marriage

gyj **I** (*gej, gij, gyaja*) (T) **to be swung round (as a sacrifice), to become the sacrifice of** (⁺*qurban-*) | Referring to customs observed on the Day of Atonement: ⁺*qurbanox gejen* May I become your sacrifice; *b-rešox gejen* May I be swung round your head (as a sacrifice). **II** *m-gyj* (*magəj, məgije, magoje*) **to pass a bird that is to be sacrificed above one's head**

gys **I** (*ges, gis, gyasa*) **to grow tired. II** *m-gys* (*magəs, mgise, magose*) **to tire out (tr.)**

gzr **I** (*gazər, gzire, gazore*) **to circumcise; to decree**

h

hmn **I** (*hamən, hmin, hamone*) **to believe** (*əl-* s.o.) | *hammašá əl-xălifà hamníwa.*ˈ They always believed the teacher (139)

hrš **I** (*harəš, hriš* intr./*hriše, haroše*) **to incite, be incited. II** *m-hrš* (*mahrəš, məhriše, mahroše*) **to provoke, to incite**

hwl **I** (*hawəl, hwile, hiwala*) (§4.13.4.) **to give, to pay**

hwy **I** (*hawe/kwe, həwe, —*) (§4.13.9.) **to be** | *əlha la hawe, la prəqlan* Had it not been for God, we would not have been saved (G:100)

hyl **I** (*hel, hil, hyala*) **to become desecrated. II** *m-hyl* (*mahəl, mhile, ma-hole*) **to desecrate, to profane**

⁺***h***

⁺*hjy* **I** (⁺*haje,* ⁺*hije,* ⁺*hyaja*) (K/T < A) **to pronounce; to spell** | *má-jur* ⁺*hajətta?* How do you spell it?

⁺*hkm* **I** (⁺*hakəm,* ⁺*hkime,* ⁺*hakome*) (K/T < A) **to rule. II** ⁺*m-hkm* (⁺*mahkəm,* ⁺*məhkime,* ⁺*mahkome*) **to cause to rule, to empower**

⁺*hrm* **II** ⁺*m-hrm* (⁺*mahrəm,* ⁺*məhrime,* ⁺*mahrome*) (K/T < A) **to declare as ritually forbidden**

⁺*hsl* **I** (⁺*hasəl,* ⁺*hsile,* ⁺*hasole*) (K/T < A) **to obtain; to earn** | *ba-nòšox*[|] ⁺*fəssè* ⁺*b-haslét*[|] You must earn money for yourself (89)

j

jgr **I** (*jagər, jgir, jagore*) **to become angry** (*əl-* with). **II** *m-jgr* (*majgər, məjgire, majgore*) **to anger**

jhy **I** (*jahe, jəhe, jahoe*) **to become weary, to tire**

jlq **I** (*jaləq, jliqe, jaloqe*) (K) **to tear (tr. and intr.)** | *kaxtita jəlqali* I tore the paper; *jləqle* He has expired (pejorative)

⁺*jnjx* **Q** (*janjəx, jənjixe, janjoxe*) **to scratch**

jnw **I** (*janəw, jniwe, janowe*) **to snatch; to tear up, to devour; to bite (animal)** | *kalba jnəwleli* The dog bit me

jrg **I** (*jarəg, jrige, jaroge*) (K/T < P) **to arrange, to spread; to array oneself (intr.),to encamp**

jrm **II** *m-jrm* (*majrəm, məjrime, majrome*) (K/T < A) **to cause to be fined**

jrt **I** (*jarət, jrit, jarote*) (K) **to slip**

jss **I** (*jasəs, jsise, jasose*) (K/T < A) **to spy**

jyr **I** (*jer, jire, jyara*) **to urinate**

⁺*j*

⁺*jbr* **I** (⁺*jabər,* ⁺*jbir,* ⁺*jabore*) (K ? < A) **to become powerful, boastful of one's power, tyrannical. II** ⁺*m-jbr* (⁺*majbər,* ⁺*məjbire,* ⁺*majbore*) **to make powerful, tyrannical**

⁺*jrb* **I** (⁺*jarəb,* ⁺*jribe,* ⁺*jarobe*) (K < A) **to try, to try out**

⁺*jry* **I** (*jare, jəre, jaroe*) (K < A) **to flow. II** ⁺*m-jry* (⁺*majre,* ⁺*məjrye,* ⁺*majroe*) **to make flow, to carry away (of flood)**

k

kfkn **Q** (*kafkən, kəfkin, kafkone*) **to become mouldy**

kfkr **Q** (*kafkər, kəfkir, kafkore*) **to become sad**

klw **I** (*kaləw, kliwe, klawa*) **to write**

kny **I** (*kane, kəne, kanoe*) **to have the heart to do a thing**

kpkp **Q** (*kapkəp, kəpkipe, kapkope*) **to bend (tr.) repeatedly**

kpn **I** (*kapən, kpin, kapone*) **to become hungry. II** *m-kpn* (*makpən, məkpine, makpone*) **to cause to hunger**

kpr **I** (*kapər, kpire, kapore*) **to atone**

krb **I** (*karəb, krib, karobe*) (K < A) **to become sad**

krx **I** (*karəx, krixe, karoxe*) **to enshroud**

kry (i) **I** (*kare, kəre, karoe*) **to become short. II** *m-kry* (*makre, məkrye, makroe*) **to shorten**

kry (ii) **I** (*kare, kərye, karoe*) (K < A) **to hire**

krz **II** *m-krz* (*makrəz, məkrize, makroze*) **to announce, to crow** | *xorəz halag la məkrize* The cock has not yet crowed

ksy **I** (*kase, kəsye, kasoe*) **to cover, to dress**

kwš **I** (*koš, kwiš, kwaša*) **to go down, to come down, to descend. II** *m-kwš* (*makwəš, məkwiše, makwoše*) ~ *mkš* (*makəš, mkiše, makoše*) **to take down, to bring down**

kxk **I** (*kaxək, kxik, kaxoke*) **to laugh** (*əl-, reš* at) | *kaxəkla* (+ 3fs. pronominal suffix) He laughs (§9.14.2.)

kxl **I** (*kaxla* 3fs., *kxəlta, kaxole*) **to annoint one's eyes with collyrium**

kyl **I** (*kel, kile, kyala*) **to measure**

kym **I** (*kem, kim, kyama*) **to become black. II** *m-kym* (*makəm, mkime, makome*) **to blacken**

kyp **I** (*kep, kip, kyapa*) **to bend (intr.). II** *m-kyp* (*makəp, mkipe, makope*) **to bend (tr.)** | *reša m-kyp əl-* to bow down before

l

lhy **I** (*lahe, ləhe, lahoe*) **to blaze**

lkx **I** (*lakəx, lkixe, lakoxe*) **to lick**

lngr **Q** (*langər, ləngir, langore*) (K) **to grow lame**

lqlq **Q** (*laqləq, ləqliqe, laqloqe*) **to lap**

lwš **I** (*loš, lwiše, lwaša*) **to dress (intr.). II** *m-lbš* (*malbəš, məlbiše, malboše*) **to dress (another)**

lwy **I** (*lawe, ləwye, lawoe*) (K) **to beseech, to implore**

lys (i) **I** (*les, lise, lyasa*) **to bite, to chew**

lyš (ii) **I** (*leš, liše, lyaša*) **to knead**

⁺*l*

⁺*lčlč* **Q** (⁺*lačləč,* ⁺*ləčliče,* ⁺*lačloče*) **to trample to pieces**

⁺*lqt* **I** (⁺*laqət,* ⁺*lqite,* ⁺*laqote*) **to inlay, to embroider**

⁺*ltx* **I** (⁺*latəx,* ⁺*ltix,* ⁺*latox*) **to stick to, to suit. II** ⁺*m-ltx* (⁺*maltəx,* ⁺*məltixe,* ⁺*maltoxe*) **to make stick; to stick (tr.)** | *gal šwalta* ⁺*məltəxlele* He stuck it with glue

⁺*lyč* **I** (⁺*leč,* ⁺*liče,* ⁺*lyača*) **to tread upon; to trample**

m

mdp **I** (*madəp, mdipe, madope*) **to fold; to fix (slang)**

mdy **I** (*made, mədye, madoe*) (< ∅*dy*) **to bring** | *šəmmew mədyele* He mentioned him / He invoked him.

mhy **I** (*mahe, məhe* intr./*məhye* tr., *mahoye*) **to efface, to be wiped out**

m-lbš → *lwš*

mlly **I** (*malle, məlle, malloe*) **to suffice, to be enough** | *málle!* That's enough! *mállen!* I have had enough! *málle axčá màrox!* You have spoken enough! **II** *m-mly* (*mamle, məmlye, mamloe*) **to suffice, to make suffice**

mlp → *ylp*

mlq **II** (*maləq, mliqe, maloqe*) **to light (fire), to kindle**

mlx **II** *m-mlx* (*mamləx, məmlixe, mamloxe*) **to salt**

m-my → *ymy*

mny **I** (*mane, mənye, manoe*) **to count**

mqy **I** (*maqe, məqyə, maqoe*) **to speak, to talk, to tell, to relate. II** *m-mqy* (*mamqe, məmqye, mamqoe*) **to cause to speak**

mrs **I** (*marəs, mrise, marose*) **to sprinkle**

mrw → *yrw*

mry **I** (*mare, məre, maroe*) **to ache, to be painful. II** *m-mry* **to hurt, to give pain** | *reša m-mry* to bother, to importune

msq → *ysq*

msy **I** (*mase, məsye, masoe*) **to wash (clothes)**

mšlm **Q** (*mašləm, məšlim, mašlome*) **to become a Muslim**

mšm **I** (*mašəm, mšime, mašome*) **to irritate (wounds etc.)**

mšy **I** (*maše, məšye, mašoe*) **to wipe**

mtw → *ytw*

m-wl → ∅*wl*

mxl → ∅*xl*

mxy **I** (*maxe, məxye, maxoe*) **to beat, to strike; to play (an instrument)**

m-ybš → *wyš*

myl **I** (*mel, mil, myala*) **to die. II** *m-myl* (*maməl, mmile, mamole*) **to put to death**

m-yrt → *ryt*

mzy **I** (*maze, məzye, mazoe*) (arch.) **to mix**

⁺***m***

⁺*mbr* → ∅*wr*

⁺*mdd* **I** (⁺*madəd,* ⁺*mdide,* ⁺*madode*) **to mourn**

⁺*mjz* → ⁺∅*jz*

⁺*mlk* **II** ⁺*m-mlk* (⁺*mamlək,* ⁺*məmlike,* ⁺*mamloke*) (K/T < A) **to give possession of**

⁺*mlty* **Q** (⁺*malte,* ⁺*məltye,* ⁺*maltoe*) **to give food by a spoon (to a small child or sick person)**

⁺*mly* **I** (⁺*male,* ⁺*məle* intr./⁺*məlye* tr., ⁺*maloe*) **to fill (tr. and intr.)** │ *ləbbew* ⁺*mlele reš* He was sorry about

⁺*m-mbr* → ⁺∅*wr*

⁺*mml* (⁺*maməl,* ⁺*mmile,* ⁺*mamole*) **to ask about the price of**

⁺*mrč* **I** (⁺*marəč,* ⁺*mriče,* ⁺*maroče*) **to crush**

⁺*mrl* **I** (⁺*marəl,* ⁺*mril,* ⁺*marole*) **to become bitter. II** ⁺*m-mrl* (⁺*mamrəl,* ⁺*məmrile,* ⁺*mamrole*) **to embitter**

⁺*mrm* → ⁺*yrm*

⁺*m-rš̬y* **Q** (*marš̬e, mərš̬ye, marš̬oe*) **to render wicked; to make out to be wicked, to condemn**

⁺*mrt* **I** (⁺*marət,* ⁺*mrit,* ⁺*marote*) **to break wind** │ ⁺*mərtale* (+ 3fs. pronominal suffix) He broke wind (§9.14.2.)

⁺*mssy* **I** (⁺*məsse,* ⁺*məsse,* ⁺*məssoe*) (§4.13.12.) **to be able**

⁺*mstr* **Q** (⁺*mastər,* ⁺*məstire,* ⁺*mastore*) **to curse**

⁺*mtr* **II** ⁺*m-mtr* (⁺*mamtər,* ⁺*məmtire,* ⁺*mamtore*) **to bring rain**

⁺*mty* **I** (⁺*mate,* ⁺*məte,* ⁺*matoe*) **to arrive; to mature; to have the time (to do a thing); to reach, to attain; to be due** │ *tez* ⁺*mti!* Come

quickly! **II** ⁺*m-mty* (⁺*mamte,* ⁺*məmtye,* ⁺*mamtoe*) **to bring about** | *əlha* ⁺*mamte ba-*⁺*yalox* May God give the like to your children (answer to congratulations on family occasions); *əlha* ⁺*mamte dadox!* May God do you justice!

⁺*myč* **I** (⁺*meč,* ⁺*miče,* ⁺*myača*) **to tread upon; to crush**

⁺*myr* **I** (⁺*mer,* ⁺*mir,* ⁺*myara*) **to dare**

⁺*mys* **I** (⁺*mes,* ⁺*mise,* ⁺*myasa*) **to suck. II** ⁺*m-mys* (⁺*maməs,* ⁺*mmise,* ⁺*mamose*) **to give suck**

n

nby **I** (*nabe, nəbye, naboe*) **to prophesy**

nčl **I** (*načəl, nčile, načole*) **to pluck**

ndr **I** (*nadər, ndire, nadore*) **to vow**

ndy **II** *m-ndy* (*mande, məndye, mandoe*) **to throw; to shoot** | *b-ida m-ndy* to bluff; *škəl m-ndy* to make a portrait; *naqš m-ndy* to draw a picture; *xabrew la ara mandənne* I shall not reject his word (his request) (Literally: I shall not throw his word on the ground)

nfy **I** (*nafe, nəfe, nafoe*) (K < A) **to be of use**

nhr **I** (*nahər, nhir, nahore*) **to shine** | *axča sqiltela, ba-šrata mara: la nhur, ana nahran!* She is so beautiful, she (can) say to the lamp: Do not shine, I (can) shine (in your place)! **II** *m-nhr* (*manhər, mənhire, manhore*) **to kindle** | *baqatta o nura b-manhəre* He will light the fire tomorrow

nmnm **Q** (*namnəm, nəmnim, namnome*) **to slumber lightly**

nndy **Q** (*nande, nəndye, nandoe*) **to jump**

npx **I** (*napəx, npixe, napoxe*) **to vomit**

npy **I** (*nape, nəpye, napoe*) **to enjoy**

nql **I** (*naqəl, nqil, naqole*) **to become thin**

nšq **I** (*našəq, nšiqe, našoqe*) **to kiss**

nšr **I** (*našər, nšire, našore*) (K < A) **to saw; to carve**

nšy **II** *m-nšy* (*manše, mənšye, manšoe*) **to forget, to make forget** |
⁺*totew mənšela* She forgot his kindness / She was ungrateful to
him

nty **II** *m-nty* (*mante*) **to give** | used only in: *əlha mante!* Please God!

nwx **I** (*nox, nwix, nawoxe*) **to bark**

nxl **I** (*naxəl, nxile, naxole*) **to sift**

nxp **I** (*naxəp, nxip, naxope*) **to be ashamed** | ⁺*raba naxopen mənnox* I
am very sorry (literally: I am ashamed of you); *naxopen baox am-
ren* I am ashamed to tell you. **II** *m-nxp* (*manxəp, mənxipe, manxope*)
to shame; to put to shame

nxr **II** *m-nxr* (*manxər, mənxir, manxore*) **to fall off (leaves)**

nym **I** (*nem, nim, nyama*) **to slumber**

nys **I** (*nes, nise, nyasa*) **to bite (one's finger)**

nyx **I** (*nex, nix, nyaxa*) **to calm down, to rest; to be extinguished. II**
m-nyx (*manəx, mnixe, manoxe*) **to make rest; to extinguish** | *əlha
manəxle!* God rest his soul! (answer: *gal melanox* ⁺*ba-dəġde* to-
gether with your dead!)

⁺***n***

⁺*nby* **I** (⁺*nabe,* ⁺*nəbe,* ⁺*naboe*) **to swell. II** ⁺*m-nby* (⁺*manbe,* ⁺*mənbye,*
⁺*manboe*) **to cause to swell**

⁺*nps* **I** (⁺*napəs,* ⁺*npise,* ⁺*napose*) **to shake out (bedding; clothes)**

⁺*nqt* **I** (⁺*naqət,* ⁺*nqit,* ⁺*naqote*) (K < A) **to drip, to fall in drops. II**
⁺*m-nqt* (⁺*manqət,* ⁺*mənqite,* ⁺*manqote*) **to sprinkle**

⁺*nšt* **I** (⁺*našət,* ⁺*nšite,* ⁺*našote*) **to scratch, to receive a scratch** | *məška*
⁺*nšt* to skin

⁺*ntr* **I** (⁺*natər,* ⁺*ntire,* ⁺*natore*) **to guard; to observe** | *əlha* ⁺*natəre
axxoni* my brother, may God preserve him (in life)

p

phr **I** (*pahər, phir, pahore*) **to yawn**

phrz (i) **Q** (*pahrəz, pəhrize, pahroze*) (T < P) **to put on a diet**

phrz (ii) **Q** (*pahrəz, pəhrize, pahroze*) (T < P) **to warn**

plx **I** (*paləx, plix* intr./*plixe* tr., *paloxe*) **to open (tr. and intr.); to roll out (dough); to blossom** | *ləbbew pləxle* He cheered up

ply (i) **I** (*pale, pəlye, paloe*) **to divide; to distribute** | *šəmyén ki-ā́t fəssè palulét*⸌ I have heard that you are distributing money (22)

ply (ii) **I** (*pale, pəlye, paloe*) **to delouse**

pqy **I** (*paqe, pəqe* intr./*pəqye* tr., *paqoe*) **to burst, to blow up (tr. and intr.)** | *ána geb-báxti nóši pəqyàli*⸌ I puffed myself up (= I boasted) with my wife (48)

prčk **Q** (*parčək, pərčik* intr./*pərčike* tr., *parčoke*) (K) **to crumble (tr. and intr.)**

prpy **Q** (*parpe, pərpye, parpoe*) **to rinse**

prq **I** (*parəq, priq* intr./*priqe* tr., *paroqe*) **to save, to rescue (from); to finish, to end (tr. and intr.)** | *prəqlu ⁺g-aralġət nošu* They came to an agreement between themselves

prs **I** (*parəs, pris* intr./*prise* tr., *parose*) **to spread (tr. and intr.)**

prš **I** (*parəš, priš* intr./*priše* tr., *paroše*) **to separate, to part (tr. and intr.)**

prtf **Q** (*partəf, pərtife, partofe*) (K) **to throw**

prtk **Q** (*partək, pərtike, partoke*) **to break to pieces**

prx **I** (*parəx, prix, paroxe*) **to fly** | *quš prəxla* The bird flew off. **II** *m-prx* (*maprəx, məprixe, maproxe*) **to let fly, to cause to fly**

psl **I** (*pasəl, psile, pasole*) **to declare as unfit**

pšm **I** (*pašəm, pšim, pašome*) (K/T) **to regret. II** *m-pšm* (*mapšəm, məpšime, mapšome*) **to cause to regret**

pšr **I** (*pašər, pšir* intr./*pšire* tr., *pašore*) **to melt, to expand (tr. and intr.). II** *m-pšr* (*mapšər, məpšire, mapšore*) **to cause to melt, to expand**

ptl **I** (*patəl, ptile, patole*) **to twist**

ptpt **Q** (*patpət, pətpite, patpote*) **to whisper; to chat, to chatter**

pxpx **Q** (*paxpəx, pəxpix, paxpoxe*) **to disintegrate (esp. food due to overcooking)**

pyl **I** (*pel, pil, pyala*) **to fall; to fall to, to begin; to occur** | *pyl bar* to follow; *pyl ⁺qabāġ* to go before; *pəlle ara* He fell to the ground; *pəlle naxoš ~ pəlle tkew* He fell ill; *pəlle ⁺wərxa* He set out on his way; *pəlle šula* He fell to work; *bali pəllu* I remembered them; *ləbbew pəlle* He was discouraged; *pəlla mənnew* He was shocked with fright; *⁺raba ⁺dawae peliwa* Many quarrels occurred. **II** *m-pyl* (*mapəl, mpile, mapole*) **to let fall, to cause to fall**

pyr **I** (*per, pir, pyara*) **to pass** (*mən* by); **to prevail (word)** | *mən-d-ó korpì¦ ya-góra gắrag pèrwà¦* The man had to cross that bridge (54); *xabréw-iš ⁺rába perwà¦* His word always prevailed (literally: passed) (1); *mato pəra baox?* How did it go with you?. **II** *m-pyr* (*mapər, mpire, mapore*) **to cause to pass; to spend (time)** | *ò-jur-inan¦ ayné yomanú mapirìwalu¦* They spent their days in this way (122). With generic object: *⁺rába pùč mapiríwala¦* They had a very bad life (154)

pys **I** (*pes, pis, pyasa*) (K) **to become stricken with leprosy**

pyš **I** (*peš, piš, pyaša*) **to stay, to remain** | *pəšla b-⁺yala* She has become pregnant; *pəšle mahtal* He was astonished; *ləbbew pəšle əl-d-o šula* He was worried about that matter; *balkí ləbbàw m-xayán píš¦* Perhaps she has become angry with one of us (4); *puš šalomi* Farewell! **II** *m-pyš* (*mapəš, mpiše, mapoše*) **to leave**

pyx **I** (*pex, pix, pyaxa*) **to blow**

⁺*p*

⁺pčy **I** (*⁺pače, ⁺pəče, pačoe*) (K) **to become battered. II** *⁺m-pčy* (*⁺mapče, ⁺məpčye, ⁺mapčoe*) **to batter**

⁺plm **I** (*⁺paləm, ⁺plim, ⁺palome*) **to become crooked. II** *⁺m-plm* (*⁺mapləm, ⁺məplime, ⁺maplome*) **to make crooked**

⁺plt **I** (*⁺palət, ⁺plit* intr./*⁺plite* tr., *⁺palote*) **to go out, to come out; to take out, to bring out** | *xriwe xabre ⁺plt* to slander; *rešew ⁺palət m-d-ay šula* He is versed in this matter; *⁺čulew ⁺m-mae ⁺palət* He can manage; *⁺paltet bahurula!* May you come out into light! (answer to the formula of congratulation: *enox bahure hawe!* May your eyes be shining!); *əlha bahurula ⁺palətlox!* May God help you!

⁺*prt* **I** (⁺*parət,* ⁺*prit* intr./⁺*prite* tr., ⁺*parote*) **to undo, to become un-done**

⁺*psn* **I** (⁺*pasən,* ⁺*psine,* ⁺*pasone*) (K) **to praise**

⁺*psx* **I** (⁺*pasəx,* ⁺*psix,* ⁺*pasoxe*) **to rejoice, to be glad, to be happy. II** ⁺*m-psx* (⁺*mapsəx,* ⁺*məpsixe,* ⁺*mapsoxe*) **to gladden; to give joy; to make happy** | *əlha* ⁺*mapsəxlox!* God give you joy! (answer: *əlha əllox-əš* ⁺*mapsəx!* and you, too!)

⁺*psy* **I** (⁺*pase,* ⁺*pəsye,* ⁺*pasoe*) **to celebrate Passover**

⁺*pšt* **I** (⁺*pašət,* ⁺*pšit* intr./⁺*pšite* tr., ⁺*pašote*) **to stretch out (tr. and intr.)**

⁺*ptx* **II** ⁺*m-ptx* (⁺*maptəx,* ⁺*məptixe,* ⁺*maptoxe*) **to flatten**

q

qbl **I** (*qabəl, qbile, qabole*) **to receive, to accept, to agree** | ⁺*hal-attá là-qbəltan*| *dadáx ayèl*| Until now I have not allowed our father to know (64); *ləbbew la qbəlle* He was restless; *ya šula qbila la xadər!* This won't do (literally: This thing will not become received)

qdš **I** (*qadəš, qdiše, qadoše*) **to sanctify**

qhy **I** (*qahe, qəhe* intr./*qəhye* tr., *qahoe*) **to be set on edge, to set on edge (teeth)**

qlb **I** (*qaləb, qlib, qalobe*) (K < A) **to turn (intr.). II** *m-qlb* (*maqləb, məqlibe, maqlobe*) **to turn (tr.)**

qll **I** (*qaləl, qlil, qalole*) **to become light (in weight)** | ⁺*aqlew qlil* He has become weak-minded. **II** *m-qll* (*maqləl, məqlile, maqlole*) **to make light (in weight); to scold; to offend**

qlp **I** (*qaləp, qlipe, qlapa*) **to peel**

qlw **I** (*qaləw, qliw* intr./*qliwe* tr., *qalowe*) **to clean; to become clean**

qly **I** (*qale, qəlye, qaloe*) **to fry, to roast, to toast. II** *m-qly* **to burn (tr.)** | *dadox b-maqlənne əllox* I'll punish you severely! (literally: I shall burn your father for you)

qnš **I** (*qanəš, qniše, qanoše*) **to sweep, to sweep out** | *ara qanəš* It is extremely long (of skirt, beard etc.) (Literally: It sweeps the ground)

qny **I** (*qane, qəne, qanoe*) **to become green/blue, to be bruised** | *enew qənya* His eye is bruised. **II** *m-qny* (*maqne, məqnye, maqnoe*) **to cause to become green/blue; to bruise** | *enew məqnyale* He gave him a black eye

qpš **I** (*qapəš, qpiše, qapoše*) **to hem**

qpx **I** (*qapəx, qpix, qapoxe*) **to grow (intr., of plants). II** *m-qpx* (*maqpəx, məqpixe, maqpoxe*) **to make grow (plants)**

qrw **I** (*qarəw, qriw, qarowe*) (arch.) **to draw near. II** *m-qrw* (*maqrəw, məqriwe, maqrowe*) **to bring near**

qrx **I** (*qarəx, qrix, qaroxe*) **to become grey or white (hair). II** *m-qrx* (*maqrəx, məqrixe, maqroxe*) **to whiten (tr.); to rub clean**

qry **I** (*qare, qərye, qaroe*) **to read, to study. II** *m-qry* (*maqre, məqrye, maqroe*) **to teach (in school)** | *dars m-qry* to teach lessons; *əl-*⁺*yále dárs maqrèwa*| They would teach the children lessons (141)

qšy **II** *m-qšy* (*maqše, məqšye, maqšoe*) **to ask difficult or inopportune questions**

qwr **I** (*qor, qwire, qawore*) **to bury**

qwy **I** (*qawe, qəwe, qawoe*) **to become strong, hard. II** *m-qwy* (*maqwe, məqwye, maqwoe*) **to strengthen**

qyl **I** (*qel, qil, qyala*) **to burn (intr.)** | *jgarew qel!* May his liver burn (with sorrow over the death of his children)! *ləbbew qəlle* He took pity (literally: His heart burnt). **II** *m-qyl* (*maqəl, mqile, maqole*) **to burn (tr.), to ignite**

qym **I** (*qem, qim, qyama*) **to rise, to get up** | *qimle mə-tkew* He arose from his bed; *qimle reš aqlew* He stood up (literally: He rose on his feet). **II** *m-qym* (*maqəm, mqime, maqome*) **to raise**

qyp **I** (*qep, qipe, qyapa*) **to attack, to knock, to hurt** | *qarda qəpla əllew* He caught a cold. **II** *m-qyp* (*maqəp, mqipe, maqope*) **to make touch**

⁺*q*

⁺*qrmt* **Q** (⁺*qarmət,* ⁺*qərmit* intr./⁺*qərmite* tr., ⁺*qarmote*) **to shrink; to crumple; to gather up**

⁺*qrpš* ∼ ⁺*qrpš* **Q** (⁺*qarpəš,* ⁺*qərpiš* intr./⁺*qərpiše* tr., ⁺*qarpoše*) **to gather (tr. and intr.)**

⁺*qrs* **I** (⁺*qarəs,* ⁺*qris,* ⁺*qarose*) **to wink (with an eye)**

⁺*qrt* **I** (⁺*qarət,* ⁺*qrite,* ⁺*qarote*) (K) **to bite off, to crack (with teeth)**

⁺*qsqs* **Q** (⁺*qasqəs,* ⁺*qəsqise,* ⁺*qasqose*) **to snip**

⁺*qtl* **I** (⁺*qatəl,* ⁺*qtile,* ⁺*qatole*) **to kill, to put to death. II** ⁺*m-qtl* (⁺*maqtəl,* ⁺*məqtile,* ⁺*maqtole*) **to cause to kill; to cause to be killed**

⁺*qtqt* **Q** (⁺*qatqət,* ⁺*qətqite,* ⁺*qatqote*) **to mince** | *dayqe dayqe* ⁺*qatqtilu* They mince them very fine (G:92)

⁺*qtr* **I** (⁺*qatər,* ⁺*qtire,* ⁺*qatore*) **to tie (a knot, a bundle)**

⁺*qty* **I** (⁺*qate,* ⁺*qəte* intr./⁺*qətye* tr., ⁺*qatoe*) **to cut (off), to be cut (off); to pick, to be picked; to rob (a place), to be robbed; to stop (tr. and intr.), to cease, to make cease; to wean** | *ləbbew* ⁺*qtele* He grew terrified; ⁺*qalox* ⁺*qtile* Be quiet!; ⁺*wərxawé* ⁺*qatèwa*| The roads were cut off (159); *góyme* ⁺*qanšarú* ⁺*qatèwale*| The Muslims cut in front of them (157)

⁺*qyr* **I** (⁺*qer,* ⁺*qir,* ⁺*qyara*) **to become cold**

⁺*qys* **I** (⁺*qes,* ⁺*qise,* ⁺*qyasa*) **to cut (hair); to pare (nails)**

⁺*qyt* **I** (⁺*qet,* ⁺*qit,* ⁺*qyata*) (arch.) **to spend the summer**

r

rhm **I** (*rahəm, rhime, rahome*) (K/T < A, or H) **to pity, to have mercy on**

rkx **I** (*rakəx, rkix, rakoxe*) **to become soft. II** *m-rkx* (*markəx, mərkixe, markoxe*) **to soften (tr.)**

rql **I** (*raqəl, rqile, raqole*) **to dance. II** *m-rql* (*marqəl, mərqile, marqole*) **to make dance, to make jump**

rtrt **Q** (*ratrət, rətrit, ratrote*) **to tremble**

rxš **I** (*raxəš, rxiš, raxoše*) **to walk. II** *m-rxš* (*marxəš, mərxiše, marxoše*) **to make walk, to teach to walk**

ryq (i) **I** (*req, riqe, ryaqa*) **to spit**

ryq (ii) **II** *m-ryq* (*marəq, mriqe, maryoqe*) **to abduct (a woman), to kidnap; to elope with** → *m-yqr* | *niše marqyana* abductor of women.

rys **I** (*res, rise, ryasa*) **to press**

ryt **I** (*ret, rit, ryata*) **to tremble. II** *m-yrt* (*mayrət, məyrite, mayrote*) **to make tremble**

ryx **II** *m-ryx* (*marəx, mrixe, maroxe*) **to smell, to sniff** | *rixa maroxen* I can smell something

⁺***r***

⁺*rdx* **I** (⁺*radəx,* ⁺*rdix,* ⁺*radoxe*) **to boil (intr.). II** ⁺*m-rdx* (⁺*mardəx,* ⁺*mərdixe,* ⁺*mardoxe*) **to boil (tr.)**

⁺*rdy* **I** (⁺*rade,* ⁺*rəde,* ⁺*radoe*) (K? < A) **to be pleased with; to fall in love with** | ⁺*haxamət ay okew la* ⁺*rədyile* He was not content with the scholars of his city (G:102). **II** ⁺*m-rdy* (⁺*marde,* ⁺*mərdye,* ⁺*mardoe*) **to placate; to seek to please**

⁺*rkw* **I** (⁺*rakəw,* ⁺*rkiwe,* ⁺*rakowe*) **to ride, to mount. II** ⁺*m-rkw* (⁺*markəw,* ⁺*mərkiwe,* ⁺*markowe*) **to put on a horse, in a vehicle**

⁺*rmz* **I** (⁺*raməz,* ⁺*rmize,* ⁺*ramoze*) **to wink**

⁺*rprp* **Q** (⁺*raprəp,* ⁺*rəprip,* ⁺*raprope*) **to hover, float**

⁺*rpy* **II** ⁺*m-rpy* (⁺*marpe,* ⁺*mərpye,* ⁺*marpoe*) **to relinquish, to set free**

⁺*rwy* **I** (⁺*rawe,* ⁺*rəwe,* ⁺*rawoe*) **to grow, to increase (intr.). II** ⁺*m-rwy* (⁺*marwe,* ⁺*mərwye,* ⁺*marwoe*) **to grow (tr.); to bring up; to increase (tr.)** | *jwən bráta* ⁺*mərwítat*| You (fs.) have brought the girl up well (117)

⁺*rxt* **I** (⁺*raxət,* ⁺*rxit,* ⁺*raxote*) **to run. II** ⁺*m-rxt* (⁺*marxət,* ⁺*mərxite,* ⁺*marxote*) **to make run**

⁺*ryš* **I** (⁺*reš,* ⁺*riš,* ⁺*ryaša*) **to wake (intr.). II** ⁺*m-ryš* (⁺*marəš,* ⁺*mriše,* ⁺*maroše*) **to wake (tr.)**

⁺*ryy* **I** (⁺*raye,* ⁺*rəye,* ⁺*rayoe*) (arch.) **to graze (intr.). II** ⁺*m-ryy* (⁺*mare,* ⁺*mərye,* ⁺*maroe*) **to graze, to pasture; to herd**

s

shl **II** *m-shl* (*mashəl, məshile, mashole*) **to call to witness**

skr (i) **I** (*sakər, skir, sakore*) (K < A) **to become drunk, intoxicated. II** *m-skr* (*maskər, məskire, maskore*) **to make drunk, to intoxicate**

skr (ii) **II** *m-skr* (*maskər, məskir* intr./*məskire* tr., *maskore*) **to lose; to become lost**

slx **I** (*saləx, slixe, saloxe*) (K < A) **to tear off (clothes and the like)**

smq **I** (*saməq, smiq, samoqe*) **to become red** | *poqew smiq* His nose has become red. **II** *m-smq* (*masməq, məsmiqe, masmoqe*) **to redden, to make red**

smr **I** (*samər, smir, samore*) **to be destroyed. II** *m-smr* (*masmər, məsmire, masmore*) **to destroy**

sny **I** (*sane, sənye, sanoe*) **to hate**

sps **I** (*sapəs, spis, sapose*) **to rot; to turn (milk); to feel embarrassment** | *la naxopet? la saposet?* Are you not ashamed? Are you not embarrassed? **II** (*maspəs, məspise, maspose*) **to make bad, rotten; to cause to turn (milk)**

spy **II** *m-spy* (*maspe, məspye, maspoe*) **to hand over, to deliver**

sql **I** (*saqəl, sqil, saqole*) **to become beautiful/handsome. II** *m-sql* (*masqəl, məsqile, masqole*) **to make beautiful**

sqm **I** (*saqəm, sqime, saqome*) **to despise**

srq (i) **I** (*sarəq, sriqe, saroqe*) **to comb**

srq (ii) **I** (*sarəq, sriqe, saroqe*) **to cast, to mold**

srsd **Q** (*sarsəd, sərsid, sarsode*) **to dangle**

srwd **Q** (*sarwəd, sərwide, sarwode*) (K ?) **to put to shame**

sry **II** *m-sry* (*masre, məsre, masroe*) **to stink**

str **I** (*satər, stire, satore*) **to cleave asunder; to crack**

swy **I** (*sawe, səwe, sawoe*) **to become satiated. II** *m-swy* (*maswe, məswye, maswoe*) **to satiate**

sxy (i) **I** (*saxe, səxe, saxoe*) **to bathe, to wash** | The subject is typically a man. **II** *m-sxy* (*masxe, məsxye, masxoe*) **to give a bath** | ⁺*hatān masxoe* the washing of the bridegroom (85)

sxy (ii) **I** (*saxe, səxe, saxoe*) **to be generous (of heart)**

syl **I** (*sel, sile, syala*) **to copulate**

⁺**s**

⁺*shy* **I** (⁺*sahe,* ⁺*səhe,* ⁺*sahoe*) **to become thirsty**

⁺*slx* **I** (⁺*saləx,* ⁺*slixe,* ⁺*saloxe*) **to rend (one's clothes as a sign of mourning)**

⁺*slxn* **Q** (⁺*salxən,* ⁺*səlxin* intr./⁺*səlxine* tr., ⁺*salxone*) **to cleave, to burst (tr. and intr.)**

⁺*sly* **I** (⁺*sale,* ⁺*səle,* ⁺*saloe*) **to pray, to say one's prayers**

⁺*smx* **I** (⁺*saməx,* ⁺*smix,* ⁺*samoxe*) **to stand, to wait** (*ba-* ~ *reš* for) | ⁺*smx qabāġ* to withstand; ⁺*smixen ba-*⁺*qulluġox* I am at your service. **II** ⁺*m-smx* (⁺*masməx,* ⁺*məsmixe,* ⁺*masmoxe*) **to cause to stand; to present**

⁺*snq* **I** (⁺*sanəq,* ⁺*sniq,* ⁺*sanoqe*) **to need, to be in need of** | ⁺*tura əl-*⁺*tura la* ⁺*sanəq, nāš əl-nāš* ⁺*sanəq* Mountains do not stand in need of each other, but people do. **II** ⁺*m-snq* (⁺*masnəq,* ⁺*məsniqe,* ⁺*masnoqe*) **to cause to need**

⁺*spy* **I** (⁺*sape,* ⁺*səpe* intr./⁺*səpye* tr., ⁺*sapoe*) **to strain (a liquid), to cleanse; to be strained, to be cleansed** | ⁺*hessaban* ⁺*spele* We are quits (literally: Our account has been cleared); ⁺*ará xánči* ⁺*spèla*| The situation improved (literally: was cleansed) (169)

⁺*srx* **I** (⁺*sarəx,* ⁺*srixe,* ⁺*saroxe*) **to call, to invite; to cry out** | ⁺*srəxlile* I called him; *doktor* ⁺*saroxəlle* He is calling the doctor. **II** ⁺*m-srx* (⁺*masrəx,* ⁺*məsrixe,* ⁺*masroxe*) **to cause to shout; to announce, to proclaim** | *xà năfár*| *m-famìl,*| *ya šammằš,*| *lélət ay-xlulà*| *ayné kullú* ⁺*xleè*| *kí madéwalu báat* ⁺*kalo* ⁺*hatằn*| ⁺*masrə̀xwalu*| A member of the family or a beadle would announce all the gifts that they brought for the bride and groom on the night of the wedding (93)

⁺*swy* **I** (⁺*sawe,* ⁺*səwe,* ⁺*sawoe*) **to stiffen, to harden (intr.). II** ⁺*m-swy* (⁺*maswe,* ⁺*məswye,* ⁺*maswoe*) **to harden (tr.), to stiffen**

⁺*syl* **II** ⁺*m-syl* (⁺*masəl, msile, masole*) **to listen** | ⁺*nahala* ⁺*masole əllew* He is listening to him

⁺*sym* **I** (⁺*sem,* ⁺*sim,* ⁺*syama*) **to fast. II** ⁺*m-sym* (⁺*masəm,* ⁺*msime,* ⁺*masome*) **to cause to fast**

š

šby **I** (*šabe, šəbe, šaboe*) (K ? < A) (lit.) **to become alike. II** *m-šby* (*mašbe, məšbye, mašboe*) **to liken; to resemble** | *mašbule əl-*⁺*dəġde* They resemble one another

šdr **I** (*šadər, šdire, šadore*) **to send** | *šdr bar* to send for

šfq **I** (*šafəq, šfiq, šafoqe*) (K/T < A) **to have pity on, to feel compassion for**

šlf **I** (*šaləf, šlif, šalofe*) **to be deceived. II** *m-šlf* (*mašləf, məšlife, mašlofe*) **to deceive, to cheat, to entice, to seduce**

šlp **I** (*šaləp, šlip* intr./*šlipe* tr., *šalope*) **to draw (sword, ring from finger); to slip (intr.)**

šlq **I** (*šaləq, šliqe, šaloqe*) **to boil (in water)**

šlx **I** (*šaləx, šlix* intr./*šlixe* tr., *šaloxe*), **to undress (intr. and tr.); to draw (a sword); to rob** | *əl-d-o məška šləxle* He skinned him. **II** *m-šlx* (*mašləx, məšlixe, mašloxe*) **to undress (another); to take off (another's clothes)**

šly **I** (*šale, šəlye, šaloe*) **to card; to throw up** | *əlha salele!* Curse him! (Literally: God card him!)

šmn **I** (*šamən, šmin, šamone*) **to grow fat. II** *m-šmn* (*mašmən, məšmine, mašmone*) **to fatten, to make fat**

šmy **I** (*šame, šəmye, šamoe*) **to hear, to listen** | *rixa šmy* to smell (tr.); *jwā́n šmìmun!* Listen well! (11). **II** *m-šmy* (*mašme, məšmye, mašmoe*) **to make hear; to let hear**

šndf **Q** (*šandəf, šəndife, šandofe*) **to confuse, to upset**

šny **I** (*šane, šəne* intr./*šənye* tr., *šanoe*) **to move aside (tr. and intr.); to move to another house or place. II** *m-šny* (*mašne, məšnye, mašnoe*) **to move aside (tr.)**

špšp **Q** (*šapšəp, šəpšipe, šapšope*) **to rub (repeatedly)**

špx **I** (*šapəx, špixe, šapoxe*) (arch.) **to pour** | *spəxle əllew* He had a stroke of luck / He suddenly became very rich

šql **I** (*šaqəl, šqile, šaqole*) **to buy**

šrk **I** (*šarək, šrike, šaroke*) (K/T < A) **to take part, to share**

šršy **I** (*šarše, šərše, šaršoe*) **to hang down**

šry **I** (*šare, šərye, šaroe*) **to untie, to undo** | *pardà*| *šarèwala*| They would open the curtain (89)

štl **I** (*šatəl, štile, šatole*) **to plant**

šty (i) **I** (*šate, šətye, šatoe*) **to drink. II** *m-šty* (*mašte, məštye, maštoe*) **to give to drink; to water**

šty (ii) **II** *m-šty* (*mašte, məštye, maštoe*) **to span the warp in a loom**

šty (iii) **II** *m-šty* (*mašte, məštye, maštoe*) **to plate with metal**

šwq **I** (*šoq, šwiqe, šawoqe*) **to leave, to let; to preserve** | *əlha šoqlu* (⁺*yalox)!* May God preserve them (e.g. your children)!

šwy **I** (*šawe, šəwe* intr./*šəwye* tr.*, šawoe*) **to be equal; to be good for something** | *tka šwy* to make a bed; *ya sula la šawe!* This matter is no good!

šxn **II** *m-šxn* (*mašxən, məšxin* intr./*məšxine* tr., *mašxone*) **to heat, to have a fever**

šxtn **Q** (*šaxtən, šəxtin* intr./*šəxtine* tr., *šaxtone*) **to become dirty; to dirty**

šydn **Q** (*šaydən, šəydin, šaydone*) **to become mad**

šyk **I** (*šek, šike, šyaka*) **to rub, to polish**

šyp **I** (*šep, šipe, šyapa*) **to rub**

šyr **I** (*šer, šir* intr./*šire* tr., *šyara*) **to sink (in mud) (intr. and tr.), to become muddy** | *ga-*⁺*tina šəran!* We are done for! (literally: We have sunk in the mud); ⁺*g-tina šerənnox!* May I see you buried

(Literally: May I sink you in mud); *əllí-š ga-⁺tína šəràx*⸣ You've ru-
ined me! (30)

šyš **I** (*šeš, šiše, šyaša*) **to shake, churn** | *ba-ma nošox šyašetta?* Why are
you upset?

šyy **I** (*šaye, šəye, šayoe*) **to become mad**

⁺*š*

⁺*šltn* **Q II** ⁺*m-šltn* (⁺*mašltən,* ⁺*məšltine,* ⁺*mašltone*) **to make someone
king**

⁺*šry* **I** (⁺*šare,* ⁺*šərye,* ⁺*šaroe*) (K < A) **to judge, to pass judgement**

⁺*štf* **II** ⁺*m-štf* (⁺*maštəf,* ⁺*məštife,* ⁺*maštofe*) **to erase, to wipe out**

⁺*štx* **II** ⁺*m-štx* (⁺*maštəx,* ⁺*məštixe,* ⁺*maštoxe*) **to find** | *héč-*⁺*məndəġ lá
maštoxà-wele*⸣ 'Nothing could be found' (174)

⁺*šty* **I** (⁺*šate,* ⁺*šəte,* ⁺*šatoe*) **to lie down. II** ⁺*m-šty* (⁺*mašte,* ⁺*məštye,*
⁺*maštoe*) **to cause to lie down; to lay down**

t

tfq **I** (*tafəq, tfiq, tafoqe*) (K < A) **to happen**

tfsr **I** (*tafsər, tafsire, tafsore*) (K/T < A) **to explain, to expound; trans-
late (the Bible) into the vernacular**

tkl **I** (*takəl, tkil, takole*) (K/T < A) **to lean, to rely upon; to trust** (*b-* ~
əl- so.) | *ena b-əlha* ~ *əl-əlha tkl* To put one's trust in God. **II** *m-tkl*
(*matkəl, mətkile, matkole*) **to reassure**

tky **I** (*take, təke, takoe*) (< A) **to lean**

tlty **I** (*talte, təlte* intr./*təltye* tr., *taltoe*) **to hang (tr. and intr.)** | *rešáw
təltèlale*⸣ She hung her head (6)

tnsk **Q** (*tansək, tənsike, tansoke*) **to rebuke**

tnw **I** (*tanəw, tniw, tanowe*) **to become numb**

tnx **I** (*tanəx, tnix, tanoxe*) **to enjoy** (*gal* sth.)

tpl **I** (*tapəl, tpil, tapole*) **to sneeze**

tql **I** (*taqəl, tqile, taqole*) **to weigh (tr.), to raise (hand)** | *idew təqlale* He raised his hand

tqr **I** (*taqər, tqire, taqore*) **to touch**

tqy **I** (*taqe, təqye, taqoe*) **to beg, to entreat**

trk **I** (*tarək, trike, taroke*) (K/T < A) **to leave, to abandon. II** *m-trk* (*matrək, mətrike, matroke*) **to abandon, to neglect**

trp **II** *m-trp* (*matrəp, mətripe, matrope*) **to set galloping, to gallop**

trql **Q** (*tarqəl, tərqil, tarqole*) **to stumble, to blunder. II** *m-trql* (*matrqəl, mətrqile, matrqole*) **to cause to stumble**

trtm **Q** (*tartəm, tərtim, tartome*) **to grumble**

try **I** (*tare, təre, taroe*) **to become wet, moist. II** *m-try* (*matre, mətrye, matroe*) **to wet, to moisten**

txn **I** (*taxən, txine, taxone*) **to grind**

twr **I** (*tor, twir* intr./*twire* tr., *tware*) **to break (tr. and intr.); to defeat, to spoil, to ruin** | ⁺*səhyanula twr* to quench one's thirst

txr **II** *m-txr* (*matxər, mətxire, matxore*) **to remember; to remind**

tym **I** (*tem, tim, tyama*) **to come to an end** | *šata tyama* anniversary of the dead (Literally: year ending). **II** *m-tym* (*matəm, mtime, matome*) **to complete, to put an end to**

tyx **I** (*tex, tix, tyaxa*) **to be quenched, to be appeased. II** *m-tyx* (*matəx, mtixe, matoxe*) **to quench, to appease**

⁺***t***

⁺*tbl* **I** (⁺*tabəl,* ⁺*tbil,* ⁺*tabole*) (H) **to take a ritual bath**

⁺*tlb* **I** (⁺*taləb,* ⁺*tlibe,* ⁺*talobe*) (K/T < A) **to ask for, to demand, to request**

⁺*tll* **I** (⁺*taləl,* ⁺*tlil,* ⁺*talole*) **to become wet**

⁺*tlq* **I** (⁺*taləq,* ⁺*tliqe,* ⁺*taloqe*) (K < A) **to divorce**

⁺*tmr* **I** (⁺*tamər,* ⁺*tmir,* ⁺*tamore*) **to sink, to drown (intr.)** | *g-benew* ⁺*tmire* It sank into his mind (literally: forehead). **II** ⁺*m-tmr* (⁺*matmər,* ⁺*mətmire,* ⁺*matmore*) **to dip; to drown (tr.)**

⁺*tmy* (i) **I** (⁺*tame,* ⁺*təmye,* ⁺*tamoe*) **to taste** | *molew* ⁺*tamen* May I see him dead (literally: May I taste his death). **II** ⁺*m-tmy* (⁺*matme,* ⁺*mətmye,* ⁺*matmoe*) **to cause to taste**

⁺*tmy* (ii) **I** (⁺*tame,* ⁺*təme,* ⁺*tamoe*) **to become unclean** | *mənnan biš* ⁺*tame!* You devil! (literally: (who) is more unclean than us). **II** ⁺*m-tmy* (⁺*matme,* ⁺*mətmye,* ⁺*matmoe*) **to make unclean**

⁺*tnjn* **Q** (⁺*tanjən,* ⁺*tənjin* intr./⁺*tənjine* tr., ⁺*tanjone*) (K < A) **to crown; to be crowned** | *xənxin* ⁺*tənjin* It (the food) has become entirely mouldy

⁺*tntl* **Q** (⁺*tantəl,* ⁺*təntil,* ⁺*tantole*) **to dally; to delay**

⁺*tpr* **I** (⁺*tapər,* ⁺*tpir,* ⁺*tapore*) **to burn. II** ⁺*m-tpr* (⁺*matpər,* ⁺*mətpire,* ⁺*matpore*) **to make burn**

⁺*tptp* **Q** (⁺*taptəp,* ⁺*təptipe,* ⁺*taptope*) **to knock**

⁺*tpy* **I** (⁺*tape,* ⁺*təpe,* ⁺*tapoe*) **to sting (insect); to bite (snake)** | *zarqeta* ⁺*tpelale* The bee stung him; ⁺*xuyye* ⁺*tpelele* The snake bit him.

⁺*trd* **I** (⁺*tarəd,* ⁺*tride,* ⁺*tarode*) **to drive away, to chase away, to drive out**

⁺*trp* **I** (⁺*tarəp,* ⁺*tripe,* ⁺*tarope*) **to beat (eggs etc.)**

⁺*trs* **I** (⁺*tarəs,* ⁺*tris* intr./⁺*trise* tr., ⁺*tarose*) **to arrange, to put in order; to lay (table); to set up, to erect; to heal; to recover (intr.)**

⁺*try* **I** (⁺*tare,* ⁺*tərye,* ⁺*taroe*) **to drive** | ⁺*yala* ⁺*try* to miscarry

⁺*tšy* **I** (⁺*taše,* ⁺*təšye,* ⁺*tašoe*) **to hide (tr.); to keep, to maintain; to withhold** | *nošəw* ⁺*təšyale* He hid (intr.); *xén áxni ə́llux là-*⁺*msex* ⁺*tašéx*ˈ We cannot keep (maintain) you anymore (89)

⁺*twy* **I** (⁺*tawe,* ⁺*təwe* intr./⁺*təwye* tr., ⁺*tawoe*) **to roast**

⁺*tyl* **I** (⁺*tal,* ⁺*tile,* ⁺*tyala*) **to play** | *jge* ⁺*tyl* to play knucklebones, to loaf about; ⁺*qumar* ⁺*tyl* to gamble; ⁺*zare* ⁺*tyl* to gamble, to play dice

⁺*tyn* **I** (⁺*ten,* ⁺*tine,* ⁺*tyana*) (arch.) **to bear, to carry. II** ⁺*m-tyn* (⁺*matən,* ⁺*mtine,* ⁺*matone*) **to load**

⁺*tys* **I** (⁺*tes,* ⁺*tise,* ⁺*tyasa*) **to stick into (tr.)**

w

wyš **I** (*weš, wiš, wyaša*) **to become dry; to become stiff (also: with astonishment). II** *m-ybš* (*maybəš, məybiše, mayboše*) **to dry (tr.)**

x

xdm **I** (*xadəm, xdime, xadome*) (K/T < A) **to serve; to worship, to adore. II** *m-xdm* (*maxdəm, məxdime, maxdome*) **to make serve, to make work**

xdr **I** (*xadər, xdir, xadore*) **to go about; to become, to be born; to be realized; to happen; to be possible; to suit** (*ba-* so.) | *ana g-Urmi xdiren, ana g-Urmi* ⁺*m-daa xdiren* I was born in Urmi; *ya šula (la) xadər* This matter is (not) possible; *má-t wadéx lá xadorà*⌐ Whatever we do will not work (12); ⁺*məssát baí amrát mà-xdir*⌐ Can you tell me what has happened? (17); *ma xdir əl-enox?* What has happened to your eye?; *ăgar la xdera baox,* ⁺*məsset reši dahətte* If it does not suit you, yo can strike off my head (G:99). **II** *m-xdr* (*maxdər, məxdire, maxdore*) **to lead around; to carry around; to peddle**

xfl **I** (*xafəl, xfil, xafole*) (K ? < A) **to be diverted (attention)** | *eni xfəlla* My attention was diverted

xjl **I** (*xajəl, xjil, xajole*) (K) **to be diverted, amused**

xlbq **Q** (*xalbəq, xəlbiq* intr./*xəlbiqe* tr., *xalboqe*) **to entangle, to become entangled** | *xəlbiq əl-pqarti* He won't leave off me (literally: He has become entangled to my neck)

xll **I** (*xaləl, xlile, xalole*) **to wash (an object, one's body)**

xlm **I** (*xaləm, xlim, xalome*) **to thicken (intr.). II** *m-xlm* (*maxləm, məxlime, maxlome*) **to thicken (tr.)**

xlp (i) **I** (*xaləp, xlip, xalope*) **to change (intr.). II** *m-xlp* (*maxləp, məxlipe, maxlope*) **to change; to exchange** | *jullew məxlpile* He changed his clothes

xlq **I** (*xaləq, xliq* intr./*xliqe* tr., *xaloqe*) (arch.) (K ? < A) **to lock, to be locked** | in the spoken language used only in: *tarox xaləq*! May your house be deserted (literally: closed)

xlw **I** (*xaləw, xliwe, xalowe*) **to milk**

xly (i) **I** (*xale, xəle, xaloe*) **to become sweet** | *pənnox xale!* May your mouth be sweet! (formula of thanks for offer of sweet food or drink; answer: *pənnox-əš xale!* 'yours, too!'). **II** *m-xly* (*maxle, məxlye, maxloe*) **to sweeten**

xly (ii) **I** (*xale, xəle, xaloe*) **to rejoice loudly**

xly (iii) **I** (*xale, xəle* intr., */xəlye* tr., *xaloe*) **to wrap, to wrap oneself; to wind round** | ⁺*glala xalulele* He is winding round the string

xml **II** *m-xml* (*maxmǝl, məxmile, maxmole*) **to decorate, to adorn**

xmy **I** (*xame, xəme, xamoe*) **to be leavened (dough)**

xnq **I** (*xanəq, xniq* intr./*xniqe* tr., *xanoqe*) **to throttle; to suffocate; to drown (tr. and intr.)**

xnz **I** (*xanəz, xnize, xanoze*) **to tuck up (a garment)**

xpq **I** (*xapəq, xpiqe, xapoqe*) **to embrace**

xpr **I** (*xapər, xpire, xapore*) **to dig; to carve; to plough. II** *m-xpr* (*maxpər, maxpore, məxpire*) **to prune**

xrdy **Q** (*xarde, xərde* intr./*xərdye* tr., *xardoe*) **to entangle, to become entangled**

xrj **I** (*xarəj, xrije, xaroje*) (K/T < A) **to spend (money)**

xrp **I** (*xarəp, xrip, xarope*) **to become sharp. II** *m-xrp* (*maxrəp, məxripe, maxrope*) **to sharpen, to grind**

xrw **I** (*xarəw, xriw, xarowe*) **to be spoiled, ruined** | *belox xarew!* Curse you! (literally: May your house be ruined!), *bel dadox xarəw!* Curse you! (literally: May your father's house be ruined)! **II** *m-xrw* (*maxrəw, məxriwe, maxrowe*) **to destroy; to ruin; to spoil** | *bela məxrəwlele* He destroyed the house

xry **I** (*xare, xire, xaroe*) **to defecate**

xrz **I** (*xarəz, xrize, xaroze*) **to string (beeds)**

xšbn **Q** (*xašbən, xəšbine, xašbone*) **to make an account of**

xšw **I** (*xašəw, xšiwe, xašowe*) **to think, to consider**

xšx **I** (*xašəx, xšix, xašoxe*) **to grow dark. II** *m-xšx* (*maxšəx, məxšixe, maxšoxe*) **to darken**

xšxš **Q** (*xašxəš*) **to feel (one's way); to move stealthily**

xtm **I** (*xatəm, xtim* intr./*xtime* tr., *xatome*) **to seal, to close; to be sealed, closed** | *xtm reš-* to sign (a document)

xtq **I** (*xatəq, xtiqe, xatoqe*) **to embrace**

xwr **I** (*xor, xwir, xawore*) **to become white. II** *m-xwr* (*maxwər, məxwire, maxwore*) **to whiten**

xwy **II** *m-xwy* (*maxwe, məxwye, maxwoe*) **to show; to appear; to be seen** | *əlha là maxwe!* God forbid! *šuqà*| ⁺*pasuxtá là maxwulá*| The market does not appear happy (133); *m-pərčew enew la maxwulu* His eyes cannot be seen from (under) his hair

xyk **I** (*xek, xik* intr./*xike* tr., *xyaka*) **to itch; to scratch**

xyp **I** (*xep, xip* intr./*xipe* tr., *xyapa*) **to wash, to shower** | When referring to personal ablutions, the subject is typically a woman. Also used when referring to the washing of a dead body: *mila xpelule* They washed the dead man

xyr **I** (*xer, xire, xyara*) **to look** (at *əl-*), **to pay attention** (to *əl-*)| *xəre xzele* He looked and saw; *xur xzi!* Just look! **II** *m-xyr* (*maxər, mxire, maxore*) **to foretell the future**

xyy **I** (*xaye, xiye, xaa*) (§4.13.8.) **to live; to come to life** | *dadán-əš xaá lèwe*| Our father is not alive (66)

xzy **I** (*xaze, xəzye, xazoe*) **to see** | *xur xzi!* Just look! *xzí xà!*| Take a look (26); *bratá balkí puč-xulmà xzitá*| Perhaps the girl has had a bad dream (4); ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába áy xazoè-wela*| It was very worthwhile seeing (98)

⁺***x***

⁺*xčr* **I** (⁺*xačər,* ⁺*xčire,* ⁺*xačore*) **to hollow out**

⁺*xčy* **I** (⁺*xače,* ⁺*xəčye,* ⁺*xačoe*) **to hollow out**

⁺*xlb* **I** (⁺*xaləb,* ⁺*xlibe* ⁺*xalobe*) (K < A) **to obtain a victory over, to beat; to win; to gain** | ⁺*xəlbale qrawa* He won the war. **II** ⁺*m-xlb* (⁺*maxləb,* ⁺*məxlibe,* ⁺*maxlobe*) **to lose (a game, money) to**

⁺*xlq* (i) **I** (⁺*xaləq,* ⁺*xliq,* ⁺*xaloqe*) **to slip (of a knot)**

⁺*xlq* (ii) **I** (⁺*xaləq,* ⁺*xliqe,* ⁺*xaloqe*) (K/T < A) **to create**

⁺*xls* (i) **I** (⁺*xaləx,* ⁺*xlis* intr./⁺*xlise* tr., ⁺*xalose*) **to save, to be saved, to escape**

⁺*xls* (ii) **I** (⁺*xaləx,* ⁺*xlise,* ⁺*xalose*) **to press; to wring**

⁺*xlt* **I** (⁺*xalət,* ⁺*xlit,* ⁺*xalote*) (K < A) **to make a mistake, to err. II** ⁺*m-xlt* (⁺*maxlət,* ⁺*məxlite,* ⁺*maxlote*) **to miss; to mistake**

⁺*xms* **II** ⁺*m-xms* (⁺*maxməs,* ⁺*məxmise,* ⁺*maxmose*) **to cause to ferment**

⁺*xrt* (i) **I** (⁺*xarət,* ⁺*xrit,* ⁺*xarote*) **to turn (mechanical)**

⁺*xrt* (ii) **I** (⁺*xarət,* ⁺*xrit,* ⁺*xarote*) **to pull tight**

⁺*xrt* (iii) **I** (⁺*xarət,* ⁺*xrit,* ⁺*xarote*) (K) **to become strong, stout**

⁺*xrt* (iv) **I** (⁺*xarət,* ⁺*xrit,* ⁺*xarote*) (K) **to gnash**

⁺*xsl* **I** (⁺*xasəl,* ⁺*xsile,* ⁺*xasole*) **to reap, to harvest**

⁺*xty* **I** (⁺*xate,* ⁺*xəte,* ⁺*xatoe*) **to sin. II** ⁺*m-xty* (⁺*maxte,* ⁺*məxtye,* ⁺*maxtoe*) **to lead into sin**

⁺*xyt* **I** (⁺*xet,* ⁺*xite,* ⁺*xyata*) **to sew, to embroider**

y

ydl **I** (*yadla* 3fs., *ydila, yadole*) **to give birth** | *raba* ⁺*yale ydəlla* She gave birth to many children. **II** *m-ydl* (*maydla* 3fs., *məydila, maydole*) **to generate; to assist at childbirth**

ylp **I** (*yaləp, ylipe, yalope*) **to learn. II** *mlp* (*maləp, mlipe, malope*) **to teach**

ymy **I** (*yame, yəmye, yamoe*) **to swear. II** *m-ymy* (*mayme, məymye, maymoe*) and *m-my* (*mame, məmye, mamoe*) **to cause to swear**

ypy **I** (*yape, yəpye, yapoe*) **to bake**

yqr (i) **I** (*yaqər, yqir, yaqore*) **to become heavy, difficult** | *aqlaw yqíra* She has become pregnant. **II** *m-yqr* (*mayqər, məyqire, mayqore*) **to make heavy**

yqr (ii) **I** (*yaqər, yqire, yaqore*) **to carve (stone, wood etc.)**

yrq **I** (*yarəq, yriq, yaroqe*) **to run, flee** | *yaroqəlla* (+ 3fs. pronominal object) He runs away (§9.14.2.). **II** *m-yqr* (*mayrəq, məyriqe, mayroqe*) **to make run, to elope with** → *m-ryq*

yrw **I** (*yarəw, yriw, yarowe*) **to become mixed up; to interfere** | *ắt bod-mà b-šúlət góra baxtá yarowèt?*| Why are you interfering with the affairs of a man and wife? (48); *ləbbew yarowe* He has an upset stomach; +*ará pùč-jur yarówa*| The situation is deteriorating (181). **II** *mrw* (*marəw, mriwe, marowe*) **to mix**

yrx **I** (*yarəx, yrix, yaroxe*) **to become long** | *xaox yarxi!* May your life be long! (form of thanks); +*səmbelew* +*raba yríxi* His moustache has grown very long. **II** *m-yrx* (*mayrəx, məyrixe, mayroxe*) **to make long** | *əlha xaox mayrəxlu!* God give you long life!

ysq **I** (*yasəq, ysiq, yasoqe*) **to go up, to come up, to ascend. II** *msq* (*masəq, msiqe, masoqe*) **to take up; to bring up**

ytw **I** (*yatəw, ytiw, yatowe*) **to sit down, to sit. II** *mtw* (*matəw, mtiwe, matowe*) **to put, to place** | *maslahat mtw* to give advice; *torta matowallu* The cow is dropping dung

yzl **I** (*yazəl, yzile, yazole*) **to spin**

+*y*

+*yqr* **I** (+*yaqər,* +*yqire,* +*yaqore*) **to uproot**

+*yrm* **I** (+*yarəm,* +*yrim,* +*yarome*) **to rise (inanimate object); to be anulled. II** +*mrm* (+*marəm,* +*mrime,* +*marome*) **to lift; to carry; to annul**

+*ysr* **I** (+*yasər,* +*ysire,* +*yasore*) **to bind, to tie up; to close** | *tmanyà yomé*| … *tkanè-inan*| *šulé* +*ysiré kwèwa.*| For eight days … the shops and the workplaces were closed (98); *xá-danka pardá* +*yasríwa m-gudà*| They would draw a curtain over the wall (87). **II** +*m-ysr* (+*maysər,* +*məysire,* +*maysore*) **to cause to bind; to cause to be bound**

z

zdy **I** (*zade, zəde, zadoe*) **to become afraid, to fear. II** *m-zdy* (*mazde, məzdye, mazdoe*) **to fighten**

zkm **II** *m-zkm* (*mazkəm, məzkime, mazkome*) (K ?) **to wound**

zky **I** (*zake, zəke, zakoe*) **to be fortunate enough to attain** (*əl-* sth.). **II** *m-zky* (*mazke, məzkye, mazkoe*) **to grant good fortune (of God)** | especially the granting of sons

zmbq **Q** (*zambəq, zəmbiq, zamboqe*) **to swell (of belly)**

zyd **I** (*zed, zid, zyada*) **to increase (intr.). II** *m-zyd* (*mazəd, mzide, mazode*) **to increase (tr.), to add**

⁺**z**

⁺*zhm* **I** (⁺*zahəm,* ⁺*zhim,* ⁺*zahome*) (K < A) **to become sprained. II** ⁺*m-zhm* (⁺*mazhəm,* ⁺*məzhime,* ⁺*mazhome*) **to sprain; to cause trouble**

⁺*zlm* **I** (⁺*zaləm,* ⁺*zlime,* ⁺*zalome*) (K/T < A) **to wrong, to oppress**

⁺*znqr* **Q** (⁺*zanqər,* ⁺*zənqire,* ⁺*zanqore*) **to pour, to strew**

GENERAL GLOSSARY

a

abad n.m. (K/T < A) **eternity** | *əl-abad abade* for all eternity

abra n.f. (pl. *abre*) (K) **woman's mantle of fine wool**

abrai adj. inv. (K) **of the finest quality**

abuqra n.m. (pl. *abuqre*) **mouse**

abyana n.m. (f. *abyanta*) **well-wisher; suitor** | *abyan(t)i* to my liking; *abyantew god* He does as he pleases

adab n.m. (K/T < A) **moral instruction; good manners; chastise-ment; lavatory, toilet** | *adab ∅wd* to chastise; *mare-adab mqi!* Speak politely!; *izalen adab* I (m.) am going to the toilet

adawat (K ? < A) **enmity**

adres n.f. (K/T < R) **address**

afəllu part. (H) **even**

afiser n.m. (K/T < R) **officer**

afsun n.f. (K < P) **trick, piece of magic**

afsunči n.m. and f. (pl. *afsunčye*) (K/T < P) **trickster, magician**

ăgar (K/T) **if**

ahi pron. (arch.) **she; that** (f.)

ajab ~ ajabi n.f. (K/T < A) **wonder**

ajam n.f. (K/T < A) **Persia, Iran**

ajazi n.f. (K < A) **curse**

ajəbya n.m./f. (pl. *ajəbye*) (K < A) **monster**

ajubya n.m./f. (pl. *ajubye*) (K < A) **wonder; wonderful**

albahal adv. (T/K) **at once, immediately**

alhadda adv. (? < A) **separately**

alpa num. (pl. *alpe*) **thousand**

amāl n.pl. (K/T < A) **deeds**

amān n.f. (pl. *amane*) (K < Arm.) **tool, instrument; vessel**

amanta n.f. (pl. *amante*) (K/T < A) **deposit** | *amanta hwl* to give in trust, deposit; *mar peši gallox amantət əlha* Let them remain with you in trust (literally: a deposit of God)

ambar (i) n.f. (K/T < A ?) **amber**

ambar (ii) n.f. (K/T < A ?) **storeroom**

am-dost n.f. (K/T) **wife of paternal uncle**

ámi n.m. **uncle!** | vocative form of *amona* paternal uncle

amin⁺dār adj. invar. (K < A) **faithful, loyal**

amma part. (K/T < A), **but, however**

amona n.m. (pl. *amonawe*) (K/T < A) **paternal uncle** | vocative *ámi*

amta n.f. (vocative *amto*, pl. *amte*) (K/T < A) **paternal aunt**

ana pron. **I**

andaza → *həndaza*

anga n.f. **molar tooth**

anjagta n.f. (pl. *anjagye*) (T) **glove**

apəšta n.f. (pl. *apəšye*) **currant, raisin**

aqallan adv. (P < A) **at least**

aqərwa n.m. (pl. *aqərwe*) **scorpion**

aqərwa adj. invar. **near** | *aqərwa ∅wd* to bring near; *aqərwa xdr* to draw near

aqəšqa n.f. (K/T < R) **window**

aqla n.f. (pl. *aqle*) **foot, leg** | *xa aqla, tre aqle,* ⁺*taha aqle* one-step, two-step, three-step (names of round dances); *aqlət jwanqulox* ⁺*brixta hawya!* May the foot of your youth be blessed! (congratulation upon the birth of a son); *sdunət aqla* shin; *tkət aqla* foot-print(s); *aqlaw yqíra* She has become pregnant; *aqlaw yaqurtela* She is pregnant; *aqlew* ⁺*jarula* He has diarrhoea; *aqlew band-ila* He is constipated

ara n.f. (pl. *arawe*) **earth, ground**

arabi n.m. (K < A) **Arabic**

arabna n.m. (K/T < A) **Arab**

araq n.m. (K/T < A) **arak**

arăqa n.f. (K/T < A) **sweat** | *arăqa* ∅*wd* to sweat; *gal arăqət benew* by the sweat of his brow

araqčin n.f. (pl. *araqčine*) (T/K < A. + P) **scull-cap**

arba num. **four**

arbāb n.m. (P) **owner, boss**

arbamənji num. **fourth**

arbá-mme num. **four-hundred**

arbassar num. **fourteen**

arbassarmənji num. **fourteenth**

arbi num. **forty** | *arbi aqle* centipede

arbimənji num. **fortieth**

arbušeb n.m. **Wednesday**

arda n.f. (pl. *arye*) **rival wife**

arġač (T) n.m. **woof**

arjamān n.m. (K < A/ < P) **purple**

arkak (T) n.m. **male**

armăni n.m./f. (pl. *armăniye*) **Armenian; Armenian language**

arməlda n.f. (pl. *arməlye*) **widow**

arməldula n.f. **widowhood**

arota n.f. (pl. *arote*) **Friday**

arugta n.f. (pl. *aruge*) **apricot**

arxain adj. invar. (K) **assured** | *arxain xdr* to rest assured

aryān (K < A) → *lut*

aryeri n.f. (K/T) **store, cupboard**

asərgamiš (T) | — ∅*wd* to spare, to begrudge

askar n.m. (pl. *askăre*) (K/T < A) **army** | *gal askar-ile* He is in the army

askărula n.f. (K/T < A) **military service**

aslan adv. (P < K) **definitely; fundamentally**

astar n.m. (K/T) **back of cloth; lining**

aškar adj. invar. (K/T) **overt, known** | *aškar ∅wd* to reveal; *aškar xdr* to be revealed

aškăra xăbar adv. (K/T < P + A) **openly, overtly**

ašpāz n. invar. (K/T) **cook**

ašq n.f. (K/T < A) **love** | *ašq pilen* I have fallen in love

ašuri n.m. (pl. *ašurye*) **Assyrian Christian**

āt pron. **you (sing.)**

atr n.m. (K < A) **perfume**

atta adv. **now** | *m-atta m-bara* from now on

atuqa adj. (f. *atuqta*, pl. *atuqe*) **old (of inanimate object)**

atxun pron. **you (pl.)**

aw (H) **month of Av**

āw n.m. (T) **hunt** | *āw ∅wd* to hunt

awanta n.f. (pl. *awane*) **ewe-lamb**

awāz n.f. (pl. *awāzye*) (K < A) **replacement, reciprocation** | *awāz hwl* to replace; *awāz ∅wd* to change, to reciprocate: *awāzyé šbirè*|

⁺*kaló* ⁺*hatā́n odílu gál amonà*⌉ The bride and groom should reciprocate the uncle well (95)

awrušum n.m. (K) **silk**

awwal adv. (K/T < A) **first, at first** | *awwal əlha bara-š āt* No one can help me but you (literally: first God and then you); *ga-awwal* beforehand: *ā́gar tunnù*⌉ *sandáq xdirá hawéwa ga-awwàl,*⌉ *m-xá-danka famìl*⌉ … *kawòd kwíwale*⌉ If both had been godfather before, they gave the honour to a family member (120)

awwalmənji num. (K/T < A) **first**

awwalye n.pl. (K/T < A) **the former (pl.)**

axča mod. **so many; so much, so** (followed by adj.)

axči adv. **so much** (followed by verb)

axčin adv. **as much as** | *axči* ⁺*dəġde* alike, equally

axnan ~ axni pron. **we**

axsax (i) n.m. (T) **breach, damage**

axsax (ii) adj. invar. (T) **foolish**

axsaxula n.f. (T) **foolishness**

axxa → haxxa

axxona n.m. (pl. *axxonawe*) **brother**

axxonaləġ (T suffix) **intimate friend**

ay (i) pron. **this** | variant of *ya* used after the annexation particle *d-* (§2.2.1.)

ay (ii) part. **belonging to** (§5.14.)

ay! (iii) part. (K) **exclamation of pain**

ayana n.m. (f. *ayanta,* pl. *ayane*) **knowing, expert**

ayne pron. **these**

ayšat adv. **this year**

az-⁺*qaza* (P) **accidentally, it so happened that**

azyat n.f. (K < A) **trouble, torment, suffering** | *azyat ∅wd* to harm, to torment; ⁺*hudaé m-kúllu məllətyé bi-zóda azyàt grišú*| The Jews suffered more harm than other communities (170)

aždaha n.m. (K < P) **dragon**

⁺***a***

⁺*aba* n.f. (pl. ⁺*abae*) (K < A). **mantle; cloak**

⁺*abad* adj. invar. (K< P) **inhabited**

⁺*abbasi* n.m. (K/T < P) **unit of money** | 1/5 of a ⁺*qrān*

⁺*abi* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **blue**

⁺*aburi* n.m. (K) m. **honour**

⁺*ačəġ* adj. invar. (T) **light (of colour)**

⁺*ada* n.f. (pl. *adae*) (T/K) **island** | cf. *jzira*

⁺*adār* (H) **Jewish month of Adar**

⁺*adarbejān* n.f. **Azerbaijan**

⁺*adyāl* n.m. (R) **coarse blanket (used as bed-cover)**

⁺*afiqomān* n.f. (H) **piece of unleavened bread eaten at the end of the Passover meal**

⁺*aġa* n.m. (pl. *aġae*) (T/K) **lord, master, sir**

⁺*aġala* n.f. (H) **cleansing by fire of ustensils to be used for Passover**

⁺*aġuz* adj. invar. (T) **turbid**

⁺*āh!* n.f. (K/T) **sigh.** interj. **oh!** | *āh grš* to sigh; to yawn; cf. ⁺*āx*

⁺*ahəl* adj. invar. (K < A) **old** | ⁺*ahəl* ⁺*jahəl* young and old

⁺*ahmaq* adj. invar. (K < A) **foolish**

⁺*ahmaqula* n.f. (K < A) **foolishness**

⁺*ahra* n.f. (pl. ⁺*ahrawe*) **town, city** | cf. *olka; šahr*

⁺*ajəz* adj. invar. (K < A) **feeble, miserable**

⁺*ajəzula* n.f. (K < A) **feebleness, misery**

⁺*ajnās* n.pl. (T < A) **appliances (of house)**

⁺*alala* n.f. (K) **anemone**

⁺*alcāġ* adj. invar. (T/K) **low, base, of inferior quality**

⁺*ališ-weriš* n.f. (T/K) **trade, commerce** | ⁺*aləš-weriš* ∅*wd* to engage in commerce

⁺*almān* → ⁺*almanna*

⁺*almani* (K) **German (language)**

⁺*almanna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*almanne*, ⁺*almān*) (K) **German (person)**

⁺*almās* (T/K < A) **diamond**

⁺*alučta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*alučye*) (K/T) **plum**

⁺*amama* n.f. (K/T < A) **turban** | cf. *šamla*

⁺*amān* n.m. (K/T < A) **safety, safeguard; compassion** | ⁺*amān hwl* to grant safety; ⁺*amān-ile* I beseech you! ⁺*amān-haššem* for God's sake

⁺*amarta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*amarte*) (K/T < A) **palace**

⁺*ambār* n.f. (K/T) **barn, shed**

⁺*ambur* n.m. **pliers**

⁺*ammen* (H) **amen!**

⁺*amra* n.m. **wool**

⁺*amraze* n.pl. (K) **working tools**

⁺*anaw* adj. invar. (H) **modest, humble**

⁺*anawula* n.f. (H) **modesty, humility**

⁺*anjaġ* part. (K/T) **barely, only, just** | ⁺*ánjaġ* ⁺*məsséwa kì*⌐ *báat* ⁺*yaléw-inan báat baxtèw*⌐ *xà-tka lóxma* ⁺*hasálwa*⌐ He could barely manage to obtain a piece of bread for his children and for his wife (50)

⁺*aqa* n.f. **trouble, stress** | ⁺*aqa grš* to suffer; cf. *iqanula, yiqanula, tangana, tangula*

⁺*aqəllu* adj. invar. (T < A) **sensible, reasonable, intelligent**

⁺*aqiq* n.f. (T < A) (arch.) **cornelian** | cf. *haqiq*

⁺*aql,* ⁺*aqəl* n.m. (K/T < A) **sense, intelligence, reason; idea, opin-
   ion** | ⁺*aql ylp* to receive education; ⁺*aql mlp* to teach, to educate;
   əl-d-o ⁺*aql wədli* I put some sense into him; *ba-*⁺*aqli* in my opinion;
   ⁺*m-aqlew zille* He went out of his mind; ⁺*mār-aql* intelligent

⁺*ār* n.f. (K/T < A) **shame, shameful deed**

⁺*ara* n.f. (T) **space, interval, period, situation** | ⁺*ara plx* to make
   room; ⁺*taha šənne* ⁺*m-ara piri* meanwhile three years had passed;
   gallew ⁺*ara* ⁺*arai la doqa* I cannot live with him; ⁺*ará xánči* ⁺*spèla|*
   The situation improved (literally: was cleansed) (169); ⁺*ará pùč-
   jur yarówa|* The situation is deteriorating (181)

⁺*araba* n.f. (pl. ⁺*arabae,* ⁺*arabe*) (K/T) **car, cart, carriage, coach** | cf.
   droga

⁺*arabači* n.m. (pl. ⁺*arabačye*) (T) **coachman, driver**

⁺*aralġ-* prep. (T) **between; within** | used only with *g-:* ⁺*g-aralġət* ⁺*taha
   yome* within three days; ⁺*g-aralġu* between, amongst them

⁺*arel* n.m. (pl. ⁺*arele*) (H) **uncircumcised; Christian**

⁺*arəq* adj. invar. (T) **thin (person)**

⁺*arəxula* n.f. (T) **leanness, emaciation**

⁺*ariz* n.m. (P < A) **petition, complaint, protest** | *m-idew* ⁺*ariz xdiriwa*
   They complained about him

⁺*arju* (K < A) (lit.) **I beg you, please**

⁺*armonta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*armone*) **pomegranate**

⁺*arx* n.f. (T) **irrigation canal**

⁺*arzān* adj. invar. (K) **cheap; cheaply** | cf. *harzān*

⁺*arzani* ~ ⁺*arzanula* n.f. (K) **cheapness** | cf. *harzani*

⁺*asarta* n.f. **Jewish festival of Shavuot**

⁺*asbablamiš* (T < A) | — ∅*wd* to arm; — *xdr* to become armed

⁺*asbablu* adj. invar. (T < A) **armed**

⁺*aska* n.f. (K) (arch.) **antelope**

⁺*asl* n.m. (K/T < A) **origin, source**

⁺*aslān* n.m. (T/K) **lion**

⁺*asr,* ⁺*asər* n.m. (pl. ⁺*asrawe*) (K < A) **evening**

⁺*astān,* ⁺*astana* n.m. (K/T < P) **threshold**

⁺*ašuq* n.m. (T/K < A) **lover, paramour**

⁺*atara* (H) | — ∅*wd* to read certain prayers over the dead

⁺*atlu* n.m. (T) **horseman, rider**

⁺*atta,* ⁺*attat* prep. (K < A) **until, up to, down to; while** | ⁺*attat axxe-la* if this is so

⁺*awa,* ⁺*awadān* adj. invar. (K) **inhabited** | ⁺*awa xadər belxun!* May your house be inhabited! (formula of thanks for hospitality enjoyed or polite declining of invitation); *əlha belew* ⁺*awa* May God's house be inhabited (= Thank God!)

⁺*awadani* n.f. (K) **inhabited land**

⁺*awči* n.m. (pl. ⁺*awčye*) (T) **hunter**

⁺*awel,* ⁺*aweldār* n.m. (H) **mourner** | cf. ⁺*yaslu*; *taazjadār*

⁺*awi-habben* n.m. (H) **the father of the child (during the circumcision ceremony)**

⁺*awun* n.m. (H) **sin, a pity** | ⁺*awun* ∅*wd* to sin; *ána* ⁺*awùn-ilen!*| It is a pity for me (= I have been unjustly treated) (51); ⁺*awùn-ilu*| *áxča našé melí ba-xatrát ki-àt la-maqulát*| It is a pity that so many people die because you do not speak (17)

⁺*awunkār* n.m. (H + K) **sinner** | ⁺*awunkār* ⁺*plt* to condemn, to be condemned

⁺*awurda* n.f. (pl. ⁺*awurdawe*) **cheek; inside of cheek**

⁺*āx* n.f. (K/T) **sigh, yawn.** interj. **oh!** | ⁺*āx grš* to sigh, to yawn | cf. ⁺*āh*

⁺*axr* adv. (K/T < A) **at last**

⁺*axrda* adv. (T < A) **finally**

⁺*axrmənji* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **the last (one)**

⁺*axrye* n.pl. (K/T < A) **the last things**

⁺*axund* n.m. (P) **doctor of Islamic law**

⁺*axur* n.f. (K) **stable (for horses)**

⁺*azāb* (K < A) | — ∅*wd* to suffer

⁺*azād* adj. invar. (K < P) **free; not guilty, innocent** | ⁺*azād* ∅*wd* to make free; *pqartew* ⁺*azād wədle m-* He took leave of (literally: he freed his neck of)

⁺*azadula* n.f. (K/T < P) **freedom; freedom of guilt, innocence** | ⁺*plətle əl-*⁺*azadula* He went free

⁺*azār* n.f. (K) **leanness, sickliness**

⁺*aziza* adj. (f. *azəzta*, pl. ⁺*azize*) (K/T < A) **dear, beloved** | ⁺*azíze mewanè* dear guests (94)

⁺*azizula* n.f. (K/T < A) **beloved ones (esp. one's children)**

b

b- prep. (before pronominal suffix *əbb-*, §8.4.1., §11.1.) **in, at, with, for (price)**

báa? part. **why, what for, wherefore?**

babita n.f. (K) **almond**

baboja n.m. **beetle, cockroach**

babožnək n.f. (R) **pencil-case, notebook**

babr n.m. (K) **tiger**

badal (K/T < A) | — ∅*wd* to requite

bad-amāl n.pl. (K/P) **wicked deeds**

badan n.f. (K/T) **city-wall**

bad-baxt adj. invar. (K/T < P) **miserable, mean**

bad-baxtula n.f. (K/T < P) **misfortune** | *axnì* *bad-baxtulà śtwalan¹ kí xălifè¹* … ⁺*rába dahìwalan¹* We had the misfortune that the teachers beat us a lot (137)

bag n.m. (T/K) **bey**

báhro adv. **the day after tomorrow**

bahura adj. (f. *bahurta*, pl. *bahure*) **clear, bright, transparent** | *enox bahure hawe* May your eyes be bright (formula of congratulation upon hearing good news)

bahúro adv. **two days from tomorrow**

bahurula n.f. **brightness** | *əlha bahurula* +*palətlox*! May God lead you to brightness (i.e. dispel your troubles); +*paltet bahurula!* May you come out into brightness (answer to *enox bahure hawe*)

bal baqatyo adv. **early in the morning**

bala n.m./f. **mind** | *bali ədyele* I remembered; *bali məndeli* I remembered (consciously); *bali ita* I remember; *m-bali zəlle* I forgot; *ana kəmmət bali gde* as far as I remember

balāt adj. invar. (K < P) **knowing one's way about a place**

balatula n.f. (K < P.) **knowledge of a place**

bǎ́le part. (K/T < A) **but, however; oh yes**

baləm n.m. (K?) **thin reed**

bálki, *bálka* part. (K/T**) perhaps, maybe**

balli adj. invar. (T) **clear, evident**

balota n.f. (pl. *balote*) **throat**

báma? part. **why, what for, wherefore?** | cf. *báa*

banafša n.f. (K/T) **violet**

band adj. invar. (K) **bound** | *aqlew band-ila* He is constipated

banda n.m./f. (K/T) **man, human (as opposed to God)**

bandar n.f. (K) **crossroads**

bandoka n.f. (K) **string to tie baby's clothes (instead of buttonning them)**

*ba-*prep. (K) **to, for** | *ba-ham-in* although: *ba-ham-in kí aná gisà-ilen,*| *aná gdén gebòx*| Although I am tired, I shall come to you

baqatta adv. **tomorrow**

baqatyo(m) n.m./adv. **morning, in the morning** | *baqatyómət yom-aròta*ˈ on the Friday morning (85); *baqatyóm šabbàt*ˈ on the Saturday morning (86)

baqta n.f. (pl. *baqe*) **gnat, mosquito**

baqurta n.f. (pl. *baqurye*) (lit.) **demand, request**

bar prep. **after, behind**

bára adv. **afterwards, backwards**

băra n.m. (K) **shore**

barabar adj. invar. (K/T < P) **equivalent**

baraki adj. invar. **latter, last**

barambar, baranbar prep. (K/T) **opposite**

barit mila n.f. (H) **circumcision** | cf. *bəgzare*

bar ⁺janāġ n.m. (K/T) **husband of the sister of spouse**

bar ⁺janaġta n.f. (K/T) **wife of the brother of spouse**

barmil n.f. (K) **barrel**

barqul prep. **opposite**

barud n.m. (K/T) **gunpowder, dynamite**

bar-xmaa n.f. **sister-in-law (husband's sister)**

baryana n.m. **the Creator**

bas part. (K/T < P) **only; enough**

basərta n.f. (pl. *basire*) **grape**

basima adj. (f. *basəmta,* pl. *basime*) **well, healthy** | *basima hawet!* May you be in good health! (formula of thanks for enquiry after one's health); *enox basime hawe!* May your eyes be well! (formula of thanks in answer to *reš eni!* willingly!); *idox hawe basime!* Well done!; *rešox basima hawe!* May your head be safe! (formula of condolence)

basimula n.f. **well-being, consolation** | *basimulox!* Your well-being! (answer to enquiry after one's wish)

baslamiš (T) | — ∅*wd* to fatten (animals)

basta adj.m./f. (K/T/P) **protected, protégé(e)** | *o basti-le* He is under my protection

baxila n.m. **weeping**

baxta n.f. (K) **woman** (pl. *baxte, niše*); **wife** (pl. *baxtawe, nišawe*)

baxtawār adj. invar. (T/K) **happy; fortunate**

bayquš n.f. (T/K) **owl**

bazat adj. invar. **unreliable, dishonest**

bazatula n.f. **unreliability, dishonesty**

bazərgān n.m. (K < P) **tradesman (esp. travelling with a caravan)**

bazi part. (P < A) | *bazi waxt* **sometimes**

be prep. (K) **without** (*be-mənnew* without him) | *be-⁺aql* stupid, unreasonable; *be-⁺ar* without blemish; *be⁺bafa* faithless; *be-baxt* luckless, unfortunate mean; *be-fəsse* gratis, for nothing; *be-⁺had* exceedingly; *be-huš* unconscious; *be-⁺hasāb, be-⁺hessāb* countless; *be-ilāj* hopeless, incorrigible; *be-kase* of unknown origin; *be-kef* moody, depressed; *be-mare* ownerless; *be-mənkun* destitute; *be-moxa* brainless; *be-pulwa* narrow; *be-⁺qalai* unfortified; *be-⁺way* nothing

be-čiz adj. invar. (K) **weak, miserable**

behra n.m. **light** | *behrət šrata* light of a lamp; *behra hwl* to give light; help, aid; *behra mənnew let* He is hopeless/Nothing can be expected of him

behrula n.f. **light, clearness, transparence**

bekār adj. invar. (K) **idle, unemployed**

bekarula n.f. **idleness, unemployment**

bela n.m. (pl. ⁺*bate*) **house, home** | *bel dadox xarəw!* Curse you (literally: May your father's house be destroyed)! *belòx*⌐ ⁺*bənyanòx*⌐ your home and family (= your household) (52)

belča n.f. (K) **dust shovel**

bena n.f. **forehead, brow** | *g-benew* ⁺*tməre* It sunk into his mind

beta n.f. (pl. *bee*) **egg**

bez n.m. (T) **linen**

bəgzare n.pl. **circumcision** | *bəgzare* ∅*wd* to perform circumcision

bəldərjən n.f. (T/K) **quail**

bəlla! interj. (K < A) **by God!**

bəllur n.f. (K < P) **crystal**

bənyat n.f. (K < A) **fundament**

bərdān, bərdān-bira adv. (T) **suddenly, all of a sudden**

bərkat +hammazon n.f. (H) **grace after meals**

bərq n.m (pl. *bərqe*) (K < A) **lightning** | generally used in the pl. only; cf. *jəldərəm*

bəska n.f. (K) **forelock, sidelock**

bəsti n.f. (K) **tripod**

bətmiš adj. invar. (T) (lit.) **ripe**

bəzza n.f. (pl. *bəzze*) **hole, crack** | *bəzzət poqa* nostrils of the nose

bij n.m./f. (pl. *bije*) (T/K) **bastard**

bilagta n.f. (pl. *bilage*) (T/K) **wrist**

binawra n.m. (K? < A) **foundation** | *binawra* ∅*wd* to lay the foundation

biqqur (H) **visit** | *biqqur* ∅*wd* to visit

bira n.f. **beer**

biš (∼ *bi-*) part. (K) **more** | preceding adj.: *biš jwān* better; *biš +tām* so much the better!; *biš-zoda, bi-zoda* more (used after numerical expressions and adverbially §9.7.8.): *táfqa má-t ána śdyom ayolèn| +táha áxča bi-zóda kyènwa|* Perhaps I would have known more by three times (= three times as much) as I know today (145); *əlhá llxún biš-zóda àbule|* God loves you more (192).

biur +hames n.f. (H) **destroying of leavened bread before Passover**

biz n.m. (T) **awl, prong**

blita n.f. (pl. *blite*) (R) **ticket**

bod part. **because of, on account of, for the sake of** | *bod-ma?* why?

borullamiš (T) | — ∅*wd* to low (of cattle)

bota (i) n.f. (pl. *boe*) **roasted seed**

bota (ii) n.f. (pl. *bote*) (P) **crucible**

brata n.f. (pl. ⁺*blane,* ⁺*blanawe*) **daughter, girl; virgin**

bratula n.f. **virginity**

brənja n.f. (K/T < P) **brass; copper** | cf. ⁺*tuf*

brin⁺*dār* adj. invar. (K/T) **wounded**

brona n.m. (pl. *brone, bronawe*) **son, boy, lad**

bšala n.m. **thick vegetable stew** | *bšalət xalwa* rice cooked with milk

btaw n.m./f. (K), *btun* (T) **whole**

bud n.m. (K/T < P) **idol**

buġumi n.m. (K) **joint**

bulbul n.f. (K/T < P) **nightingale**

burj n.f. (K/T< A) **tower** | cf. ⁺*qalayča*

busa n.m. (K) **ambush** | *busa dwq* to ambush, to lie in wait for

busači n.m. (K/T) **ambusher**

buyum n.f. (T) **thumb, big toe**

buzmiš adj. invar. (T) **pleated** | *buzmiš* ∅*wd* to pleat; cf. *gdl*

bxur n.f. (K < A) **incense**

⁺***b***

⁺*badya* n.f. (K/T) **bowl**

⁺*bafa* n.f. (K < A) **faithfulness, loyalty**

⁺*bafta* n.m. (K) **ribbon, tape** | cf. *tkəlta*

⁺*bāġ, baġa* n.f. (T/K) **bundle**

⁺*baġdadi* n.f. (K < A) **large veil for women**

⁺*baġdadna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*baġdadne*) **person from Baghdad**

⁺*baġwān* n.m. (K) **gardener**

⁺*baġwani, baġwanula* (i) n.f. (K) **work or state of a gardener**

⁺*baġwani* (ii) n.f. (K) **small drinking jar**

⁺*bahār* n.f. (K/T/P) **Spring (season)**

⁺*baji* n.f. (T) **sister (title given to elder woman)**

⁺*bala* (i) n.f. (pl. *balae*) (K/T < A) **trouble** | *əlha xa* ⁺*bala la hawəlle!*
    May God send him many troubles (literally: May God not give him
    one trouble)! ⁺*qadae* ⁺*balae* misfortunes and disasters

⁺*bala* (ii) n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*bale*) (T/K) **child; young of an animal** | ⁺*bāl*
    ⁺*aslān* lion cub; ⁺*bāl geči* kid; ⁺*bāl ərba* lamb; ⁺*bāl kalba* pup; ⁺*bāl*
    ⁺*qatula* kitten

⁺*balabān* n.f. (T/K) **kettle-drum**

⁺*balam* (T/K) **my child!** | vocative form of ⁺*bala*

⁺*balāt* n.f. (pl. ⁺*balate*) (< A) **floor-tile**

⁺*balaxana* n.f. (K/P) **upper room**

⁺*baldurjanta* n.f. (pl. *baldurjane*) (K) | *komta* ⁺*baldurjanta* **aubergine**;
    smoqta ⁺*baldurjanta* **tomato**

⁺*balġam* n.m. (K < A) **phlegm**

⁺*balqana* adj. (f. ⁺*balqanta,* pl. ⁺*balqane*) **staring, popeyed**

⁺*balta* n.m. (T/K) **axe**

⁺*bambača* n.f. (K) **punch with the fist**

⁺*banadam* n.m./f. (pl. *banyadame*) **human being**

⁺*bang* n.f. (K) **clamour**

⁺*banlu* adj. invar. (T/K < A) **clear, manifest** | ⁺*banlu* ∅*wd* to make
    manifest, reveal; ⁺*banlu xdr* to become manifest, to be revealed

⁺*banna* n.m. (pl. ⁺*banne*) (K/T < A) **mason**

⁺*baqla* n.f. (pl. *baqle*) (K/T < P) **broad bean**

⁺*baqqa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*baqqe*) **frog**

⁺*baqqala* n.m. (T < A) **grocer**

⁺*bār* n.m. (K/T) **fruit** | ⁺*bār hwl* to bear fruit; ⁺*bār m-ndy* to miscarry; *mare* ⁺*bār* fruitful

⁺*baraxa* n.f. (H) **blessing, benediction**

⁺*bardān* n.f. (pl. ⁺*bardane*) (K) **sack made of cheese-cloth**

⁺*barəšmiš* (T/K) | — ∅*wd* to make peace, to come to terms

⁺*barux haššem* (H) **thank God**

⁺*baruxa* n.m. (pl. ⁺*baruxawe*), ⁺*baruxta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*baruxte*) **friend, com-rade** | cf. ⁺*bajiləġ; sawan*

⁺*barwana* n.f. (K) **apron, pinafore**

⁺*barxasa* prep. adv. **after** | ⁺*barxasew* after him (in space); *šdəru* ⁺*barxasew* They sent for him

⁺*basma* n.f. (T/K) **print** | ⁺*basma* ∅*wd* to print

⁺*bassor* part. **less, too little; lacking** | ⁺*bassor* ∅*wd* to lessen, to de-prive; *əlha* ⁺*bassor l-od* May God not deprive (us of you) (formula of thanks); *arbušebew* ⁺*bassor-ile* He has a screw loose (literally: His Wednesday is lacking); ⁺*bassoraw* at least; *kəmmət mqela* ⁺*bassor šmele* The more she spoke the less he listened (G:94)

⁺*bassorula* n.f. **want, deficiency**

⁺*bašlamiš* n.f. (T) **beginning** | *bašlamiš* ∅*wd* to begin; *bašlamiš wədle ba-šula* He began to work

⁺*bašləġ* (i) n.f. (T/K) **hood**

⁺*bašləġ* (ii) n.f. (T/K) **bridal price**

⁺*baš-parmaġi* n.f. (T) **thumb, big toe**

⁺*bašqalayna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*bašqalayne*) **person from Başkale**

⁺*baš-saġləġi* n.f. (T) **condolence** | ⁺*baš-saġləġi* ∅*wd* to pay a visit of condolence; cf. *reša*

⁺*batnanta* n.f. **pregnant woman**

⁺*batu* n.f. **loaf fallen into the oven**

⁺*baxča* n.f. (pl. ⁺*baxče*) **garden**

⁺*baydax* n.f. (K/P) **flag, banner** | cf. *bayraġ*

⁺*bayəs* (K < A) | — ⁺*bayəs xdr* to make an attempt upon one's life

⁺*bayyān* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **well-known** | *bayyān* ∅*wd* to make known

⁺*bazazula* n.f. (A) **cloth trade**

⁺*be-had* adv. (K) **exceedingly**

⁺*bəldi* ⁺*bəldi* **gifts of sweets and goodies sent at festivals**

⁺*bəlwana* n.m. **pocket** | cf. *blana*

⁺*bənyān* n.m. (pl. ⁺*bənyane*) (H ?) **building, edifice; household** | ⁺*əl-báte* ⁺*bənyané xyarè*˥ He looks at the grand buildings (22); *belòx*˥ ⁺*bənyanòx*˥ your home and household (52)

⁺*bərġala* n.f. (K) **bosom, bosom-pocket**

⁺*bərġul* n.f. (T) **hulled wheat**

⁺*bəryolləġ* adv. (T) **entirely**

⁺*bəsla* n.m. (pl. ⁺*bəsle*) **onion**

⁺*bol* mod. (T/K) **plenty, a great deal, a lot**

⁺*borān* n.f. (K/T) **gale, storm**

⁺*bostana* n.f. (K/T < P) **orchard**

⁺*boš* adj. invar. (T) **empty, inactive** | ⁺*boš* ∅*wd* to empty, to render inactive; ⁺*boš xdr* to become empty, to remain inactive

⁺*bošqāb* n.f. (T) **saucer**

⁺*bošula* n.f. (T) **emptiness, inactivity**

⁺*boya* n.m. (K/T) **paint, dye** | ⁺*boya* ∅*wd* to pant | cf. ⁺*sbuġ*

⁺*boyači* n.m. (K/T) **painter, dyer**

⁺*boyunduruġ* n.m. (T/K) **yoke** | cf. *guj*

⁺*brəlyand* n.m. (R) **cut diamond**

⁺*brixa* adj. (f. *brəxta,* pl. ⁺*brixe*) **blessed** | ⁺*brixe!* I wish you joy (literally: blessed [be they])

⁺*btənta* adj.f **pregnant**

⁺*buda* n.f. (pl. ⁺*bude*) (T) **thigh**

⁺*budara* n.m. (T/K) **bough**

⁺*bujāġ* n.f. (pl. ⁺*bujaġe*) (T) **corner, angle; suburb** | ⁺*bujáġət áy Urmì* the suburbs of Urmi (153); cf. ⁺*qərna*

⁺*bulaxta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*bulaxte*) (T) **pupil of the eye**

⁺*burġi* n.f. (T/K) **screw; corkscrew**

⁺*burnoti* n.f. (T/K) **snuff**

⁺*buxār* n.f. (K/T < A). **steam**

⁺*buxari* n.f. (T/K < A) **chimney; stove**

⁺*buxča* n.f. (pl. ⁺*buxčanye*) (T/K) **bundle** | ⁺*buxča m-xdr* to peddle; ⁺*buxča maxdrana* pedlar

⁺*buz* n.m. (T/K) **ice**

č

čadər n.f. (K/T) **tent** | *čadər dhl* to pitch a tent

čakband (T)*, čakbast* (K) adj. invar. **girdled**

čakkačak n.f. (K) **clatter, racket**

čakma n.f. (T/K) **boot**

čakuč n.m. (K/T < P) **hammer** | *gal čakuč* ⁺*tptp* to hammer; *gal čakuč* ⁺*mbr/*⁺*m-mbr* to hammer in

čakulka n.f. **locust**

čaltikan n.f. (T) **bramble**

čaltuk n.m. (T/K) **unhusked rice**

čamča n.f. (K/T) **wooden ladle**

čamxam | — ∅*wd* (K) to play, to flirt, to caress

čana, čanaga, čanakta n.f. (K/T) **chin**

čanakta n.f. (pl. *čanage*) **cheek**

čap n.f. (K) **clap**

čapka n.f. (K) **clap** | *čapke dhl* to clap one's hands, to applaud

čarag n.m. (K) **quarter** | cf. ⁺*rub*

čaraz n.f. (T/K) **winepress**

čarband n.f. (K) **small of the back**

čarčaf n.m. (K/T) **sheet**

čarči n.m. (T/K) **pedlar**

čarčiwa n.m. (K/T) **frame**

čarx n.m. (K/T < P) **wheel**

čarxi n.f. (K < P) **circle.** adj.m../f. **circular, round**

čašmag n.m. (K < P) **spectacles**

čatən adj. invar. (K/T) **difficult, hard** | *čatən ədyele əllew* It seemed difficult to him/It was difficult for him | cf. *yaqura*

čatər n.m. (K < P) **umbrella** (cf. *šamsiya,* ⁺*zondəg*); **golden eye-piece**

čaynək n.f. (T< R) **tea-pot** | cf. ⁺*čaydān*

čečka n.f. (K) **sparrow** | *čečkət* ⁺*nahala* lobe of the ear; *čečkət pənna* corner of the mouth

ček n.m. **cheque**

čer adj. invar. (K) **squinting, cross-eyed**

čəlka n.m. (K) **thin twig**

čəndərke | — ∅*wd* to denounce

čəqya adj. (f. *čqita, čəqye*) (K) **torn, rent**

čərpi n.m. (T/K) **dry twig, rod**

čərtma n.f. (T) **catapult**

či⁺*bān* n.f. (T/K) **boil**

čig adj. invar. (T) **raw, uncooked**

čimān n.f. (K/T < P) **meadow**

čin n.m. (K/T < P) **shoulder strap, epaulette**

čini n.f. (K/T < P) **China ware**

čir adj. invar. **obstinate**

čirula n.f. **obstinacy**

čit n.m. (K/T < P) **cotton (cloth)**

čoča n.f. (pl. *čoče*) **roll (of bread)**

čoka n.f. (K) **knee**

čol n.f. (K/T) **desert**. adj. invar. **desert, waste**

čoragči n.m. (T) **baker**

čoroke n.f. (pl. *čorokye*) (K) **story, fairy-tale**

čun part. (P) **because, as, that (complementizer)** | *ā́t čún* ⁺*šultànelet*ˈ *ayolèt.*ˈ Because you are a king, you know (66); *čún kyètun*ˈ as you know (101); *yǿlli čún* ⁺*arel-ile.*ˈ I knew that he was a Christian (188)

čunki part. (K/T < P) **for, because**

⁺*č*

⁺*čaġmaġ* n.m. (T/K) **flint, lighter**

⁺*čaket* n.f. (K < R) **jacket**

⁺*čala* n.f. (K/T < P) **ditch**

⁺*čalasār* n.m. **bath-room**

⁺*čaləšmiš* (T/K) | — ∅*wd* to try, to make an effort

⁺*čalxama* n.f. (T) **agitation, shaking, churning**

⁺*čanga* n.f. (K) **palm (of the hand)** (cf. *kaf*); **handful** | *kaffət* ⁺*čanga* handful; ⁺*čanga* ∅*wd* to take a handful

⁺*čangal* n.f. (T/K < P) **hook; fork**

⁺*čapar* n.f. (K) **post, mail**

⁺*čaparči* n.m. (K) **postman, runner**

⁺*čapilaġ* n.f. (K < P) **slap, box on the ear** | cf. *səlli*, ⁺*sapilaġ, zəlli*

⁺*čaqal* n.m. (K/T < P) **jackal; very thin person**

⁺*čăqe* → ⁺*nare*

⁺*čaqqa* n.m. **rock, cliff**

⁺*čara* n.f. (K/T) **remedy; way out** | ⁺*čara let* It can't be helped

⁺*čargul* adj. invar. (? < P) **square, rectangular**

⁺*čarpaya* n.f. (T < P) **bedstead**

⁺*čarqat* n.f. (pl. ⁺*čarqae*) (T/K) **kerchief** | cf. *yaləġ*

⁺*čarwadār* n.m. (K) **caravan driver**

⁺*čay* n.f. (K/T) **tea** | ⁺*čay* ⁺*spy* to make tea; ⁺*čayət dəšlama* (T) tea drunk while sucking a piece of sugar

⁺*čayči* n.m. (K/T < P) **tea-vendor**

⁺*čayčula* (T/K < P) **trade of a tea-vendor**

⁺*čaydān* n.f. (K/T < P) **tea-kettle**

⁺*čayər* n.m. (T/K) **kind of white root**

⁺*čaypāz* (K/T < P) **tea-pot** | cf. *čaynək*

⁺*čayqašān* n.f. (T) **vulture**

⁺*čənčora* n.f. **scum**

⁺*čənnār* n.m. (T/K) **plane tree; cedar; oak**

⁺*čima* adj. (f. ⁺*čəmta,* pl. ⁺*čime*) **closed (eye)**

⁺*čobān* n.m. (T) **shepherd**

⁺*čoġān* n.f. (T) **soapwort**

⁺*čolāġ* adj. invar. (T) **lame**

⁺*čolaġula* n.f. (T) **lameness**

⁺*čoləstān* n.f. (K) **desert land, wilderness** | cf. *čol*

⁺*čoxtān* part. (T) **a long time ago**

⁺*čul* n.m. (T/K) **horse blanket** | ⁺*čuli* ⁺*m-mae* ⁺*paltənne* I can manage (literally: I take my blanket out of water)

⁺*čxartma* n.f. (T) **spiced stew of aubergine, tomatoes and meat**

⁺*čxulči* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*čxulčiye*) (T/K) **denunciator**

⁺*čxulčul* n.f. (T/K) **calumny, slander** | ⁺*čxulčulət dadi wədle* He slandered my father

⁺*čxur* adj. invar. (T) **hollow, deep**

d

dabang adj. invar. (K) **foolish**

dabba n.f. (K?) **hernia of the groin**

dabra n.m. (K < A) **maintainance** | *dane dabre* household necessities, groceries

dada n.m. (T) **father** | vocative form: *dáde*

daftar n.f. (K/T < P) **copy-book, note-book, ledger; office**

dahya n.f. **pride**

daladuz adj. invar. **proud, wicked**

dallāk n.m. (K/T < A) **barber**

damarta n.f. (pl. *damarye*) **artery, vein**

damər, damur n.m. (T/K) **iron, piece of iron**

damərči, damurči n.m. (T/K) **smith**

dān n.f. (K/T) **grain** | *dane dabre* household necessities, groceries

danāw n.f. (K) (arch.) **early rain** | cf. *xunaw*

dang n.m. (K) **quarter of a** ⁺*mətqāl*

danka n.m. (K) **grain; unit of measure; counting word, a certain** (m. and f. §9.1., §9.13.) | *xa danka baxta* a certain woman; *kəmma danke abulet?* How many (pieces) do you (ms.) want? *danka kəmma?* How much apiece?; *g-Urmí tré-danke knəšyè itwá*ˡ In Urmi there were two synagogues (155)

dara n.f. (T) **valley, wadi**

daraj, daraja n.f. (K/T < A) **step, rank**

darbadar adj. invar. **wandering, roaming** | *darbadar ∅wd* to expel from one's home; *darbardar xdr* to roam, wander

darband adj. invar (K < P) **concerned**

darčin n.f. (K/T < P) **cinnamon**

dard n.m. (K/T < P) **pain, trouble, sickness** | *dardew mqele bai* He told me his troubles

dardana adj. (f. *dardanta*, pl. *dardane*) (K/T) **suffering, sorrowful**

dardusar n.f. **worry, headache**

dargušta n.f. (pl. *dargušye*) **cradle**

darin adj. invar. (T) **deep**

darmand adj. invar. (K) **suffering, sorrowful**

darom n.m. (H) **south**

dars n.f. (K/T < A) **lesson**

dar-sad (P) **percent**

darzi n.m. (K/T < P) **tailor**

darzula n.f. (K/T < P) **trade of a tailor**

daska n.f. (K) **pan-cloth**

dasta n.f. (K/T < P) **set (of tools); suit (of clothes); pack (of cards), group**

dastur (i) n.f. (T/K < P) **permission; order; proclamation** | ⁺*šultaná dastúr hwə̀lle*| The king gave an order (23); cf. *rusqat*

dastur (ii) n.f. (T/K < P) **enema**

dašta n.f. (pl. *dašte, dašye, dašyawe*) (K < P) **field, open country**

dawa n.f. (T/K) **camel**

dawaštita n.f. (pl. *dawaštye*) **cake of dung**

dawatikan n.m. (T) **thistle**

dawlatlu adj. invar. (T/K < A), n.m./f. (pl. *dawlatuwe*) **rich**

dawr n.f. (pl. *dawre*) (K/T < A) **generation; period** | *ya xabra g-dawri la-wele* That did not happen in my time; prep. **around**

dawri n.f. (K) **soup-plate**

dawtalab n.m. (P) **volunteer** | *dawtalab xdr* to volunteer

daxl n.f. (K < A) **concern** | *šuli ba-šulew ma daxl ətte?* What has my business to do with his?

daxla n.m. (K < A) **revenue of land; crop; agriculture** | ⁺*hudaé gáat ay-daxlà*ˈ *šúla là godíwa*ˈ The Jews did not work in agriculture (152)

dayqa n.f. (pl. *dayqe*) **minute (time unit)**

dayqa adj. (f. *dayqta*, pl. *dayqe*) **fine, small** | *dayqe fəsse* small coins, change; *dayqe dayqe* ⁺*qatqtilu* They mince them very fine (G:92)

dayyān n.m. (H) **judge of a rabbinical court**

dehna n.m. **fat**

dehwa n.m. **gold, piece of gold**

demak (T/K) **that is to say** | cf. ⁺*yani*

dena n.m. (K/T < A) **debt** | *dena* ∅*nty* to borrow; *dena* ∅*wd ~ pyl* to fall into debt; *dena hwl* to lend; *tre bee holli b-dena* Lend me two eggs; *mare dena* creditor

denana n.m. (f. *dananta*) (K/T < A) **debtor**

dewa n.m. **wolf** | *dəbbe dewe* wild beasts

dəbba n.f. **bear** | *dəbbe dewe* wild beasts

dəkka n.f. (K < A) **hill** | cf. *tappa*

dəlčakta n.f. (T) (pl. *dəlčakye*) **uvula**

dəlmanj n.m./f. (pl. *dəlmanje*) (K < T) **interpreter, translator** | cf. *tarju*⁺*mān*)

dəlxoš adj. invar. (K/T < P) **at ease, comforted** | *dəlxoš* ∅*wd* to comfort

dəlxoši n.f. (K < P) **ease, comfort**

dəmma n.m. **blood** | *dəmma* ∅*wd* to bleed; *dəmma m-ndy* to shed blood, to do injustice; *dəmmew ədyele* He began to bleed; *bod-má dəmmà mandulét?*ˈ Why are you being provocative (literally: Why are you bringing blood) (46); *dəmmew šxənne əl-* He took pity upon; *mār dəmma* avenger of blood; *dəmmew* ⁺*bassor-ile* He is anaemic (literally: His blood is lacking)

dəmmalila n.f. **milt**

dəmmana adj. (f. *dəmmanta,* pl. *dəmmane*) **bleeding**

dəmmelta n.f. (pl. *dəmme*) **tear** | *də́mmət enì ədyelú*| My tears flowed (188)

dənduk(t)a n.f. (pl. *dəndukye*) (K/T) **beak**

dənj adj. invar. (K) **calm, restful** | *dənj* ∅*wd* to calm, to quieten; *dənj xdr* to calm down

dərham n.m. (K < P) **measure of capacity (1/4 *hafta* = approx. 1/2 kg.).**

dərsakta n.f. (pl. *dərsage*) (T) **elbow**

dəsqa n.f. (K < P) **handle; bunch** | *dəsqət hawang* pestle; *dəsqət ida* elbow; *dəsqət* ⁺*warde* posy

dəšlama n.f. (T) **drinking tea while sucking a piece of sugar**

dhokna n.m./f. (pl. *dhokne*) **person from Dhok**

di part. (K) **cohortative particle** | *di dhul, di dhul* He went on beating him (literally: Now beat, now beat!)

did- part. **independent genitive particle** (§2.4., §9.10.)

din (i) n.m. (K/T < A) **religion**

din (ii) n.m. (H) **canonical law** | *din doqana* (f. *doqanta*) religious, observant; *yom din, yomət din, yomət ay din* work-day, week-day

di⁺*nār* n.m. (K < P) **dinar**

disk n.m. (E) **disc**

diši n.f. (T) **female; eye (for a hook)**

di⁺*wānxana* n.f. (K/T < P) **audience-hall, chancellery**

diza n.f. (pl. *dize*) (T/K), *dizət aqla* **knee.** *dizət ida* **elbow**

doe n.pl. (K) **whey, buttermilk**

doktor n.m. (pl. *doktore*) (? < E) **doctor**

dolta n.f. (K/T < A) **riches; government, state** | *mare dolta* rich (cf. *dawlatlu*); *madrasə́t áy doltà* state school (136)

donqəz n.f. (T) **pig, sow**

došag n.f. (T/K) **mattress**

došagča n.f. (K) **small mattress**

doydurmiš adj. invar. (T) **tattooed** | *doydurmiš ∅wd* to tattoo

dramta n.f. (K) **produce of the soil**

drənga! interj. (K) **I am cross with you!** (child language)

droga n.f. (T? < R) **cart** | cf. ⁺*araba,* ⁺*araband*

droška n.f. (T? < R) **carriage**

dudulta n.f. (pl. *dudulye*) **fly**

duga n.f. (K ?) **heifer**

duglana n.m. (f. *duglanta*) **liar**

dugle pl. tant. **lies** | *dugle dagole* He is lying

dugma n.f. (T/K) **button** | cf. *lapka*

dukan⁺*dār* n.m. (K/T) **shop-keeper**

dulawn n.m. (K + P/A) **two kinds mixed together**

dunbag n.f **small kettle-drum**

dunye n.f. (K/T < A) **world**

durang adj. invar. (K) **two-coloured**

durbin n.f. (K/T < P) **telescope, field-glass** | *durbin m-ndy* to look through a telescope or field-glass

durbinči n.m. (K/T) **man on the look-out, scout**

durrak adj. invar. (K) **mixed**

duša n.m. **honey**

duš⁺*mān* n.m. (f. *duš*⁺*manta*) (T/K < P) **enemy, foe**

duš⁺*manat, duš*⁺*manula* n.f. (T/K < P) **enmity**

duz adj. invar. (T/K) **straight, straightforward; right, exact(ly), cor-rect(ly) honest, fair** | *duz ∅wd* to put right, to straighten (out);

duz xdr to come right; *duzət xabra* to tell you the truth; *duz xabra əttxun, mqimun bai* If you want to speak the truth, tell me

duzgun adj. invar. (T) **straight, straightforward**

duzgunləg n.f. (T) **plainness**. adj. invar. **plain**

duzula n.f. (T) **straightness, truth** | *duzox mára!* Tell the truth! cf. ⁺*trostula*

dwagta n.f. **cake of dried cattle-dung used as fuel**

dwiqa adj. (f. *dwəqta*, pl. *dwiqe*) **held; closed** | *tkaná dwə̀qtela|* The shop is closed (131)

⁺*d*

⁺*daa* n.f. (K) **mother** | vocative form ⁺*dáe*

⁺*dabanja* n.f. (K/T) **pistol, revolver**

⁺*dabbaġa,* ⁺*dabbaġči* n.m. (K/T < A) **tanner**

⁺*dabbana* n.f. (T/K) **heel**

⁺*dād* n.f. (K/T < P) **justice, succour, reward; complaint** | ⁺*dād ∅wd* to assist, to succour; ⁺*dād dhl* to complain; *əlha* ⁺*mate* ⁺*dadox!* May God help you (literally: May God bring about your justice)

⁺*dāġ* adj. invar. (T/K) **boiling hot**

⁺*daġma* n.f. (T) **official stamp**

⁺*dalān* n.f. (K) **passage between two houses**

⁺*dalda* n.f. (T/K) **shelter** | ⁺*dalda ∅wd* to give shelter

⁺*dallāl* n.m. (K/T < A) **town-crier; broker**

⁺*dallalta* n.f. (K < A) **matchmaker (for wedding)**

⁺*dām* (K/T) | ⁺*dām dry* to make tea

⁺*damaġ* n.f. (K/T < P) **palate**

⁺*damān* n.f. (K < P) **skirt of garment** | *idi* ⁺*b-damanox* I entreat you (sg. m.); cf. *taška*

⁺*damji* n.m. (T) **dripping** | ⁺*damji ∅wd* to drip

⁺*dar-aġači* n.f. (T/K) **gallows** | cf. ⁺*qənnara,* ⁺*siwa*

⁺*darmana* n.m. (pl. *darmane*) (K/T < P) **drug, medicine** | *rešew*
⁺*darmana godwa* He used to treat his head

⁺*daru* n.f. (K < P) **depilatory ointment**

⁺*daruġa* n.m. (K) **head jailer**

⁺*darujān* n.m. (K) **hemp-seed**

⁺*darwaza* n.f. (pl. ⁺*darwaze,* ⁺*darwazawe*) (K/T < P) **gate** | *pən*
⁺*darwaze* gate-head

⁺*darwazači* n.m. (K/T) **gate-keeper** | cf. ⁺*qapči*

⁺*dasgah* n.m. (K/T < P) **working-bench; lathe; loom**

⁺*dawa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*dawae*) (K/T < A) **quarrel, row; law-suit** | ⁺*dawa*
∅*wd* to go to law, to plead a cause; ⁺*raba* ⁺*dawae peliwa* Many
quarrels occurred

⁺*dawreš* n.m. (K < P) **derwish**

⁺*dawriya* n.f. (T < A) **patrol**

⁺*dawšān* n.f. (T) **hare**

⁺*dayāg* n.m. (T) **support**

⁺*dayaġdār* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*dayaġdare*) (T + K or P) **supporter**

⁺*dayāz* adj. invar. **shallow**

⁺*dayəm* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **permanent**

⁺*dayjān* n.m. (T) **maternal uncle** | cf. ⁺*doyi*

⁺*dayman* part. (K/T < A) **constantly, always** | (cf. *hammeša*)

⁺*delka* n.f. (K) **bitch**

⁺*derya* n.f. (K) **woman's dress**

⁺*dəġde* pron. **one another** (§2.6., §9.4.) | *ba-*⁺*dəġde, gal* ⁺*dəġde* to-
gether; equally, alike

⁺*dəqna* n.f. **beard** | ⁺*dəqna-xwara* n.m. old man, elder; adj. old, senior:
tré-danke yá-jur ⁺*dəqna-xwaré našè*| two senior men like this (13)

⁺*dəqna-xwarula* n.f. **old age (of a man)** | cf. ⁺*qojalmišula,* ⁺*rəwwula*

⁺*dəqqa* n.m. (? < A) **mercery goods** | ⁺*dəqqa zabnana* n.m. mercer

⁺*dəxna* n.m. **millet**

⁺*doġma* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*doġme*) (T) **uterine (siblings)**

⁺*dolāb* n.f. (K/T < P) **wall-cupboard**

⁺*dolanbači* (T) | — ∅*wd* to go about, to walk around

⁺*dolča* n.f. (K/T) **pail, bucket** | *xola zəlle bar* ⁺*dolča* one loss after an-
　　other (literally: rope went after bucket)

⁺*dolma* n.f. (T/K) **vegetables stuffed with rice** | cf. *yarpăğe*

⁺*dolu* n.f. (T) **hail**

⁺*dost* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*doste*) (K/T < P) **friend** | *m-Awstrália xa-năfár galléw*
　　⁺*dòst xdírənwa*| I had become friendly with somebody from Aus-
　　tralia (187)

⁺*došāb* n.m. (K < P) **grape-syrup**

⁺*doyi* n.m. (pl. ⁺*doye*) (T) **maternal uncle**

⁺*dumān* n.f. (T/K) **mist, fog**

⁺*durd* n.m. (K?) **lees**

⁺*dussāx* n.f. (K/T) **prison** | ⁺*dussāx ∅wd* to imprison; ⁺*dussāx xdr* to be
　　imprisoned

⁺*dussaxči* n.m. (T/K) **prisoner; warder, jailer**

⁺*duzax* n.m. (T) **trap** | cf. ⁺*talla*

⁺*dwa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*dwae*) (K/T < A) **prayer (for someone)** | ⁺*dwa ∅wd* to
　　pray, to bless

⁺*dwači* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **praying (for someone)** | ⁺*dwači-ilu* They
　　send you their regards (answer to enquiry about the health of
　　one's family)

e

e interj. **yes**

eba n.m. (K/T < A) **shame, shameful deed** | *ebele!* It's a shame / It's
　　not done!

ela n.m. (pl. *elawe*) **festival, feast** | *elxun* ⁺*brixa hawe!* happy feast! *ela dwq* to observe a festival; *èla barxíwale*ǀ They offered festival blessings (105); *elá reš-šátət* ⁺*də̀ġde*ǀ *g-patiré barxìwalu*ǀ At Passover they gave each other blessings for the festival and for the New Year (104)

elči n.m./f. (pl. *elčye*) (T/K) **messenger sent to request the betrothal of a girl**

elčula n.f. (T/K) **mission to request the betrothal of a girl** | *zəllu elčula* They went to request the betrothal

Eli⁺*yahu* n.m. (H) **Elijah** | *Eli*⁺*yahu* ⁺*hannawi* the Prophet Elijah

émi, émni, émnu? mod. **which (one)?**

emun n.f. (H) **trust, trustworthiness**

ena n.f. (pl. *ene*) **eye**; **fried egg**; (pl. *enanye*) **spring (of water)** (cf. *sărokān*) | *ba-eni amren* as I was saying (literally: by my eyes, let me say), answer: *əlha šoqlu enox!* May God preserve your eyes!; *reš eni!* You are welcome! willingly (literally: upon my eye), answer: *rešox basima hawya* May your eye be well!; *enox bahure hawe!* May your eyes be bright! (formula of congratulation), answer: ⁺*paltet bahurula!* May you go out into brightness!; *enew yəqtela* He is mean (literally: His eye is narrow)

era n.m. (? < A) **penis**

ešakči n.m. (T) **donkey-driver**

et⁺*roġ* n.f. (H) **citron**

ewa n.m. (pl. *ewanye*) **cloud**

ezana n.m. (f. *ezanta*, pl. *ezane*) **goer** | *knəšta ezana* synagogue goer; *knəšta ezane-welan* We were synagogue goers (= we used to go to synagogue)

⁺***e***

⁺*erplān* n.f. (? < R) **airplane** | cf. ⁺*tayyara*

⁺*esta* n.f. (K < A) **honour** | cf. ⁺*hesta,* ⁺*kawod*

ə

əbb- → *b-*

ədjo(m) adv. **today**

ədlel adv. **tonight**

ədma n.m. (pl. *ədme*) **brother-in-law (husband's brother)** (cf. *yabuma*)

əl prep. (before suffix: *əllew*, §8.4.6., §11.5.) **to; object marker** | *tre mətre l-xa mətr* two metres by one

əlha n.m. (pl. *əlhe, əlhawe*) **God, god** | *əlha abelox!* God love you!; *əlha l-od!* God forbid!; *əlha manəxle!* God rest his soul! (answer: *gal melanox* ⁺*ba-dəġde* together with your dead!); *əlha mante* God give, please God; *əlha la maxwet!* God forbid!; *əlha bai* ⁺*rəwwele* God will help (me)!; *əlha* ⁺*umudan la* ⁺*qatele!* May our friendship continue (literally: May God not cut off our hope)! *awwalim əlha, bára āt!* No one can help me but God and you (literally: first God, then you); *b-əlha* by God; *b-qəwtət əlha* with God's help (literally: strength)

əlki n.m. (pl. *əlkye*) (T) **first-born son, elder son** | *əlkyə́t áy belà˥ léša gòdwa˥* The elder son of the household would make the dough (100)

əll- → *əl*

əllul n.m. (H) **Jewish month**

əmma num. **hundred** | ⁺*əčči g-əmma* ninety percent

əmm-alpe num. **hundred thousand**

əmmaménji num. **hundredth**

əngləzna n.m./f. (pl. *əngləzne*) (? < A) **Englishman/woman**

ənglizi n.f. (? < A) **English (language)**

ənglizula n.f. (? < A) **England**

əntəzār n.m. (P) **expectation**

əpra n.m. **earth, soil**

əqra n.m. (pl. *əqre*) **bottom; root; sole (of shoe)** (cf. *qra*) | *kuča əqra ətta* the lane is a dead end (literally: the lane has a bottom); *m-əqrà dhullé!*| Beat him thoroughly! (32)

ərba n.m. (pl. *ərbe*) **sheep** (cf. *šakka*)

ərxel n.f. (pl. *ərxele*) **mill**

əsra num. **ten**

əsr-alpe num. **ten thousand**

əsraménji num. **tenth**

əsri num. **twenty**

əsriménji num. **twentieth**

-əš (after vowel: *-š*) part. **connective and inclusive particle** (§13.1.3.)

əšq n.f. (K < A) **love (erotic)** | *əšq pyl* to fall in love; *mare əšq* person in love, lover

əšta num. **six**

əštá-lpe num. **six thousand**

əštaménji num. **sixth**

əštá-mme num. **six hundred**

əštassar num. **sixteen**

əštassarménji num. **sixteenth**

əšti num. **sixty**

əštiménji num. **sixtieth**

ətfāq n.m. (pl. *ətfaqe*) (P < A) **event**

ətkun | — *xdr* to perish

əzla n.m. **yarn**

[+]**ə**

[+]*əčča* num. **nine**

[+]*əčč-alpe* num. **nine thousand**

⁺*əččamənji* num. **ninth**

⁺*əččá-mme* num. **nine hundred**

⁺*əččassar* num. **nineteen**

⁺*əččassarmənji* num. **nineteenth**

⁺*əčči* num. **ninety**

⁺*əččimənji* num. **ninetieth**

⁺*əddaha* n.f. (K/T < A) **pretention; pretentiousness, pride**

⁺*əhtibar* n.f. (K/T < A) **trustworthniness**

⁺*əstirahat* n.f. (K/T < A) **rest** | ⁺*əstirahat grš* to take a rest

⁺*əstkān* nf. (T/K < R) **drinking-glass, tumbler**

⁺*əškāp* n.f. (K/T < R) **cupboard**

⁺*əštāh* n.f. (K/T < A) **lust, desire, appetite** | ⁺*əštāh* ∅*wd* to lust, to
     desire; ⁺*əštahi pləxta lewa* I have no appetite

⁺*əxtyār* adj. invar. (T/K) **old**

f

fae⁺*ton* n.f. (K/T < R < French) **light carriage** | cf. *kanəska*

fakura adj. (f. *fakurta,* pl. *fakure*) (K/T < A) **intelligent** | ⁺*hudaé* ⁺*rába*
     ⁺*rába ba-d-ay-šulà*| *fakurè-welu*| The Jews were very clever at this
     (160)

falăqa n.f. (K/T < A < P) **instrument for beating** | *falăqa* ∅*wd* to
     inflict the bastinado

famil n.m. (? < E) **family**

fand n.f. (pl. *fande*) (K/T < A < P) **trick** | *fande odana* (f. *odanta*),
     fande ⁺*paltana* (f. ⁺*paltanta*) player of tricks, trickster

fand⁺*bāz* n.m./f. (pl. *fand*⁺*baze*) (K/T < A) **trickster**

făqat part. (K < A) **only** | *ayné axonawáx ki-xazulàttu*| *făqàt*| *xayù*| *ày*
     dadáx-ile| These brothers of yours that you see, only one of them is
     from your father (64)

faqir adj.m./f. (pl. *faqire*) (K/T < A) **poor** (cf. [+]*kasəb, məsken,* [+]*qalandar*); **innocent**

faraji n.f. (K/T < A) **sleeveless mantle**

farfur n.m. (T/K < P) **porcelain, china**

farik n.m. (K/T < A) **wheat corns eaten raw or toasted**

farika n.m. (T < A) **chicken** | cf. *juja*

farmayiš n.f. (K < P) **order, command**

farq n.m. (K/T < A) **difference** | *farq-ilu* They are different; cf. *tafaat*

farsaq n.f. (K) **parasang**

fayda n.f. (K/T < A) **use, usefulness** | *fayda let* It's no use! / It's useless!

fəkr → fkər

fərya adj. (f. *frita*, pl. *fərye*) (K) **wide** | *gal ləbba fərya* gladly, with open arms (literally: heart)

fəryanula, fəryula n.f. (K) **width, wideness**

fəsse n.pl. **money** | *ba-nòšox*| [+]*fəssè* [+]*b-haslét*| You must earn money for yourself (89); *mare fəsse* wealthy

fita n.f (T) **loin-cloth for swimming**

fitu n.f. (pl. *fətwe*) (K) **whistle** | *fitu dhl* to whistle | cf. *frizun*

fkər n.m. (with suffix: *fəkr-*) (K/T < A) **thought** | *fkər ∅wd* to think; *fkər əntelele* He grew thoughtful (literally: Thought took him);

fransawi (T < Arab. < It) **French (language)**

fransayna n.m./f. (pl. *fransayne*) (T < It) **French, Frenchman, Frenchwoman**

frizun n.m. (K) **whistle** | *frizun dhl* to whistle | cf. *fitu*

frun n.f. (with pronominal suffix: *furnew*) (T/K < A) **large oven**

fruza n.f. (K/T < P) **turquoise**

fruzai adj. invar. (K/T < P) **turquoise-coloured**

fšang n.f. (K/T < P) **ammunition**

furn → *frun*

⁺*f*

⁺*fahla* n.m. (K/T < A) **unqualified worker, navvy**

⁺*fahlula* n.f. (K/T < A) **unqualified labour**

⁺*farsi* (K/T < A) **Persian (language)**

⁺*farsna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*farsne*) (K/T < A) **Persian (person)**

⁺*fasla* n.m. (K/T < A) **chapter, section; joint**

⁺*fəndəqta* n.f. (pl. *fəndqe*) (T/K < A) **hazelnut**

⁺*fənjān* n.f. (K/T < P) **cup**

⁺*fərča* n.f. (T/K) **brush** | *fərča* ∅*wd* to brush

⁺*fərhani* n.f. (K < A) **abundance**

⁺*fəstəqta* n.f. (pl. *fəstqe*) (T/K < A) **pistachio; peanut** | ⁺*fəstəqtət* ⁺*bambay* hazelnut ((Bombay nut)

⁺*flani* ⁺*behmani* mod. (A + K) **such-and-such**

⁺*flankas* pron. (A + K) **so-and-so**

⁺*fsalta* n.f. (K < A) **cut (of a garment)**

g

g-, ga-, gaat prep. (§8.4.8., §11.4.) **in, inside of**

gab, gaba n.m. (pl. *gabane*) **side, direction** | *m-ay gab l-o gab* to and fro; *m-gab d-o šula ~ mən-d-o šula gaba* with regard to this matter; *brata là-l-a-gab xə́rra,*| *là-l-o-gab*| The girl did not look to this side or to that side (6), *əl-sotí-nan sóni m-gab-dadì*| *əl-d-úne-š har-g-xá-yoma əl-túnnu qəṭlìlu*| They killed both my grandmother and grandfather on my father's side in one day (166), *abúlen xánči-š mə-xlulə́t ay-gə̀ban maqén*| I want to talk a little about weddings in our community (71) → *geb*

gāč n.m. (K) **chalk**

gagormiš n.f. (T) **hiccup** | *gagormiš* ∅*wd* to hiccup

gāh n.f. **knuckle**

gahtanbir adv. (T < P) **from time to time**

gal prep. (K) (before pronominal suffix *gall-*) **with** | *gal alpe* in thousands; *gal* ⁺*dəġde* together; *gal dadi ba-*⁺*dəġde* together with my father; *gal fəsse lewe* It does not depend on money / It is not a matter of money

galəm⁺*baji* n.f. (T) **sister-in-law, brother's wife**

gami n.f. (T/K) **ship**

gamiči n.m. (T/K) **boatsman, sailor**

ganawa n.m. (f. *ganawta*) **thief**

ganawula n.f. **theft** | *b-ganawula* by stealth | cf. ⁺*təšwa*

gărag part. (T) **(it is) necessary** | With complement clause: *gắrag àt-ayet báa la-maqulá*| You should know why she does not speak (23). With noun complement: *gărág šuqè*| Markets are necessary / There must be markets (132)

garma n.m. (pl. *garme, garmawe*) **bone**

garoma n.f. **rolling-pin**

garusta n.f. (pl. *garuste*) **hand-mill** | cf. ⁺*dastār*

gašt (K < P) | — ∅*wd* to roam, to wander

gawana n.m. (K) **kind of thistle**

gawšamiš (T) | — ∅*wd* to chew the cud

gaza n.m. (K < P) **unit of length, ell**

gazera n.f. (H) **decree; predestination**

gazéta n.f. (T < It) **newspaper**

geb, gab prep. (§8.4.11., §11.6.) **at, with, at the home of, to** | *abúlen xánči-š m-xlulát ay-gằban maqén*| I want to talk a little about weddings in our community (71)

gečar n.f. (T) **ford**

geči n.f. (T) **nanny-goat**

gej adjv. (T) **late**

geja-quši n.f. (T) **bat**

géna part. (T) **again; yet, still, all the same** | *ma géna?* what else?

geyəm-⁺čala n.f. (T) **coat of armour**

gezel n.f. (H) **robbery** | *gezel ∅wd* to rob

gezlin adj. invar. (T) **hidden** | *m-əlha ma gezlin, m-banda ma gezlin?* I will not hide it from you (literally: from God what hidden, from man what hidden)?

gədgdane (K) | — *gədgdane mdy* to tickle

gəlda n.m. **leather**

gəlla n.m. **grass** | *gəlle ⁺glale* vegetation

gəndorta n.f. (K) **melon**

gərda n.f. (K < P) **roll**

gərdaband n.f. (K/T< P) **neckplace** | cf. ⁺*tawq*

gərdalwa n.f. **plain necklace**

gərse n.pl. **groats made of boiled wheat**

gi⁺lanār n.f. (K < P) **species of small cherry**

gilanura n.f. **black cherry**

gi⁺lasta n.f. (K/T < P) **cherry**

gisa adj. (f. *gəsta*, pl. *gise*) **tired** | *gisa jəhya* **worn out**

gisanula n.f. **fatigue** | *gisanula šql* to rest (literally: to take away fatigue)

gizarta n.f. (K < P) **carrot**

glelamiš | —*∅wd* to complain

glelula n.f. **complaint**

gleye n.pl. **complaint(s)**

gnaha n.m. **fault** | *gnahàw-ile*ˈ It is her fault (116)

goel n.m. (H) **Saviour, Messiah**

gog adj. invar. (T) **light-green**

gogarantu n.f. (T) **sprout(s)** | *gogarantu ∅wd* to sprout

gogarjin n.f. (T/K) **pigeon, dove**

gogarmiš (T) | — *xdr* to sprout

gogula n.f. (T) **light-green colour**

gohār n.m. (K < P) **pearl** | ⁺*lāl u-gohār* rubies and pearls

gol n.f. (T/K) **lake**

gol bára adv. **back** | *deríwa gòl-bara*| They would turn back (157)

gola⁺*dān* n.f. (K) **bolt**

gomrəg n.f. (T/K) **toll, custom-due**

gora n.m. (pl. *gure*) **man**; (pl. *gurawe*) **husband** | *o gora/une gure* I, you (sing.)/we, you (pl.) (in ominous utterances)

gora postposition (T/K) **according to** | cf. *qadr*

goranga n.m. **idol, holy tree**

gorta n.f. (pl. *gorye*) (K) **stocking, sock**

goyim n.m./f. (H) (pl. *goyme*) **Muslim**

goymani (H) **Azeri Turkish**

goza n.m. (pl. *goze*) **nut**

gozləġ n.f. (T) **strings hanging from the forehead of a horse to protect it from flies**

grān adj. invar. (K) **expensive, costly, dear**

grani n.f. (K) **dearth, famine**

graw n.m. (T/K) **pawn** | *graw hwl* to pawn

grawa n.f. (K) **linen**

gugurd n.f. (K/T < P) **sulphur; match** | cf. *šamča*

guj n.m. (T/K) **yoke** | *guj* ∅*wd* to force

gulašmiš (T/K) | — ∅*wd* to wrestle

gulla n.f. (pl. *gulle*) (K < P) **bullet** | *gulle mndy* to shoot bullets

gulta n.f. (pl. *gulle*) (K < P) **marble (ball)**

gumbāz n.f. (K/T < P) **cupola**

gunāh n.f. (K/T < P) **sin** | cf. +*awun*

gunāhkār n.m./f. (pl. *gunāhkare*) (K/T < P) **sinner** | cf. +*awunkār*, +*xatakār*

gunda n.f. (K) **ball (of food or the like)**

gundurma adj. invar. (K/T) **ball-shaped, round**

gupta n.f. (pl. *gupte*) **cheese** | *káre gúpte zabnanà*| vendor of butters and cheeses (123)

gure, gurawe → *gora*

gurgume n.pl. (K) **thunder**

gurz n.f. (K/T < P) **mace, club**

guš n.f. (K) **corner**

gušaguš (K) | — ∅*wd* to roar (of the sea or a crowd)

guzin adj. invar. (T) **lovely**

gwa n.f. (K) **moths**

gzira n.m. (K) **assistant of a *katxuda* (q.v.)**

+***g***

+*gabbara* n.m. (f. *gabbarta*) **mighty; tyrant, hero**

+*gabbarula* n.f. **strength, heroism**

+*gala* n.f. **carpet-bag**

+*galwān* n.f. **juniper**

+*gamara* n.f. **the Talmud**

+*gameš* n.f. (K < P) **female water-buffalo**

+*gana* n.f. (K) **soul and/or body** | +*gana basəmta!* bless you! (said to one who sneezes); +*m-ganew əntele* He risked his life (literally: He took from his soul); *əlha xa* +*sāġ* +*gana hawəllox!* God give you health (a sound body) (formula of thanks or of wishing recovery)

+*gare* n.m. (pl. +*garawe*) **roof, ceiling**

⁺*gawarna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*gawarne*) **person from Yüksekova** (formerly Gevar, town in the Turkish vilayet of Hakkâri)

⁺*gərdol* n.f. **rice or groats cooked with sour milk and eaten with butter and saffron**

⁺*gərwi* n.m. (K) **tom-cat**

⁺*glala* n.m. (pl. ⁺*glale*) **string** | *gəlle* ⁺*glale* vegetation

⁺*gločta* n.f. (T/K) **golosh**

⁺*gnedem* n.f. (H) **Garden of Eden, Paradise**

⁺*gočāġ* adj. invar. (T/K) **brave**

⁺*golgola* n.f. (K) **hoop**

⁺*gubbaxān* n.m. (K < T) **sunflower**

⁺*guda* n.m. (pl. ⁺*gudane*) **wall**

⁺*gulāb* n.m. (K/T < P) **rose-water**

⁺*gurabba* n.f. **storm** | ⁺*gurabba dhl* to storm; ⁺*borān* ⁺*gurabba* a violent storm

ġ

ġer part. (K < A) **except, only**

h

hafta n.f. (P) **measure of capacity (about 2 kg.)**

haji-leylaq n.f. (K/T < A) **stork; crane**

hakima n.m. (K/T < A) **physician, doctor**

hála, hálag part. **still, for the time being** | *hálag la* not yet

halbat part. (K/T < A) **certainly**

halhăle n.pl. (A) **trills of joy uttered by women on festive occasions (non-native custom)** | *halhăle dhl/∅wd* to utter trills of joy

ham part. (K/T < P) **also, too; although** | *ham … w-ham* both ... and ...; *ba-ham-in* although: *ba-ham-ín kí aná gisà-ilen,| aná gdén gebòx|* Although I am tired, I shall come to you

hamān, hamun part. (T/K < P) **the same**

hamkin (T/K ? < P) **equally, also**

hammawār adj. invar. (K) **just, straight** (cf. *duz*) | *hammawār g-enew god* He does as he likes, as seems best to him

hammeša part. (K/T < P) **always** (cf. ⁺*dayman*)

hamne part. (K ? < P) **also, equally, in the same way**

hamun → hamān

hanaqe | — ∅*wd* to joke, to play about

hanuke n.pl. (H) **Hanukkah**

haqdeš n.indef. gender (H) **pious endowment** | *haqdeš* ∅*wd* to endow

haqir adj. invar. (K ? < A) **despised, abased** | *haqir* ∅*wd* to despise

haqiri, haqirula n.f. (K ? < A) **abasement**

har part. (K/T < P) **at all; all the time; still; as soon as** | *har halbat* certainly; however; *har ma-t hawe* whatever it may be; at any rate

hardan part. **sometimes**

hašya n.f. (K < A) **edge, margin**

hatman adv. (P < A) **definitely**

hawang n.f. (K/T < P) **mortar** | *idət hawang* **pestle**

hawəl (K) | — *xdr* to get a craving

hawna part. (lit.) **behold** | *hawni* etc. behold me, here I am

hawsala n.f. (K/T < P < A) **patience; feeling like doing something** | *hawsalew* ⁺*mətya l-paqoe, hawsalwe xanči xet piš parqa* He is about to lose patience; *mare hawsala* patient

hawuz n.f. (K/T < A) **pool, basin**

haxxa ~ axxa mod. part. (§9.7.10.) **thus, such (a)**

hayəf n.f. (K/T < A) **a pity** | *hayəf əl-* what a pity on…, what a shame upon …; *háyf léwe la-maqulàt?*| Is it not a pity that you are not speaking? (24); *hayəf* ∅*zl* to be lost (labour); *hayfew ədyele* He begrudged

hayflamiš (K/T < A) | — *xdr* to pity, to begrudge

hayyo adv. (arch.) **quickly**

heč (K/T < P) **at all (in negative utterances)** | *heč!* nothing, never!; *heč naš(a) (la)* nobody; *heč* ⁺*məndəġ la* nothing; *heč tka (la)* nowhere; *heč* ⁺*wada (la)* never

hel n.f. (? < P) **cardamon**

heštān part. (K) (arch.) **as long as**

hewanat n.f. (pl. *hewanate*) **animal** | *dokotorət hewanate* veterinary surgeon

hey⁺*wanat* n.f. (K/T < A) **animal, beast** | *xrəwta hey-*⁺*wanat* wild beast

həlla n.f. (K < A) **trick, deceit** | *həlla* ∅*wd* to play a trick, to deceive

həlla⁺*bāz* adj.m./f. (pl. *həlla*⁺*baze*) (K < A) **deceiver**

həlla⁺*bazula* n.f. (K < A) **deceitfulness**

hənd n.f. (K/T) **India** (cf. *həndəstān*)

həndaza n.f. (K < P) **measure** (cf. *andaza*)

hənnār, hunnār n.f. (K/T < P) **talent, worth** | *mare hənnār* talented, worthy

hənnarula, hunnarula n.f. (K/T < P) | *hənnarula* ∅*wd* to prove one's worth

hərs n.m. (K/T) **anger, irritation**

hərsana adj. (f. *hərsanta*, pl. *hərsane*) (K) **angry, irritated**

həwla | — *grš* to have bad designs against

hirtun n.f. **furnace**

hujum n.f. (K/T < A) **attack** | *hujum* ∅*wd* to attack (verb)

humayəl n.f. **fine white linen (machine woven)**

hunnār → *hənnār*

huriband n.f. (K < P < A?) **transparent face-veil**

huš n.m. (T < P) **senses, consciousness** | *hušew zǝlle* He lost consciousness; *hušew ǝdyele* He regained consciousness; *hušew rešew lewe* He is not himself

hušyār adj. invar. (K < P) **aware** (cf. [+]*haga*) | *hušyār* ⊘*wd* to warn

[+]**ḥ**

[+]*ḥabra* n.m. (K < A) **ink**

[+]*ḥad* n.m. (with suffix: [+]*ḥadd-*), [+]*ḥaddusad* (with suffixes: [+]*ḥaddusadd-*) (K/T < A) **border, frontier** (cf. [+]*ḥal; sarhad*)

[+]*ḥaftafa* n.f. (K/T) **jug with long handle**

[+]*haggada* n.f. (H) **Passover legend**

[+]*ḥajamta* n.f. (pl. [+]*ḥajamye*) (K < A) **cupping-horn** | [+]*ḥajamye dry* to cup

[+]*ḥakǝm* n.m. (K < A) **governor, ruler**

[+]*ḥakǝmula* n.f. (K < A) **governorship, rule**

[+]*ḥāl* n.f. (K/T < A) **state (of affairs)** | [+]*ḥālox ma-ila?* How are you?

[+]*ḥal* n.m. (with suffix: [+]*ḥall-*) **frontier** (cf. [+]*ḥad, sarhad*)

[+]*ḥal* prep. **until**

[+]*ḥalāk* (K < A) | — *xdr* **to grow faint**

[+]*ḥalāl* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **(ritually) permissible**

[+]*ḥalali* n.f. (K < A) **state of being (ritually) permissible**

[+]*ḥalalzada* adj.m./f. (pl. [+]*ḥalalzade*) (T/K < P/A) **honest**

[+]*ḥalaw* n.f. (K/T) **flame** (cf. *lahabta*)

[+]*ḥalazadula* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **honesty**

[+]*ḥalfa* n.f. (pl. *halfe*) **letter (symbol)**

[+]*ḥall-*→ [+]*ḥal*

[+]*ḥalla* n.f. (H) **portion of dough thrown into the fire (in memory of bread sacrifices)**

[+]*ḥalqa* n.f. (K/T < A) **ring, link**

⁺*halqaband* adj.m./f. (pl. ⁺*haqabande*) (K/T < P/A) **bound with loops**

⁺*hamām* n.f. (K/T < A) **bath, bath-house**

⁺*hames* n.m. (H) **leavened bread**

⁺*hammāl* n.m. (T/K < A) **porter**

⁺*hammalula* n.f. (T/K < A) **trade of a porter**

⁺*hammosi* n.f. (H) **benediction over bread**

⁺*hapsa* n.m. **gall-nut**

⁺*haq* n.m. (with suffix: ⁺*haqq-*) (T/K < A) **right, deserts.** adj. invar. **lawful** | ⁺*haqqew-ile* He deserves it; ⁺*haqqew-ile* He is right; *zəlle tkət* ⁺*haqqew* He died (literally: He went to the place of his deserts)

⁺*haqiq* n.f. (K < A) **cornelian** (cf. ⁺*aqiq*)

⁺*haqq-* → *haq*

⁺*haqqadoš* ⁺*barux* ⁺*hu* (H) **the Holy One blessed be He (= God)**

⁺*harām* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **(ritually) forbidden** | ⁺*harām hawe əlli magon pəsrət kalba!* May it be forbidden to me like the flesh of a dog!

⁺*harami,* ⁺*haramula* n.f. (K/T < A) **state of being (ritually) forbidden**

⁺*hasand,* ⁺*hasan* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **easy**

⁺*hasarat* n.f. (K/T < A) **loss, disadvantage**

⁺*hasid* adj. (f. ⁺*hasida*) (H) **pious**

⁺*haslait* n.f. (K/T < A) **gain, income**

⁺*hassira* n.f. (K/T < A) **mat**

⁺*haša* (K/T < A) | — *m-salmox!* Far be it from you!

⁺*hašwān* n.m. (H) **Jewish month**

⁺*hatān* n.m. (H) **bridegroom**

⁺*hatanula* n.f. (H) **state of a bridegroom**

⁺*hatto(t)* (K < A) **until**

⁺*hawa* n.f. (T/K < A) **air, weather, climate; vanity, futility** | ⁺*hawa rangi* grey (cf. *nəmrang*)

⁺*hawa* adj. invar. **swollen**

⁺*hawai* (K/T < A + P) **in vain, for nothing**

⁺*hawayula* n.f. (K/T < A + P) **vanity, futility**

⁺*hawār* n.f. (K) **call for help** | *hawār dhl* to call for help

⁺*hawhaw* **bow-wow** | ⁺*hawhaw* ∅*wd* to bark

⁺*haxām* n.m. (pl. ⁺*haxamime*) (H) **rabbi**

⁺*haya* n.m. (K < A) **chastity, modesty** | *mare* ⁺*haya* chaste

⁺*hayat* n.f. (K/T) **courtyard** (cf. *saku*)

⁺*hayaw* | — ⁺*plt* (H) **to pass or receive an unfavourable judgment in civil law**

⁺*haywān* n.f. (K/T) **terrace, porch**

⁺*haz* (K < A) | — ∅*wd* to desire, to lust for

⁺*hazər* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **ready** | ⁺*hazər* ∅*wd* to make ready, to prepare

⁺*hazərta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*hazərye*) (K < A) **longing** | ⁺*hazəryelen* I (m.) am longing; *pišen* ⁺*hazəryew* I (m.) am longing for him

⁺*hazərye* n.pl. (K/T < A) **preparations** | ⁺*hazəryew wədle/* ⁺*hazəryew xzele* He made his preparations

⁺*hessāb* n.m. (K/T < A) **reckoning, account; arithmetic**

⁺*həndəstān* n.f. (P) **India** (cf. *hənd*)

⁺*hərča* n.m. **mire**

⁺*hoqqahoq* (K?) | — ∅*wd* to hiccup

⁺*hoxma* n.f. (H) **wisdom** | ⁺*hoxmà-ttox*ˈ You are very wise (61)

⁺*hudaa* n.m. (pl. ⁺*hudae*) **Jew**

⁺*hudayta* n.f. (pl. *nišət* ⁺*hudae*) **Jewess**

⁺*hudud* n.f. (K/T < A) **frontier, region, domain**

⁺*hukm* n.f. (K/T < A) **verdict**

⁺*hukmat,* ⁺*hukma* n.f. (K/T < A) **government**

⁺*huppa* n.f. (H) **bridal canopy**

⁺*hurmta* n.f. (K/T < A) **honour**

i

ida n.f. (pl. *ide*) **hand** | *ida hwl əl-* ~ *gal* to shake hands with; *ida la grəšle* He did not give in; *əl-d-o b-ida məndele* He deceived him; *idew dwiqtela* He is stingy, miserly; *idew pləxtela* He is generous; *idew* ⁺*m-ganew əntele* He risked his life

i⁺*jara* n.f. (K/T < A) **lease, rent** | *i*⁺*jara* ∅*nty* to lease, to rent; *i*⁺*jara hwl* to let, rent (to so.)

i⁺*jaza* n.f. (K/T < A) **permission**

-ikan part. (K) **being, in the state of** | *la wida-ikan* not yet being done

ilana n.m. (pl. *ilane*) **tree**

iman part. **when?** *imanət* (followed by verb in the irrealis mood) **whenever**

imara f. **saying** | *imarət əlha* God willing (literally: saying of God)

inād (K < A) | *inād dwq* **to be determined, to insist**

-inan part. (T) **with, and** (§9.12.2., §13.1.4.) | *gora-inan baxta* man and wife; *ó-jur-inan* ⁺*sawdaú xadóra gal-*⁺*dəġdè*| and in this way they negotiate with one another (77)

iqa adj. (f. *əqta*, pl. *iqe*) **narrow, tight** (cf. *yiqa, tang*) | *enew iqtela* (*iqe-lu*) He is mean

iqanula n. f. **narrowness, tightness** (cf. *jiqanula, tangana, tangula*)

iqula n.f. **stress, trouble** (cf. ⁺*aqa; yiqula*)

it(a) part. (past *itwa, ətwa*) **existential particle** (§4.22., §10.7.)

ixala n.m. **food** (cf. *xurag*); f. **eating** (infinitive)

i⁺*yār* n.m. (H) **Jewish month**

j

jagan n.m. **papyrus**

jajəm n.m. (K) **striped woolen cover**

jajgət pənna n.f. (K) **corner of the mouth**

jald adj.m./f. (pl. *jalde*), adv. (K/T) **quick(ly), agile, with agility**

jam n.m. (K <A?) **gathering, multitude** | *jam ∅wd* to gather (tr.); *jam xdr* to gather (intr.)

jamyāt n.f. (K < A) **crowd, multitude**

janawār n.m. (K/T < P) **wild beast**

jandag n.m. (T/K) **body** (cf. *jasad*)

jang n.f. (K ?) **cymbals**

jankeš n.f. (K < P) **deadly sickness or attack** | *jankeš wadəlle* He is tormenting him to death (fig.)

jarga n.f. (K/T < P) **row; circle**

jarima n.m. (K/T < A) **fine; penalty** | *əl- … jarima ∅wd* to punish, to fine: *əl-d-ó našá jarimà wə́dlule*| They fined that man (134)

jarimān n.m. **line dance** | *jarimā̀n*| *gal-⁺də́ǵde raqlìwa*| They danced a line dance together (91)

jasad n.f. (K < A) body (cf. *jandag*)

jasarāt n.f. (K < A) **daring, courage** (cf. *jruta*) | *jasarāt la wade* He has not the courage

jawaze n.pl. (P) **car licence papers**

jawhar n.m. (K/T < A < P) **red dye**

jehez n.m. (K < A) **dowry** | *⁺sandúq d-áy jehèz*| chest containing dowry (78)

jej⁺rān n.f. (T/K) **gazelle**

jəda n.f. **lance**

jəga⁺dān n.f. (K) **stomach**

jəgra n.m. **wrath, anger** (cf. *xəšma*) | *jəgrew ədyele* He became angry; *baàw| jəgràw idáyle|* She becomes angry with her (63); *jəgrew mdele* He made him angry / He annoyed him; *jəgrèw ⁺paltétune|* You should provoke his anger (67); *jəgrew ⁺tpəre* His anger burned

jəgrana adj. (f. *jəgranta*, pl. *jəgrane*) **angry**

jəhya adj. (f. *jhita*, pl. *jəhye*) **tired**

jəjuna adj. (f. *jəjunta*) (K/T ? < P) **tiny, puny**

jəllone n.pl. **Assyrian Christian tribes**

jənda n.f. **stripe, tress, rag**

jəndār adj. m./f. (pl. *jəndare*) (K/T < A + P) **possessed by a demon.m./f. soothsayer**

jənnana adj. (f. *jənnanta*, pl. *jənnane*) (K/T < A) **mad, possessed**

jəw-jəw (T) | — ∅*wd* to twitter (cf. *čiwačəw*)

jga n.f. **knuckle-bone** | *jga ⁺tyl* to play knuckle-bones (the sides are: 1. *jək* hollow side up; 2. *bok* side behind; 3. *⁺toxəm* even side up; 4. *⁺alčcu* side with S-shaped projection and hollow up

jgar n.m. (T/K < P) **lungs and liver** (cf. *koda*) | *jgarew qel!* May his liver burn (with sorrow over the death of his children)!

jhud n.m. (T) **Jew (derogatory)**

jiletqa n.f. (K < R) **waistcoat; brassière**

jiwa n.m. (K/T < P) **mercury, quicksilver**

jmug n.m./f. (pl. *jmuge*) (K) **twin**

jonga n.m. (K) **bull**

jore n.pl. **urine** | *jorew ədyelu* He felt the need to pass water

jreta n.f. (pl. *jrete*) **provision**

jrum n.f. (K < A) **transgression**

jrum⁺dār n.m./f. (pl. *jrum⁺dare*) (K < A) **transgressor**

jruta n.f. (K < A) **courage, daring** (cf. *jasarāt*) | *jruta ∅wd* to dare, to have the courage to

jubba n.f. (K/T < A) **mantle (of a dignitary)**

juja n.m. (K/T < P) **chick; weakling**

julla n.m. (pl. *julle*) (K) (mostly used in pl.) **clothes** (cf. *lwašta,* ⁺*lubās*)

jur n.m. (K/T) **sort, kind; way, manner** | *jur ba-jur* different kinds, all
　　sorts: *jùr ba-júr ixále báaw kwíwa*| They would give her all kinds of
　　foods (120); ⁺*qaydət ay-lòka*| ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába jur-ba-jùr-wela*| The
　　situation there was very different (151); *kud jur* all kinds; *o jur ki*
　　so that; *ma-jur?* how? *ma-jurət* the way that; *xa-jur ixale ita geban*
　　We have a certain type of food; *o-jur-inan* and so in this way
　　(clausal connective §13.1.4.)

jurta n.f. **mess of urine** | *jurta* ∅*wd* to make a mess of urine

jut n.f. (K) **pair of animals; ploughshare** (cf. *gawahin; janjar*) | *jut*
　　∅*wd* to plough

jutči, jutkār n.m. (K) **plougher, farmer**

juwe mod. (s. and pl.) **other, different** | *ya juwe, o-š juwe* These are two
　　different things

juwe-xet mod. **another (one)**

jwān adj. invar., adv. (K) **good; well** | *jwān* ∅*dy* to please, to be pleas-
　　ing (cf. *xoš*) | ⁺*rába jwã́n knəštà-wela*| It was a very beautiful syna-
　　gogue (20); *jwã́n šmìmun!*| Listen well! (18); *xa-jwã́n dhə̀lleli*| He
　　gave me a sound beating (147)

jwani n.f. (K) **goodness, good quality**

jwanqa n.m. (pl. *jwanqe, jwanqawe*) (K) **youth, young man**

jwanqula n.m. (K) **youth, youthfulness** | *aqlət jwanqulox* ⁺*brəxta
　　hawya!* May the foot of your youth be blessed! (formula of con-
　　gratulation on the birth of a son)

jwanula n.f. (K) **goodness, good quality**

jzira n.f. (pl. *jzərye*) (K < A) **island** (cf. ⁺*ada*); **desert**

⁺*j*

⁺*jabbara* n.m./adj. (n.f. *jabbarta*, pl. ⁺*jabbare*) (K < A) **mighty, power-
　　ful, tyrannical, tyrant**

⁺*jabbarula* n.f. (K < A) **might, power, tyranny**

⁺*jabrana* adj. (f. ⁺*jabranta*, pl. ⁺*jabrane*) (K < A) **boastful of power, tyrannical**

⁺*jada* n.f. (pl. *jadae*) (K/T < P) **wide street**

⁺*jadu* n.m. (K < P) **magic** | *mar* ⁺*jadu* n.m./f. sorcerer, witch (cf. ⁺*səhr*)

⁺*jadukār* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*jadukare*) (K < P) **sorcerer, witch** (cf. ⁺*sihrbāz*)

⁺*jafa* n.f. (K/T < A) **suffering** | ⁺*jafa grš* to suffer

⁺*jahar* n.m. (T) **saddle** (cf. *zən*)

⁺*jaharmiš* adj. invar. (T) **saddled** | ⁺*jaharmiš* ∅*wd* to saddle

⁺*jahəl* adj. invar. (A) **young, ignorant, inexperienced** | ⁺*jahəl* ⁺*ahəl* young and old

⁺*jahlula* n.f. (A) **youth; ignorance, lack of experience**

⁺*jahtana* adj. (f. ⁺*jahtanta*, pl. ⁺*jahtane*) (K < A) **irritable**

⁺*jallāt* n.m. (K/T < A) **executioner; butcher (fig.)**

⁺*jamadān* n.f. (K/T < A + P) **suitcase, valise**

⁺*jamata* n.f. (pl. ⁺*jamate*) (K/T < A) **community, nation** | ⁺*b-jamatət nošan* in our community

⁺*janaq* n.? **conjugal relation between man and wife** | *bar* ⁺*janaq* husband of the sister of one's spouse (literally: beyond conjugal relation)

⁺*janəm* n.m./f. (K/T < P) **my dear**

⁺*janəman* (K/T) | — *dhl* to dance a round dance

⁺*jangalləġ* n.f. (K/T < P) **jungle; jungle-like**

⁺*janta* n.f. (T) **travelling bag; handbag; suitcase**

⁺*jār* n.f. (K) **proclamation** | ⁺*jār* ∅*wd* / ⁺*m-srx* to proclaim: *aná ga-šahré* ⁺*jə̀r* ⁺*məsrixén*| I have made a proclamation in the towns (22)

⁺*jaras* n.f. (K? < A) **bell** | ⁺*jaras dhl* to ring a bell

⁺*jārči* n.m. (K) **public crier, herald**

⁺*jarubta* n.f. (K < A) **trial, test, experiment**

⁺*jawahər* (K/T < A) **gems**

⁺*jaza* n.m. (K/T < A) **fine, punishment** | ⁺*jaza* ∅*wd* to punish; ⁺*jaza hwl* to pay a fine; ⁺*jaza m-ndy reš* to impose a fine on; ⁺*jaza qbl* to receive a punishment

⁺*jbāb* → *jwāb*

⁺*jərmaġe* | — *m-ndy* to make incisions in one's flesh as a sign of mourning

⁺*jəzdān* n.f. (K/T < P) **purse**

⁺*jġara* n.f. (T/K) **cigarette** | ⁺*jġara grš* to smoke a cigarette

⁺*jlāw* n.m. (K/T) **bridle**

⁺*jujuġ* n.m. (T) **blossom, bud** | ⁺*jujuġ m-ndy* to blossom

⁺*jwāb*, ⁺*jbāb* n.m (K/T < A) **answer, reply** | ⁺*jwāb hwl* to answer, to reply: *xa-kălimá* ⁺*jwábi la-hwə̀llale*| She did not give me one word in answer (11)

k

ka- prep. (arch.) **as, like** | *ka-ayət* as; when

kačakile n.pl. **wooden clogs**

kačal adj. invar. (K/T < P) **bald, affected with ring-worm** (cf. ⁺*qrot*); *kura kačal* name of a legendary baldhead

kačali, kačalula n.f. (K/T < P) **baldness**

kačča n.f. (T) **felt**

kada n.f. (K) **cake**

kaf (with suffix: *kaff-*) (i) n.f. (K/T < P) **foam** (cf. *kopəg*) | *kaf pyl* to foam

kaf (with suffix: *kaff-*) (ii) n.f. (K < P) **palm, flat of the hand** (cf. ⁺*čanga*), **sole of the foot**

kafər adj. invar. (K/T < A) **cruel** (cf. *kapora*)

kafgir n.f. (K/T < P) **skimmer**

kafkrati n.f. **sadness, sorrow**

kafrula n.f. (K/T < A) **cruelty** (cf. *kaporula*)

kahra n.f. **basin, sink**

kaj adj. invar. (K) **crooked** (cf. *⁺plima*)

kajawa n.f. **coach**

kaka n.f. (pl. *kake*) **tooth** | *kakət pil* ivory

kalafča n.f. **whirlwind**

kalag n.f. (K) **waylaying, sudden attack** | *kalag pəlle* He has been way-laid

kalaġan n.m. (T) **stick of sugar**

kalaġayi n.f. (pl. *kalaġaye*) (K) **head-veil made of flowered material on black ground**

kalajoš n.f. (K?) **milk curds with shredded bread**

kalam n.m. (K/T < P) **cabbage, cale**

kalawa n.f. (K) **privy** (cf. *adab*, *kallawa*, *tka*)

kalba n.m. (pl. *kalbe*) **dog** | *kalbət ⁺moe* otter

kalbaten n.f. (K/T < A) **pliers**

kalda n.f (pl. *kalyawe*) **daughter-in-law**

kaldula n.f. **state of a daughter-in-law**

kaləska n.f. (K < R) **open carriage** (cf. *kanəska*, *fae⁺ton*)

kălima n.m. (pl. *kălime*) (T/K < A) **word**

kalla n.m. (K) **(top of) scull; summit of head**

kallaš n.m. (T) **body**

kalleqand n.m. (P) **stick of sugar**

kalloxa n.f. (K) **scull**

kamanja n.f. (K/T < P) **viol, violin**

kamar n.m. (T/K) **belt**

kamera n.m. (pl. *kamere*) **pear**

kampa n.f. (< E) **camp**

kamra n.f. **cow-dung**

kanār n.m. (K/T < P) **side; aside** (cf. ⁺*qrāġ*) | *xayú* ⁺*smix kanā́r là da-holé*| One of them stood aside without beating (68)

kanəska n.f. (K < R) **open carriage** (cf. *kaləska, fae*⁺*ton*)

kapora adj. invar. **cruel** (cf. *kafər*)

kaporula n.f. **cruelty** (cf. *kafrula*)

kara n.m. **butter**

karam n.f. (pl. *karamye*) (K/T < A) **gift, present** (cf. *peškaš,* ⁺*sawqta*) | *karam* ∅*wd* to give as a present

karaney n.f. (K) **shepherd's flute**

karawuz n.m. (K/T < P ?) **celery**

kardu n.f. (K?) **bed (in garden)**

karki n.m. (K/T) **chopper**

karma n.f. (pl. *karme, karmawe*) **vineyard**

kartopita n.f. (pl. *kartopye*) **potato**

kartwa n.m./f. (pl. *kartwe*) **Kurd**

kartwula n.f. **Kurdish districts**

karwān n.f. (K/T < P) **caravan**

karwansara n.f. (K/T < P) **caravanserai**

kasa n.f. (pl. *kase*) **abdomen, belly, stomach** | *tre kase ydəlla* She bore two children (literally: bellies); *m-kasa* related on the mother's side; *kasew šula wada* ~ *jarula* He has diarrhoea

kasaband adj. invar. **constipated**

kasad n.f. (K/T < A) **slump market or business** | *kasad xdr* to slump (market or business)

kasdimna n.m./f. (pl. *kasdime*) (H) (arch.) **Chaldean**

kasəlta n.f. (pl. *kasəlye*) **horses' or asses' dung**

kasər n.f. (K/T < A) **rest, remnant; change (money)**

kaske n.pl. (K < P) **dried curds**

kaslew n.m. **Jewish month of Kislev**

kaš n.m. (K) **stubble**

kašiš n.m. (K/T < Aram.) **monk, priest** (cf. *qašša*)

kaškaulaw n.f. (K?) **helmet; horse-tail on helmet**

katubba n.f. (H) **marriage contract**

kawa n.m. (pl. *kawe*) **sky-light, opening in wall, niche**

kawod n.m. (H) honour (cf. *esta; hesta*) | *kawod* ∅*wd* to honour;
     m-kawodox lewa It does not behove you

kawšān n.f. (K) **vacant plot**

kawxuda n.m. (K < P) **headman of village or town-quarter**

kaxta, kaxtya n.f. (K/T < P) **paper, letter; card**

kaxtita n.f. **paper** | *kaxtita jəlqali* I tore the paper

kčulta n.f. (pl. *kčulye, kčulyawe*) **kidney**

kdurta n.f. (K < A) **envy** (cf. *paxilula*) | *kdurta* ∅*wd* to envy

ke- part. + copula **where?** | *kele?* Where is he?

kečəkči n.m. **watchman**

kečəkčyula n.f. **trade of a watchman, watching** | *kečəkčyula* ∅*wd* to
     keep watch, to mount guard

kef n.f. (T/K < A) **well-being, good mood** | *kef* ∅*wd* to enjoy oneself,
     to have a good time; *kef xošula* ∅*wd* to pass the time of the day;
     mar-xánči əl-bratà| *kefáw xòš b-odíla*| Let them cheer the girl up a
     bit (4); *kefox mato-ila? ma kef-ilet?* How are you? How do you
     feel?; *zəlle kefət dadew baqərra* He went to see how his father was
     doing; *kef lətti* I do not feel like doing it; *be-kef* moody, depressed

keflamiš (T < A) | *keflamiš* ∅*wd* to make cheerful; *keflamiš xdr* to be-
     come cheerful

kek n.f. (< E) **(western style) cake**

kepa n.m. (pl. *kepe*) **stone** | *kepa pəlle rešew, kepa kwəšle rešew* He was
     stricken by misfortune (literally: A stone fell/descended on him)

keywani n.f. (K) **woman excelling in cooking**

kəflita n.f. (pl. *kəflye*) (K/T < A) **family household** (cf. *kləfta*)

kəfta n.f. (pl. *kəfte*) (K/T < P) **dumpling of pounded meat and rice**

kəftaləg n.m. (T < P) **meat for pounding**

kəlka n.f. (K) **tail**

kəlle → *klela*

kəllora n.m. **bread made of millet flour**

kəlša n.m. **lime**

kəmma part. **how much, how many; a few** (§9.7.9.) | *kəmmá xabušé ə̀tlux?*| How many apples do you have? *bár-kəmma yárxe* after a few months (147); *xa-kə́mma-yome* for a few days (2); *kə́mma sqə̀ltelat!*| How comely you are! (24); *kəmmət* as much as, as many as, the more; *kəmmət … ⁺bassor …* the more ... the less ...

kəpna n.m. **hunger** | *kəpna grš* to suffer hunger; *m-kəpnu məllu* They (nearly) died of hunger

kəppur n.m. (H) **Day of Atonement** ⁺*rába kəppure* ⁺*matetun!* Many returns of the day! (greeting at the end of the fast)

kəpriga n.m. (pl. *kəprige*) (T) **eye-lash**

kəpta n.f. (pl. *kəpye*) **oval stone for pounding meat, groats etc.**

kər⁺dār n.m. (K) **action, deserts**

kərma n.f. (K) **worm**

kərmana adj. (f. *kərmanta*, pl. *kərmane*) (K) **wormy, worm-eaten** (cf. ⁺*qərtlu*)

kərpəč n.m. (T/K) **brick**

kərya adj. (f. *krita*, pl. *kərye*) **short**

kəsta n.f. (pl. *kəsye*) **bag, purse, pouch**

kətwa n.m. (pl. *kətwe*) **thorn**

kətwana adj. (f. *kətwanta,* pl. *kətwane*) **thorny, rough**

kəwšān n.f. (H ?) **furnace**

kəxka n.f. **laughter**

kəxla n.m. **antimony** (cf. *surma*)

kəxlana adj. (f. *kəxlanta*) **having eyes blackened by antimony**

kəxwelta n.f. (pl. *kəxwe*) **star** | *kəxweltew bahurtela* He is fortunate (literally: His star is bright)

ki (i) part. **relative particle; clausal complement particle; for, because; when** | (1) **relative particle** (§14.1.1.) | *xắlifè⌐ kí əllàn⌐ ⁺g-mədrằš⌐ dàrs malpíwa⌐ ⁺rába dahìwalan⌐* The teachers who taught us in the Jewish school used to beat us a lot (137), *úne náše ki-lá-ayolu mar-ayì⌐* Those people who do not know, let them know (136). (2) **clausal complement particle** | Factive complement (§14.4.1.1.): *kyát ki-aná xa-⁺šultanèlen⌐* You know that I am a king (10). Irrealis complement: *la-qablì⌐ kí … áyne xabré qbìle xadrí⌐* They do not allow these words to be accepted (88); expressing purpose: *aqlàw ⁺lečəttá⌐ ki-ất réšaw ⁺zòr hawét⌐* Tread on her foot, so that you will be dominant over her (80). Content clauses after prepositions: *⁺hál kí-d idáyle léle d-áy pardìn šaroé⌐* until the night of the releasing of the curtain comes (84); expressing result: *má šulá-xdir ki-ất la-maqulàt?⌐* What event has happened with the result that you do not talk? (17); introducing reduced apodosis (§14.6.2.): *ăgár ⁺čarà wə́dlxun,⌐ ⁺msèlxun bratí mamqetunwalá,⌐ ki-hèč⌐* If you find a solution and can make my daughter speak, then nothing (will happen to you) (11). (3) **for, because** (§14.4.1.3.) | *kullú čapkè dahíwa,⌐ kullú raqlìwa,⌐ ki-⁺hatắn xabušé ni⁺šanà widíle əl-⁺kaló,⌐ kí mən-d-ò lelé⌐ kalò⌐ ay-nošèw-ila.⌐* Everybody clapped hands and they all danced, because the groom threw the apples at the bride, because from that night the bride belonged to him (81). (4) **when** (§14.4.1.6.) | *dukané ki-atxún dwaqètunu,⌐ šuqà⌐ malùl xadóra,⌐ šuqà⌐ ⁺pasuxtá là maxwulá,⌐ šuqá m-sqilulá pyalà.⌐ bắlé atxún dukané kí palxètunu,⌐ ó šuqà⌐ hamắn sqilulá gədyà,⌐ wa-muštaryè-š gdé,⌐ wa-šuqá šulà godá.⌐* When you close the shops, the market becomes depressed, the market does not appear to be happy, the market loses its beauty. But, when you open the shops, the market acquires this beauty, the clients come and the market does business. (133)

ki (ii) part.. (K/T) **you see** | *qəwta lətta ki* She has no strength, you see

kin (K < P) | — ∅*wd* to nurse rancour

kipayta n.f. (pl. *kipae*) **dish made of sheep's stomach stuffed with rice or groats**

klas n.m. (? < E) **class**

klisa n.f. (K/T < P) **church**

klawa n.f. **writing, inscription**

klela, klelta n.f. (pl. *kəlle*) **hen**

kləwta n.f. (pl. *kləwye*) **amulet**

kliwa adj. (f. *kləwta*, pl. *kliwe*) **written**

klung n.m. (K) **two-headed pickaxe**

knəšta n.f. (pl. *knəšye*) **synagogue**

koč (T/K) | — ∅*wd* to wander, to lead a nomadic life; *koč odana* (f. *odanta*) nomad

koda n.f. liver (cf. *jgar*)

kohen n.m. (pl. *kohene, kohanime*) (H) **priest** (arch.); **descendant of a priestly family**

kohenula n.f. (arch.) **priesthood**

kok n.m. (T/K) **root**

kolga n.f. (T) **shade, shadow; reflection**

kolgaləg n.f. (T) **protection**

kom n.m. (K < A) **heap**

koma adj. (f. *komta*, pl. *kome*) **black** | *ləbbew komele* He is wicked (literally: His heart is black); ⁺*salmi komele* I feel (or you make me feel) ashamed (literally: my face is black)

komana adj. (f. *komanta*, pl. *komane*) **blackish, swarthy, dark**

komag n.m., *komagula* n.f. (T) **aid, help** | *komag* ∅*wd, komagula* ∅*wd* to aid, to help: *ana gben gallox komagula oden* I want to help you; *komag odana* (f. *odanta*) helper, helpful

komser n.f. (? < F) **police station**

komula n.f. **blackness**

kop | — *xdr* to become full up (with eating)

kopəg n.f. **foam** (cf. *kaf*)

kor adj. invar. (K/T < P) **blind** | *kor* ∅*wd* to blind

ko⁺ramār n.m. (K) **asp, cockatrice**

korpi n.f. (T) **bridge**

korula n.f. (K/T < P) **blindness**

kosawi n.m. **andiron** (cf. *maša*)

kosot n.pl. (H) + ⁺*hawa* (K/T < A) **cupping glasses**

koška n.f. (K/T < P) **upper chamber** (built over the ⁺*qahwaxana* coffee-shop)

kotak n.m. (P) **blow** | *kotak dhl* to beat; *xel-kotàk dahólǝlla*| He beats her (114); *kotak ∅xl* to receive a blow, to be beaten: *ó yalà*| *ki-kotàk xíle*| *m-xǎlifà*| *xa-kómma yomé naxòš xadórwa*| The child who had been beaten by the teacher would become ill for several days (140)

kotān n.f. (K?) **furrow**

koz n.m. (T/K) **live coal, ember** (cf. *polu*)

kpana n.m. (pl. *kpane*) **shoulder**

kpina adj. (f. *kpənta*, pl. *kpine*) **hungry**

kpinula n.f. **state or feeling of hunger**

kre n.m. (K/T < A) **hire, lease, rent(al)** | *b-kre dwq* to hire, to lease, to rent; *b-kre hwl* to hire, to let, to rent to so.; *ǝlha krox hawǝlle!* May God reward you!

kredār, krekaš n.m./f. (pl. *kredare*) (K < T < A + P) **hired labourer**

krixa adj. (f. *krǝxta*, pl. *krixe*) **shrouded**

ksila n.f. (pl. *kǝsye*) **hat**

ktana n.m. **flax; cotton**

kuča n.f. (pl. *kučawe*) (K/T < P) **street, quarter**

kučka n.f. **small cooking-stove made of clay**

kud mod. **every** (§9.7.1.) | *kud jur* (of) all kinds, all kinds of; *kud* ⁺*wada* always; *kud* ⁺*wadət* as long as; *kud xa* everyone; *kud zaa* every time

kud-lel, kul-lel adv. **every night**

kud-šat adv. **every year, yearly**

kud-yom adv. **every day, daily**

kufre n.pl. (K/T < A) **blasphemy**

kuki n.f. (K) **omelette with onions**

kula adj. invar. **low** (K)

kula n.m. (K) **dwarf**

kulaja n.m. **local type of overcoat**

kulāš n.m. (K) **mowed corn-stalk**

kulla mod. **all, the whole of** (§9.7.2.)

kullug n.m. (T) **dust-heap**

kunda n.f. (T) **fetter**

kunjit n.m. (K) **sesame**

kupa adj. (f. *kupta*, pl. *kupe*) **bent**

kupa n.m. (T/K) **jar**

kura kačal → *kačal*

kura, kura⁺*xana* n.f. **kiln**

kurak n.m. (T) **shovel**

kuraxa n.f. (pl. *kuraxe*) **shroud**

kura⁺*xana* → *kura*

kurd⁺*wari* (K) **in the Kurdish manner**

kurk (K/T < P) | — *ytw* to hatch

kursi n.f. (K/T < A) **chair** (cf. ⁺*stol*)*;* **heating arrangement in houses consisting of a fireplace built under a table around which the members of the family sit in winter**

kurtak n.f. (K < P) **Kurdish jacket**

kušana adj. (f. *kušanta*, pl. *kušane*) **low; short (in stature); deep**

kuzači n.m. (K < P + T) **potter**

kwārka n.m. (K) **mushroom**

[+]*k*

[+]*kabāb* n.m. (K/T < P) **meat roasted on a spit** | *kabāb* ∅*wd* to roast
    meat on a spit

[+]*kabābči* n.m. (K/T < P) **meat roaster, vendor of roast meat**

[+]*kaftyār* n.f. (K/T < P) **witch, hag**

[+]*kahraba* n.f. (K/T < P) **electricity**

[+]*kahu* n.f. (pl. [+]*kahwe*) (K/T < P) **lettuce**

[+]*kāl* n.m. (K) **male water-buffalo**

[+]*kalka* n.f. **leather sandal**

[+]*kalo* n.f. (pl. *kalwe*) **bride**

[+]*kaloula* n.f. **state of a bride**

[+]*kamāl* n.m. (K/T < A) **complete(ness)** | [+]*tamām* [+]*kamāl* completely

[+]*kaməl* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **perfect**

[+]*kandala* n.f. (K) **ditch, trench**

[+]*kandu* n.f. **bread cupboard**

[+]*kār* adj. invar. (K/T) **deaf**

[+]*karula* n.f. (K/T) **deafness**

[+]*kasbula* n.f. (T/K < A) **poverty, misery** (cf. *məskeni*, *qalandărula*)

[+]*kasəb* adj.m./f. (pl. [+]*kasbe*) (T/K < A) **poor, miserable** (cf. *faqir*, *mi-
sken*, *qalandār*)

[+]*kəráli frang* n.m. (K) **king of the Franks**

[+]*kola* n.f. (K < Arm) **hut**

[+]*kolləg,* [+]*korləg* (T) | — *grš* to have trouble (cf. [+]*zahamta*)

⁺*korləg* → ⁺*kolləg*

⁺*kosa* n.f. **hair-knot**

⁺*ktāb* n.f. (pl. ⁺*ktabe*) (T < A) **book**

⁺*ktābxana* n.f. (P) **library**

l

la part. (*l-* preceding verbal form beginning with a vowel) **not; no** | *la gezen* I do (shall) not go; *b-l-ezen* I shall not going to go: *əlha l-od!* God forbid (literally: May God not do)

lablawe n.pl. (K/T) **roasted chick-peas**

lagan n.f. (K/T < P) **washbasin**

lāj n.m. (K < A) **argument, contention**

lala n.m./f. (pl. *lale*) (K < P) **nurse** | *lalət ida* n.f. wrist

lalúmmal adv. **day before yesterday**

langar n.f. (K < P) **anchor**

langări n.f. (K/T) **long copper dish, tray**

lape n.pl. (K/T) **unhulled chickpeas cooked in a stew**

laqam n.m. (K < A) **nickname** | *laqam dry* to give a nickname

laškərta n.f. (pl. *laškərye*) (K/T < P) **army** (cf. *askar, ləškarta*)

latif adj. invar. (K/T < A) **nice, delicate**

latifula n.f. (K/T < A) **nicety, niceness, delicacy**

lawči n.m./f. (pl. *lawčiye*) **glutton**

lawčula n.f. **gluttony**

láxxa adv. **here, hither** | *láxxa lóka* what with one thing and another (literally: hither thither); with *ga, gaat: gáat laxxá nə̃́š lèt* There is nobody here (27)

laylāč adj. invar. (K/T < A) **incorrigible (gambler and the like)**

lazta n.f. (K/T < A) **pleasant taste**

leka? part. **where, whither?** | *ba-leka?* whither?; *g-leka?* where?; *lekət* where (conj.); *leka faqir-ile!* Do you really think he is poor? (= He is by no means poor!)

lela-b-ó-xen adv. **two nights ago**

lele n.m. (pl. *lelawe*) **night, at night** | *mədre lele* tomorrow night; *o-xet lele* the night after tomorrow; *lélə d-áy xošèba* Saturday night (literally: the night of Sunday) (87)

lél-xen adv. **last night**

leša n.m. **dough**

let(a) part. (past *letwa, lətwa*) **negative existential particle** (§4.22.2., §10.7.) | *ítwa létwa xa-⁺šultanà*| There was once a king (1) (§12.8.3.)

ləbba n.m. **heart** | *ləbba bsm* to comfort; *ləbba hwl* to give heart, to encourage; *ləbba lətti* I have not the heart (for); *ləbbew abyana* (f. *abyanta*) to his liking; *ləbbew ədyele* He regained consciousness; *ləbbew zəlle* He lost consciousness, he fainted; *ləbbew yarowe* He is sick in the stomach; *ləbbew komele* He is mean, wicked (literally: His hear is black); *ləbbew mdəre* He comforted him; *ləbbew mtəwle* He put his mind (to); *ləbbew* ⁺*mlele* He felt sorry; *ləbbew pəlle* He became discouraged; *ləbbew pəšle əl-* He was worried (his heart remained) about; *ləbbew pləxle* He was cheered up (literally: His heart opened); *lebbew la qbəlle* He was worried (literally: His heart did not accept); *ləbbew qəwyele* He is confident (literally: His heart is strong); *ləbbew* ⁺*qtele* He was terrified (literally: His heart ceased); *ləbbew qəlle* He took pity (literally: His heart burnt), *áy ləbbá qyalà-wela*| It was (liable to) burn the hear (= It was pitiable) (121); *ləbbew šqelle* He took him/He charmed him (by kind words); *ləbbew šbirele* He is kind-hearted; *məre g-ləbbew* He said to himself; *gal ləbba fərya* gladly (literally: with a wide heart); *ləbbe basime*! I wish you joy!

ləfka n.f. (K/T < A) **loofah** | *ləfka dhl* to rub with a loofah: ⁺*xasi ləfka dhul* Rub my back with a loofah

ləlya adv. **above, up.** adj. invar. **upper** | ⁺*qəttət ay ləlya* the upper piece

ləttula n.f. **non-being, deficiency**

ləxma n.m. **bread, loaf** | *ləxma* ∅*xl* to dine; *ləxma yapyana* baker; *ləxmət quše* marrow (cf. *sarsənjāġ*)

ləxmida n.m. **small loaf**

lila n.f. **sheep-tail's fat**

limon n.f. (K/T < P) **lemon**

lišana n.m. (pl. *lišane*) **tongue; language** | *lišana didan* our language (native name of the dialect); *lišana xəlya tore garma* +*səwya* a sweet tongue breaks the hard bone; *lišān haqqodeš* the holy language (= Hebrew)

l-o-gab adv. **thither** → *gab*

lóka adv. **there, thither** | *láxxa lóka* what between one thing and another (literally: hither thither); *lokət* where (conj.)

loma n.f. (K < A) **reproach**

lota n.f. **chewing-gum**

lula n.f. (K < P) **roll (cylindrical)**

lulahin n.f. (K) **water-bottle**

lulakta n.f. (pl. *lulake*) (K) **wrist**

lulga n.f. (K) **handle** | *lulgət aqla* calf of the leg

luqqom n.f. **drain**

lut adj. invar. (K/T < P) **naked** (cf. *purwa*, +*rut*, *šulxa*) | *lut aryān* stark naked

luwa n.f. **lair**

+*l*

+*lāl* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **dumb** | *āt* +*lāl xdur!* Shut up!

+*lale* n.pl. (K/T < P) **precious stones**

+*lalula* n.f. (K/T < P) **dumbness**

+*lampa* n.f. (K) **petrol**

+*lāp* mod. (K) **a lot**

⁺*lara* n.f. **lung**

⁺*lawaša* n.m. (K/T < P) **flat thin cake of bread**

⁺*lāy* ⁺*lāy* (K) **hushabye**

⁺*layəġ* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **suitable** (*ba-* for)

⁺*lazəm* n.m. (K/T < A) **necessity**; adj. invar. **necessary** | ⁺*lazman gde* We might need it (literally: Our necessity might come); *ana o-*⁺*məndəġ* ⁺*lazəmi lewe* I do not need that thing; *má-t* ⁺*lazə́m-ile g-reš-míz ìtwa*| What was required was on the table (108)

⁺*lazmula* n.f. (K/T < A) **need, necessity**

⁺*ləqta* n.f. **inlay; embroidery**

⁺*lġaw* n.f. (K < P) **bridle**

⁺*loti* n.m. (K/T < A) **dandy, play-boy**

⁺*lotka* n.f. (K/T < R) **boat, barge**

⁺*luwa, g-luwa* adv. **inside, within**

m

m-, mə- (before *CC*), *mən* (before suffixes: *mənnew*), *mənnət* prep. **from, of; than** (§8.4.14., §11.3.) | *m-Urmi* from Urmi; ⁺*m-luwa* from inside; *mən d-o gora* from that man; *mənni hawe* Take my advice (literally: Let it be from me)

ma? pron. **what?** | *ma kef-ilet?* How are you? Head of a relative clause: *má-t abyát aná* ⁺*məssén baáx odèn*| Whatever you want I can do for you (10); *har ma-t hawe* in any case, at any rate

mabruqa adj. (f. *mabruqta*, pl. *mabruqe*) **polished, shining**

măčət → mečət

mačət aqla n.f. (K) **calf of leg**

madina n.f. **province**

mafraq n.m. (K < A) **molten metal**

mafraš n.m. (K/T < A) **spread, cover**

magar part. (K/T < P) **maybe; surely; interrogative particle** (introducing question for which a negative answer is expected) | *magar ana xmarelen?!* Am I a donkey! (= Surely I am not a donkey!).

magon, mago, mgo, mon, mo prep. (with suffix: *magon-*) **like, as** | *magon naše* properly (literally: like people)

magreta n.f. (pl. *magree*) **razor**

maġmun (K < A) | — ∅*wd* to exploit the ignorance of

mahag n.m. (K < A) **touchstone (for precious metals)** | *mahag ∅wd* to try (precious metals)

mahajjar n.f. (K? < A) **fence, parapet**

mahalla n.m. (P < A) **quarter, district** | *mahá'llət áy ⁺hudaè* the district of the Jews (157)

mahjara n.f. (? < A) **quarry**

mahmur n.m. (T/K < A) **policeman; official** (cf. *mamur*)

mahtal (K/T < A) | — ∅*wd* to detain; — *pyš* to be astonished; — *xdr* to be detained

majbur adj. invar. (T/K < A) **compelled** | *majbur* to compel; *majbur xdr* to be compelled

majidi n.f. (T) **old Turkish coin**

majləs n.f. (K/T < A) **council, parliament**

majuma (i) n.f. (K < A) **tray**

majuma (ii) n.f. (K < A) **collection of receipes for magic remedies**

makke n.pl. (T < A) **maize**

makre n.pl. (K/T < A) **gossip (talk)**

makuk n.m. (K < A) **shuttle on a loom**

mala n.f. (pl. *malawe, malwawe*) **village**

malham n.m. (K/T < A) **ointment**

malpana n.m. (f. *malpanta*) **teacher**

malul adj. invar. (T/K < A) **sad, upset, depressed** | ⁺*mād malul* greatly upset; *šuqà*| *malùl xadóra*| The market becomes depressed (133)

malulula n.f. (K/T < A) **being upset, depressed**

malum adj.m./f. (pl. *malume*) (K/T < A) **well-known; certainly** | *malum ∅wd* to make known

maluxa n.m. (f. *maluxta*, pl. *maluxe*) **salty**

mama n.f. **teat; blister on bread-crust**

mamlakat n.f. (P) **country, realm**

mamur n.m. (K/T < A) **official; policeman** (cf. *mahmur*)

mamzer n.m. (H) (f. *mamzerta*) **bastard** (cf. *bij*)

manfaat n.f. (K/T < A) **profit** (cf. *nfeta*)

mǎni? interrog. pron. **who?** | *ắt mǎnilet?*| Who are you? (187); *yə́llu mǎni əl-mǎnile*| They knew who was who (169). Used as head of a relative clause: *mǎni-t áde báew fəssé palèn*| Whoever comes, I shall hand out money to him (22)

manixa adj. (f. *manəxta*, pl. *manixe*) | *əlha manixa* **rest in peace** | *əlha manixət dadi ~ dadi əlha manixa* my father, may he rest in peace (literally: to whom [I pray that] God imparts rest); *soti əlha manəxta* my grandmother, may she rest in peace

manšur adj. invar. (K/T < A) **manifest** | *manšur ∅wd* to make known, to declare

manya n.f. (K/T < P) **measure of capacity** (= 10 *hafta*)

maqyana n.m. and adj. (f. *maqyanta*, pl. *maqyane*) **talkative, teller (of story)**

maqoe f. **talk, talking, speech**

maqryana n.m. (f. *maqryanta*, pl. *maqryane*) **teacher, instructor**

mar part. **deontic particle** | *mar ade* Let him come

mara n.m./f. **owner;** n.m. **husband** (pl. *mare*, annexation form *mār*; in compounds *mare*) | *mār bela* landlord, host; *mār dena* creditor; *mār makre* gossip (person); *mār* ⁺*sneta* artisan, craftsman; *mare-*⁺*aqle* sensible, intelligent; *mare-baxta* husband; *mare-dahya* proud; *mare-*

huš diligent, hardworking; *mare-⁺namus* polite; *mare-rang* good-looking; *mare-⁺sfāt* good-looking; *mare-rahm* dreadful; *mare-⁺tamah* avaricious (see also second element of compound)

marasxana n.m. (P) **hospital**

maraz n.f. (K/T < A) **illness, sickness** (cf. *naxoši, naxošula*)

maraz n.m. (K < A) **fine sheep's wool**

mard adj. invar. (K/T < P) **generous** (cf. *⁺rəwja; saxyana*)

mardula n.f. (K/T < P) **generosity**

mare- → *mara*

marganta n.f. (pl. *margane*) **pearl**

marila adj. (f. *marəlta*, pl. *marile*) **bitter**

marj n.f. (T/K) **bet** | *marj dwq* to bet

markab n.f. (T < A) **ship** (cf. *gami*)

markaz n.m. (P < A) **centre**

marqata n.f. (pl. *marqaye*) (K < A) **patch** | *marqaye ∅wd* to patch, to repair (clothes) by patching

măsăla n.f. (K/T < A) **story, anecdote; parable; riddle** | *măsăla ∅wd* to tell a parable, a riddle

măsălan, măsal adv. (K/T < A) **for instance**

masita n.f. (pl. *masye*) (K) **fish** | *masye doqana* fisherman (cf. *⁺qawwās, torči*)

maskan n.f. (T/K < A) (lit.) **abode**

maslahat n.m. (T/K < A) **advice; riddle** | *maslahat ∅wd* to take advice; *maslahat mtw* to give advice, to advise (cf. *nasita*)

maslahatči n.m./f. (pl. *maslahatčiye*) (K/T < A) **adviser, counsellor**

masqal n.f. (K < A) **instrument for polishing metal** | *masqal dhl* to polish (metal)

mast adj. invar. (K/T < P) **drunk** (cf. *skira, pyān*), **well watered** | *mast ∅wd* to make drunk, to give drink, to water (plants)

masxără n.f. (K/T < A) **fun, joking** | *masxără ∅wd* to make fun of (cf. *⁺rəšqande*)

maša n.m. (K/T < P) **andiron** (cf. *kosawi*)

mašta n.f (pl. *maše*) (K/T < P) **mung bean**

mašuxa adj. (f. *mašuxta*, pl. *mašuxe*) **smooth**

mato? interrog. part. **how?** | *kefox mato-ila?* How are you?

matqab n.f. (T < A) **bore (instrument)**

maxbranta n.f. **woman who makes an announcement** | refers specifically to a woman who informs a family that messengers (*elčye*) will come to request the betrothal of a girl

maxila n.f. **beating**

maxirana n.m. (f. *maxiranta*) **fortune teller**

maxmar n.m. (K/T < A) **velvet**

maxyana n.m. (f. *maxyanta*, pl. *maxyane*) **beater; player of an instrument, musician**

may interrog. pron. (with suffix: *mayy-*) **what** | *máyle?* What is it? Used as emphatic tag: *áxča-š abyané əttà máyle!* Indeed, she has so many suitors (76); *may wele?* What was it (m.)? *máyye?* What is this?; *ba-máyye?* What is it for?; *ba-máyyan-ile?* What do we want it for?; *máyyox?* What is the matter with you? *abúlen xazèn^| mayàwile^|* I want to see what the matter is with her (14)

maydole n.f. (arch.) **place of birth.** n.pl. (arch.) **generations, genealogy**

maymun n.f. (K/T < A) **ape, monkey**

mayrqana n.m. (pl. *mayrqane*) **kidnapper, abaductor (of a woman).**

mazrăka n.f. (? < A) **cushion for affixing piece of dough to the wall of an oven**

mazuza n.f. (H) **metal or wooden capsule containing verses of the Bible and nailed to every doorpost in a Jewish home**

mazza n.f. (K/T < P) **appetizer, hors-d'oeuvre**

mečət, măčət n.f. (T/K < A) **mosque**

meda n.m. **fruit**

me-⁺had adv. (K < A) **exceedingly**

m-eka? interrog. part. **from where? whence?**

melana adj. (f. *melanta*, pl. *melane*) **mortal** | *malanew* his dead; *gal melanox ⁺ba-dəġde* together with your dead! (answer to: *əlha manəxle!* God rest his soul!)

meša n.f. (K/T) **forest**

mešamma n.f. (T/K < A) **oil-cloth**

mewa n.m. (K) **vine**

mewana n.m. (K) (f. *mewanta*, pl. *mewane*) **guest, visitor**

mewandari, mewani n.f. (K) **feast, party** | *mewani ∅wd* to give a party, to entertain guests

mewaša n.m. (K ?) **vine-branch**

mexana n.f. (P) **bar, tavern**

mexanači n.m. (P) **barman**

mey⁺dān n.f. (K/T < A) **public square, play-ground**

mey⁺xana n.f. (K/T < P) **wine-shop, tavern**

mə́dre lele adv. **tomorrow night**

məfta adv. (K < P) **for nothing** (cf. *⁺xorai*)

məllət, məllta n.f. (pl. *məllətye, məllte*) (K/T < A) **nation**

məlxa n.f. **salt**

məntana n.f. **casaquin, jacket**

mərya n.m. **ache, pain** | *məryət reša* headache, bother

mərza n.m. (K/T < P) **mirza, public scribe**

məs n.m. (K/T < P) **brass, copper**

məsk n.m. (K/T < A) **musk**

məsrqa n.f. **comb**

məsta n.f. (pl. *məsye*) **(individual) hair**

məstana adj. (f. *məstanta*, pl. *məstana*) **hairy**

məška n.m. **skin** │ *məška* ⁺*nšt* ~ *šlx* to skin; to exploit

məškul part. (K/T < A) **maybe, possibly**

məštuk n.f. (T/K < R) **cigarette-holder**

məšxa n.m. **oil, ointment, cream; melted butter** │ *ixāl məšxa* dairy food

məšya adj. (f. *mšita*, pl. *məšye*) **wiped dry**

məxča n.f. (K/T < P) **corn (on foot)**

mgo → *magon*

mholta n.f. (T/K < A) **delay, moratorium (of obligation)** │ *aná baxún* ⁺*tahá yomé mholtà híwalen*│ I give you a moratorium of three days (11)

mhor n.m. (with suffix: *mohr-*) (K < P) **seal** │ *mhor dhl, mhor dhl* to set a seal

mhorlamiš (K/T < P) │ — ∅*wd* to seal; — *xdr* to be sealed

mila adj. (f. *məlta*, pl. *mile*) **dead**

milana adj. (f. *milanta,* pl. *milane*) **light blue**

mirās, mirāt n.f. (K/T < A) **inheritance** (cf. ⁺*yaruša, warisa*) │ *mirāt pəšle* It was left without owner

misala n.f. **scales (for weighing)**

mi⁺*šadān* n.f. (K/T) **bellows**

mix n.f. (K/T < P) **nail** (cf. ⁺*bəzmara*) │ *mix dyq* to nail

mixlamiš adj. invar. (T) **nailed** │ *mixlamiš* ∅*wd* to nail

miya n.f. **bowel**

mi⁺*yana* n.f. (K/T < P) **middle**

miya n.f. (pl. *miyawe*) **intestine**

miz n.m. (P) **table**

mnaa n.f. **count, counting** │ *gal mnaa* piece-meal

m-o-gab l-o-gab adv. **to and fro** → *gab*

mohr → *mhor*

mohra n.m. **block made of pressed earth for building**

mola n.m. **death** | *molew ⁺tamen!* May I see him dead (literally: May I taste his death)!

molana n.f. **plague**

moma n.f. (pl. *mome, momae*) **oath** | *moma hwl, moma ymy* to swear an oath: *xa ba-xa moma ymelu* They swore an oath to each other; *moma bai yamyat ki ba-nāš ⁺səri la galyátte* You (fs.) must swear to me that you will not reveal my secret to anybody

moma part. (arch.) **therefore**

mon → *magon*

mone n.pl. **stew cooked for Sabbath**

moxa n.m. **brain, marrow** | *moxew qəwyele* He is obstinate, hard of understanding

mrəsta n.f. **dish made of melted sugar and bread**

msafər n.m. (pl. *msafre*) (P < A) **traveller**

msafərxana n.f. **inn, hotel**

mšara n.f. (K/T < A) **saw**

mtakka n.f. (K/T < A) **cushion**

muhəm adj. invar. (P < A) **important** | *ána xá xabrá ⁺rába ki-muhə̀m-ile⌐ áy xlulə́t áy Urmì m-báli zə́lle amrənwà⌐* I forgot to say something regarding the weddings in Urmi that is very important (92)

mujri n.f. (K) **chest of coloured tin**

mumkun adj. invar. (K/T < A) **possible**

mumza n.f. **pastern**

mur⁺dār adj. invar. (K/T < P) **impure**

mur⁺dari n.f. (K < P) **impurity**

muštarya n.m. (pl. *muštarye*) (P < A) **purchaser, client**

muštula n.f. (T < P) **present for bringing good news**

muštulug n.f. (T < P) **message, news** | *muštulug* ∅*wd* to bring a message, news

muštulugči n.m./f. (pl. *muštulugčiye*) (T < P) **messenger**

mužd, mužda, muždula n.f. (T < P) **reward**

⁺**m**

⁺*maaraw* n.m. (H) **West**

⁺*mād* adj. invar. (K < P < A) **upset** | ⁺*mād pyš* to become upset; ⁺*mād malul* upset and depressed

⁺*madām* conj. (T < A) **since**

⁺*madyān* n.f. (K/T < P) **mare**

⁺*maġara* n.f. (K/T < A) **cave**

⁺*maġazya* n.f. (K/T < A) **store**

⁺*mahana* n.f. (K/T < P) **pretext, excuse** | ⁺*mahana* ∅*wd* to seek or find a pretext, an excuse

⁺*mahāš* n.f. (K/T < A) **salary, wages** (cf. ⁺*mwajəb*)

⁺*mahsul* n.m. (K < A) **crop, benefit**

⁺*makruh* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **abominable**

⁺*māl* n.m. (K/T < A) **possessions, property; goods, wares**

⁺*mala* n.f. (K/T < P) **trowel**

⁺*malafa* n.f. (K < A) **swaddling-cloth** (cf. *qondaġa*)

⁺*malāx,* ⁺*malʾāx* n.m. (pl. *malaxime*) (H) **angel**

⁺*maləm* n.m. (K/T < A) **Jewish rabbi**

⁺*malti* n.m. (? < A) **net-cloth**

⁺*mamača* n.f. (K/T) **midwife**

⁺*mamanjān* **mother dear (in songs)**

⁺*man* n.m. (H) **mannah**

⁺*mana* n.f. (K/T < A) **meaning**

+*manāt* n.m. (K/T < R < Fr) **rouble**

+*manjanāġ* n.f. (K/T < P < Gr) **catapult**

+*manqal* n.f. (K/T < A) **brazier**

+*mansura* (K/T < A) | — *m-ndy* to besiege (cf. +*qalabande*)

+*manzəl* n.f. (K/T < A) **resting-place; living quarters**

+*mapsoxe* f. **gladdening, congratulations** | +*mapsoxe* ∅*zl* to pay a visit of congratulation

+*maqar* n.m. (K) **compass**

+*maqqāš* n.m. (K < A) **small pincers**

+*mara* n.f. **spade**

+*marăka* n.m. (K < A) **strife**

+*maral* n.f. (K/T < P) **doe**

+*marila* adj. (f. +*marəlta*, pl. +*marile*) **bitter**

+*marilula* n.f. **bitterness**

+*marjanta* n.f. (pl. +*marjane*) (K < A) **coral**

+*marmar* n.m. (K/T < P) **marble (stone)**

+*masaf* n.f. (K < A) **book of religious character**

+*massa* n.f. (pl. +*masse*) (H) **unleavened bread**

+*masturta* n.f. (pl. +*masturye*) **curse**

+*mašiah* n.m. (H) **Messiah**

+*mašina* (K < R) **machine, engine; mechanically propelled vehicle**

+*matlab* n.f. (K/T < A) **request, demand**

+*mattah* n.m. (K/T < A) **possession**

+*mattara* n.f. (K/T < A) **flask**

+*maxsus* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **special**. adv. **specially** (cf. +*xsus*)

+*maxsusan* adv. (K/T < A) **especially**

+*maya* n.f. (K/T < P) **yeast, ferment; capital (money)** | +*maya dhl* to leaven (v.), to make ferment

⁺*mazād* n.f. (K < A) **public sale** (cf. ⁺*quraba*) | ⁺*mazād dry* to bid at sale

⁺*mazon* n.m. (H) **food**

⁺*mazu* n.f. (P) **upper arm**

⁺*mazzāl* n.f. (H) **luck, fortune** (cf. ⁺*talāh*)

⁺*mbul* prep. **apart from; in addition to** | *aná* ⁺*mbúlax nāš-lə̀tti*ˈ I have nobody apart from you (8); *əsrá-š yále ə̀twala,*ˈ *bronawé* ⁺*mbul-xa-bratà*ˈ She had ten children, sons, as well as a daughter (63)

⁺*mesana* n.m./adj. (f. ⁺*mesanta*, pl. ⁺*mesane*) **suckling, baby**

⁺*mədrāš* n.f. (H) **school**

⁺*mədrašxana* n.f. (H + K/P) **school, school-building**

⁺*məhmāl* n.m. (T < A) **engineer, architect**

⁺*məlaqe* n.pl. (K < A) **hung grapes**

⁺*məlk* n.m. (K/T < A) **immovable property, estate**

⁺*məlya* (f. ⁺*mlita*, pl. ⁺*məlye*) **full, filled**

⁺*məlyula* n.f. **fullness**

⁺*məndəġ* n.m. (pl. ⁺*məndiġane*) **thing, object** | *xa məndəġ* something

⁺*məsqala* n.f. (K/T < A) **unit of weight (3 grams)**

⁺*məsr* n.f. (K/T < A) Egypt

⁺*məsrna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*məsrne*) (K/T < A) **Egyptian**

⁺*məswa* n.m. (pl. ⁺*məswae*) (H) **meritorious deed, good action**

⁺*məšnayot* n.pl. (H) **the Mishnah**

⁺*məšpaha* n.f. (H) **(extended) family** | ⁺*məšpahelan* We are related

⁺*məšpāt* n.f. (H) **trial, judgment**

⁺*mətqāl* n.m. (K < P) **kind of white calico**

⁺*mətra* n.m. **rain** | ⁺*mətra kwš* to rain

⁺*məzrah* n.m. (H) **East; eastern wall in house or synagogue**

⁺*moe* n.pl. **water; broth**

⁺*molla* n.m. (K/T < A) **title of Moslem or Jewish religious leader**

⁺*mqabba* n.f. (K/T < A) **cardboard**

⁺*mqayad* (K/T < A) | *m-…* — *xdr* to be careful, to beware of; to care for

⁺*mrabba* n.f. (K/T < A) **jam, marmelade**

⁺*mrād* n.f. (K/T < A) **desire**

⁺*muddahi* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*muddahiye*) (K/T < A) **plaintiff** | ⁺*muddahi-ile galli* He pleads against me

⁺*murnaw* ⁺*murnaw* (K) | — ∅*wd* to meow (cf. *warawaraw* ∅*wd*)

⁺*mwajəb* n.f. (K < A) **salary** (cf. *mahāš*)

⁺*mzaġa* | — ∅*wd* to withhold

n

nabuta n.f. prophesy

načiča n.m. (K/T < A) **grandchildren**

năfar n.m./f. (pl. *năfăre*) (T/K < A) **person**

năfas n.f. (K/T < A) **breath** | *năfas grš* ~ *šql* to breathe

najəs adj. invar. (K/T < A) **unclean, impure** (cf. ⁺*təmya*)

najib adj. invar. (K/T < A) **noble, generous, delicate**

najibula n.f. (K/T < A) **nobility, generosity, delicacy**

najsula n.f. (K/T < A) **uncleanness, impurity** (cf. ⁺*təmyula*)

namak⁺*dān* n.f. (K/T < P) **saltcellar**

namayeš n.f. (P) **play, performance** | *ána ayné kəmmá qəsməttət áy xlulá kí mirilì‍ kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí‍* I wrote a play about all these aspects of a wedding that I have described (97)

namr n.m. (? < A) **tiger**

napuxta n.f. **vomit**

naqš n.f. (K/T < A) **design, painting, engraving** | *naqš* ∅*wd* to design, to paint, to engrave

naqškār n.m. (K/T < P/A) **designer, painter, engraver**

nargiz n.f. (K/T < P) **narcissus**

narin adj. invar. (T) **fine (flour, grain etc.)**

nasita n.f. (pl. *nasite*) (K/T < A) **advice** | *nasita ∅wd* to take advice;
    nasita mtw to give advice, to advise (cf. *maslahat*)

nāš, naša n.m./f. (pl. *naše*) **person, someone** | *átta xzeli ki nāš-ilet* Now
    I see that you are a (real) person; *lá-abulen nằš adé|* I do not want
    anybody to come (20); *gáat laxxá nắš lèt|* There is nobody here
    (27); *naše* pl. people, kin | *magon naše* properly; *našew nušwew* his
    kith and kin

našta (K/T < P) **on an empty stomach**

natija (i) n.m./f. (pl. *natije*) (K/T < A) **great-grandchild** (cf. *načiča*)

natija (ii) n.f. (pl. *natije*) (K/T < A) **result, conclusion** | *axní natijà*
    ⁺*mtélan|* We have come to a conclusion (in our deliberations) (19)

nawšar n.m./f. (pl. *nawšare*) **great-great-grandchild**

nawšir adj. invar. **insolent, impudent**

naxəlta n.f. (pl. *naxəlye*) **sieve**

naxər n.f. (K/T < Arm.) **herd (of cattle)**

naxoš adj. invar. (K/T < P) **ill, sick** | *naxoš pyl* to fall ill

naxoši, naxošula n.f. (K/T < P) **illness, sickness** (cf. *maraz*)

néder n.m. (pl. *nədre, nadarim*, with suffix: *nədr-*) (H) **vow** | *néder ∅wd*
    to vow

nehra n.m. (pl. *nehre, nehrawe*) **river, stream**

neri n.m. (K) **male goat**

ney n.f. (K/T < P) **flute**

nəddanta n.f. (pl. *nəddanye*) (H) **ritually unclean (woman)**

nəddula n.f. (H) **state of uncleanness (of women)**

nəggun n.f. (H) **melody, music** | *nəggun ∅wd* to make music (cf.
    nuġum)

nəmnima adj. (f. *nəmnəmta*) **sleepy; phlegmatic, clumsy**

nəmrang adj. invar. (K/T < P) **grey** (cf. *⁺hawa*)

nəqla adj. (f. *nqəlta*, pl. *nəqle*) **thin, narrow**

nəxpa n.f. **shame** (cf. *nəxpanula, sarwardula, šarmanda*)

nəxpana adj. (f. *nəxpanta*, pl. *nəxpane*) **ashamed** (cf. *sarwarda*)

nəxpanula n.f. shame (cf. *nəxpa, sarwardula, šarmanda*)

nfeta n.f. (K < A) **profit** (cf. *manfaat*)

niga⁺rān (T < P) | *əl- — pyš* to long for, to worry about

nila n.m. (K/T < P) **indigo, washing-blue**

nis (K) | *— xdr* to disappear

ni⁺sān n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Nisan**

nišama n.f. **soul**

ni⁺šān, ni⁺šana n.f. (K/T < P) **sign, mark; aim; purpose** | *ni⁺šān hwl* to give a sign; *ni⁺šān ∅wd* to mark; to aim; (lit.) to give a sign: *⁺hatā́n xabušé ni⁺šanà widíle əl-⁺kaló*⌐ The groom threw the apples (literally: aimed the apples) at the bride (81); *ni⁺šā́n d-o-pardá yà-wela*⌐ *ki-mā́ni-t ăgàr*⌐ *pùč xabré*⌐ *máqe bar-⁺kálo ⁺hatàn*⌐ *ó pardà*⌐ *⁺qanšarú ⁺qatyàle*⌐ The purpose of the curtain was this, that whenever somebody spoke bad words behind (the back) of the bride or the groom, the curtain would cut him off in front of them (88)

ni⁺šanqa n.f. (K < P) (arch.) **sign, mark, betrothal** | *ni⁺šanqa dry* to betrothe

ni⁺šanqula n.f. (K < P) **betrothal, engagement** | *ni⁺šanqula ∅wd* to become betrothed, engaged

nišawe, niše → baxta

nixanula n.f. **rest, repose**

niza n.f. (K < P) **spear; bayonet**

nizapošt (K ? < P) | *— ∅wd* to spear with bayonets

nmuna n.m. (K < P) **sample**

nobār n.m. (K/T < P) **first-fruit**

nobta n.f. (K < P) **turn** | *kúd məšpaxà,*| *kúd famìl,*| *gál nobtà*| ⁺*xətté taxnìwalu*| Each family ground it in turns (99)

nokar n.m. (pl. *nokărawe*) (K/T < P) **servant, slave** | *nokărawox-ilu!* They are your servants (answer to an enquiry about the health of one's children) (cf. ⁺*qul*)

nomana n.f. **slumber**

noš- n.f. (with suffixes only) **self** | *nošew* himself, *nošaw* herself, etc. *nošew pəqyale* He boasted (literally: He puffed himself up): *kúd gorá geb-báxta nóšew paqèla*| Every husband boasts to his wife (48)

noši⁺*jān!* (K/T < P) May it do you good! (said to a person engaged in eating or drinking)

nšuqta n.f. (pl. *nšuqye*) **kiss** (cf. *mai*)

nuġum n.m. (pl. *nuġumye*) (K < A) **tune, melody** (cf. *nəggun*)

nujum n.m. (K/T < A) **sorcery, magic**

nujumkār n.m./f. (pl. *nujumkare*) (K/T < P/A) **sorcerer, sorceress, magician**

nura n.m. **fire** | *nura m-nhr* to make kindle a fire, to make trouble: *nura dwq* to catch fire

nušwe → naše

nwaga n.m./f. (pl. *nwage*) (K/T < P) **grandchild**

nwazta n.f. (pl. *nwazye*) **rebuke**

⁺*n*

⁺*naamta* n.f. (pl. *naamte*) (T/K < A) **boon**

⁺*naamud* adj. invar. (K < P) **hopeless, miserable**

⁺*nába* part. (K) **lest** (cf. *badiš*)

⁺*nabāt* n.m. (K/T < A) **sugar-candy** | ⁺*nabā́t* ⁺*mərdixà* boiled sugar stick (120)

⁺*načār* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **having no choice** | *načār* ∅*wd* to compell; *načār xdr* to be compelled

⁺*naġadayna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*naġadayne*) **person from Naghade (Solduz)** (cf. ⁺*solduzna*)

⁺*nahala,* ⁺*nahalta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*nahale,* ⁺*nahalye*) **ear** | ⁺*nahala* ⁺*masole əllew* He is listening to him

⁺*nahaq* adj. invar. (K/T < P/A) **wrong(ly), unlawfully** | ⁺*nahaq ∅wd* to make guilty; ⁺*nahaq xdr* to make oneself guilty

⁺*nahaqqula* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **wrong, injustice, guilt**

⁺*nahār* n.f. (K/T < P) **repast, dinner**

⁺*najjara* n.m. (K/T < A) **carpenter, joiner**

⁺*najjarula* n.f. (K/T < A) **carpenter's or joiner's trade**

⁺*nāl* n.f. (K/T < A) **shoe; horse-shoe**

⁺*nām* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **fresh, moist** (cf. *šey*)

⁺*namula* n.f. (K/T < P) **freshness, moisture** (cf. *rutubat*)

⁺*namus* n.f. (K/T < A< Gr.) **politeness, courtesy, tact** | ⁺*namus ∅wd* to be polite, to show honour; ⁺*namus odana* (f. *odanta*), *mare* ⁺*namus* polite, courteous tactful

⁺*nana* n.f. (K/T < A) **mint, peppermint** | ⁺*qursi-*⁺*nana* peppermint candy

⁺*naqalfəl(dān)* adj. (K/T) **unexpected(ly)**

⁺*naqām* (H) | — ⁺*plt ~ šql* to take one's revenge

⁺*naqama* n.f. (H) **cavil** | ⁺*naqama hwl* to carp, to cavil

⁺*narazi* adj. invar. (K/T < P/A) **displeased, dissatisfied**

⁺*naraziula* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **displeasure, dissatisfaction**

⁺*nardiwān* n.f. (K/T < P) **ladder**

⁺*nare* n.pl. **shouting** | ⁺*nare dhl* He is shouting; ⁺*nare čăqe dahole* He is making a clamour

⁺*nasāġ, nasāz* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **unwell**

⁺*nasaġula, nasazula* n.f. (K/T < P) **being unwell**

⁺*natəlla* n.f. (H) **ritual ablution of hands**

⁺*nawār* n./adj. invar. (? < A) **gipsy** (cf. *qaračna*)

⁺*nawi* n.m. (H) **prophet**

⁺*nazān* adj. invar. (K < P) **ignorant**

⁺*nazanula* n.f. (K < P) **ignorance**

⁺*nazi* n.f. (K/T < P) **coyness, coquetry**

⁺*nazik* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **fine, thin**

⁺*nazir* n.m. (H) **nazarite**

⁺*nəbya* adj. (f. ⁺*nbita*, pl. ⁺*nəbye*) **swollen**

⁺*nəzra, nəzranula* n.f. (H) **nazirate**

⁺*noǵlta* n.f. (pl. *noǵle*) (K/T < A) **sweetmeat, candy**

⁺*nohra* n.m. **mirror, looking-glass**

⁺*nuqta* (i) n.f. (⁺*nuqte*) (K/T < A) **drop spot**

⁺*nuqta* (ii) n.f. **police station**

⁺*nuqtana* adj. (f. ⁺*nuqtanta*, pl. ⁺*nuqtana*) (K/T < A) **spotted**

⁺*nuqtāx* n.f. **rein**

o

o pron. (pl. *une*) **he, she; that (one)**

oga adj. invar. (T/K) **step-** | *oga brona* stepson, *oga brata* stepdaughter, *oga dada* stepfather, *oga* ⁺*daa* stepmother

olču n.f. (pl. *olčwe*) (T) **measure**

olka n.f. (pl. *olkawe*) (T/K) **city, country**

oraxča n.f. (T) **sickle**

ordăka n.f. (T/K) **duck**

ortug n.m. (T) **cover, spread**

otmabel n.f. (K/T < R) **automobile, car**

o-xet (pl. *une-xet*) **another, the other** (§9.7.5.)

⁺*o*

⁺*ojāġ* n.f. (T/K) **fire-place; family, clan**

⁺*olām* n.f. (H) **world, this world**

⁺*onda* part. (T) **then**

⁺*ordu* n.f. (pl. ⁺*ordue,* ⁺*orduye*) (T/K) **army, camp**

⁺*otāġ* n.f. (T/K) **room, chamber**

⁺*oxxāy* interj. (K) **exclamation of relief**

p

pāč n.m. (K/T < P) **hoe**

pahin n.m. (K < P?) **dried dung (used as fuel)**

pahriz n.m. (K/T < P) **diet** | *pahriz ∅wd* to keep a diet

paket n.f. (K/T < R) **packet, package; envelope**

palang m. (K < P) **panther, leopard**

palla n.f. (K < P) **wave, breaker** (cf. ⁺*šappa*)

paltag n./adj. invar. (T/K) **stammerer, stutterer**

paltăgula n.f. (T/K) **stammering**

palu n.m. **sweet runny paste**

panja n.f. (K) **instep**

panjăra n.f. (K/T < P) **window**

pansil n.m. (? < Engl.) **pencil**

papiča n.f. (T/K) **hoof; child's shoe**

papug n.f. (K) **hoopoe**

paqyana adj. (f. *paqyanta*) **proud, boastful**

paraganda n.f. **exile** | *paraganda ∅wd* to exile

parča n.m. (K) **material, fabric** | *parčá báat jullè* material for clothes (92); *xá* ⁺*qətta parčà*⌉ a piece of material (96)

parda n.f. (K/T < P) **curtain** | *parda* ⁺*ysr* to close a curtain; *parda šry* to open a curtain

pardin n.f. **curtain drawn to partition a room** | *pardin šaroe* the opening of a symbolic curtain at the ending of a wedding (84)

pardu n.f. (pl. *pardwe*) (K) **cross-beam**

parənj n.m. (T < P) **pearl-groats**

pari⁺*šān* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **miserable**

pari⁺*šanula* n.f. (K/T < P) **miserable state**

parjin n.f. (K < P) **screen, dividing wall**

paroqe f. **end, finish** | *paroqət xabra* to end the matter, in short

paroxet n.f. (H) **curtain (over Torah or something sacred)**

parsandai, parsandayula n.f. (P ?) **glory**

parsang adj. invar. **incorrect (of scales)**

parta n.f. **waste, shavings, sawdust**

parušta n.f. **parting (of hair)**

parwari n.f. (K < P) **fattening of animals or birds** (cf. ⁺*dabasti*) | ⁺*dabasti* ∅*wd* to fatten (animals or birds)

pastak n.f. (K) **Kurdish woolen vest**

paša n.m. (K/T <P) **pasha**

pata n.f. **glass-jar (for preserves)**

pătax n.m. (H) **pataḥ (Hebrew vowel)**

patire n.pl. **Passover** (cf. ⁺*pesah,* ⁺*pəssa*)

paxa adj. (f. *paxta*, pl. *paxe*) **tasteless**

paxil adj. invar. (T/K < A) **jealous**

paxilula n.f. (T/K < A) **envy, jealousy** (cf. *kdurta*) | *paxilula* ∅*wd* to envy, to be jealous of: *aynè¹ goymé* ⁺*rába paxilulà godíwa m-*⁺*hudaé¹* The Muslims were very jealous of the Jews (126)

paytaxt n.f. (K/T < P) **capital (of a state)**

pečka n.m. (K) **(cooked) sheep's foot**

pejiband n.f. (K?) **breastplate of the High Priest**

pela n.m. (pl. *pele*) **radish**

pella n.f. (K < P ?) **rung**

pellakān n.f. (K/T < P) **stair, staircase**

pe⁺mara n.f. (K) **spade** (cf. *⁺mara*)

pengaw n.f. (K < P?) **step, stride** (cf. *⁺addəm*) | *pengaw m-ndy* to step out

pesər n.m. (K) **space between the legs**

pešana (f. *pešanta*) **remaining, remainder, rest**

peškas n.f. (K/T < P) **present, gift** | *peškas ∅wd* to give as a present (cf. *karam*, *⁺sawqta*)

peš⁺tamāl n.f. (K/T < P) **towel** (cf. *⁺xawli*)

peš⁺wāz (P) | — *∅wd* to go out to meet a guest and bring him to one's home

pey⁺ġambār n.m. (K/T < P) **gentile prophet**

pəlga, pəlge n.m. **half; middle** | *xa-w pilge* one and a half; *⁺sata tre-w pilge* at half past two; *g-pəlgət tre naše* between two people

pəlgamənji **the middle one**

pəlg-léle n.m. **midnight**

pəlgóma n.m. **midday, noon**

pəlluš m.n. **waste (food)**

pənčke n.pl. **ends; strings (in certain vegetables)**

pənna n.m. **mouth; opening** | *pənnət …. twr* to contradict; *pənnox torənne, băle xabrox godənne!* (proverb) I contradict you, but will do as you say! *pənnox xale!* May your mouth be sweet! (formula of thanks for sweet food or drink); *pən tara* doorway; entrance; gate

pərča n.m. (K/T) **hair (coll.)**

pərča-xwara ~ pərča-xwarta n.f. **old woman**

pərča-xwarula n.f. **old age (of women)** (*⁺qarəlmišula*, *⁺rəwwula*)

pərka n.m. **crumb**

pərtunta n.f. **a little bit**

pərxapərx (K) │ — ∅*wd* to snore (cf. *xərraxər* ∅*wd*)

pəsra n.m. **flesh, meat** │ *ixāl pəsra* n.m. meat-food; *ixalew la kxəlle, băle* ⁺*moew šatelu* (proverb) He behaves inconsistently (literally: He does not eat its flesh [of an unclean animal], but drinks its broth)

pəsta n.m. (K) **large water-skin**

pəsyana n./adj. (f. *pəsyanta*, pl. *pəsyane*) (K < P) **leper**

pəšk n.f. (K < P ?) **lot**

pəxpixa adj. (f. *pəxpəxta*, pl. *pəxpixe*) **soft, disintegrated (soil, food etc.)**

pil n.m. (pl. *pile*) **elephant** │ *kakət pil* n.m. ivory

pinači n.m. (T/K < P) **cobbler, shoemaker**

pis (K/T < P) │ — ∅*wd* to fall out, to cease to play with each other (of children)

pisi n.f. (K < P) **leprosy** (cf. *pisula*)

pisula n.f. (K < P) **leprosy** (cf. *pisi*)

piškəlta n.f (pl. *pəškəlye*) **sheep's dung**

pišq n.m. **possessions**

pi⁺*waza* n.f. (K/T < P) **chives**

polis n.m. (pl. *polise*) **policeman**

polza n.f. **half an** ⁺*unsa* **(ounce)**

poqa n.m. **nose**

porga n.f. **pustule**

poxa n.f. **wind**

pqarta n.f. (pl. *pqarye*) **neck** │ *pqartew* ⁺*azād* ∅*wd* to take leave (literally: to free one's neck); *pqartox* ⁺*azād hawya* You shall be free from responsibility; *grš pqartew* to make responsible, to blame (literally: to pull his neck); *šql pqartew* to take the responsibility for ... upon oneself; *pqaryew pile* His tonsils are inflamed (literally:

fallen); *pqaryew* ⁺*mrm* to massage someone's tonsils as a cure for inflammation

psus n.f. (K < P) **base of a Sabbath lamp**

puč adj. invar. (T/K) **bad, rotten** | *ya puč šulele* This is a bad business

pučula n.f. (T/K) **badness, rottenness**

pulake n.pl. (K/T < P) **scales (of fish)**

pulwa n.m. **breadth**

pulwana adj. (f. *pulwanta*, pl. *pulwane*) **broad**

purim n.m. (H) **Feast of Purim**

purqani n.f. **salvation**

put n.m. (P < R) **pud** (= 10 *hafta*, about 40 lbs)

⁺***p***

⁺*paga* n.m. (K/T < P) **stable, cow-shed**

⁺*pahlawān* n.m. (K/T < P) **hero athlete**

⁺*palān* n.m. (K < P) **pack-saddle** | ⁺*palān dhl* to saddle

⁺*palanlamiš* (K/T < P) | — ∅*wd* to saddle

⁺*palās* n.m. (K/T < P) **sack-cloth**

⁺*palton* n.f. (K/T < R < Fr) **overcoat, topcoat**

⁺*pana* n.m. (K < P) **refuge** | ⁺*pana b-əlha!* Put your trust in God!

⁺*papāġ* n.m. (T/K) **tall cap made of lamb fur**

⁺*păra* n.f. (K) **feather**

⁺*para* n.m. (arch.) **lamb**

⁺*partenta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*partene*) **flea**

⁺*partron* n.m. (K < R ? < Fr) **European style trousers**

⁺*parwāz* n.m. (K < P) **peacock's tail** | ⁺*parwāz* ∅*wd* to unfold the tail (of a peacock)

⁺*pasuxa* adj. (f. ⁺*pusuxta*, ⁺*pasuxe*) **glad, happy**

⁺*patuxa* adj. (f. ⁺*patuxta,* pl. ⁺*patuxe*) **broad, flat, thick** | *šamina*
  ⁺*patuxa* broad and stout

⁺*paya* n.m. (K < P) **base of pillar**

⁺*payəz* n.m. (K/T < P) **autumn**

⁺*pésa(h)* n.f. (H) **Passover** (cf. *patire;* ⁺*pəssa*)

⁺*pəsna* n.m. (K) **praise**

⁺*pəssa* n.f. **Passover** (cf. *patire,* ⁺*pesah*) | ⁺*pəssa* ∅*wd* to clean the house
  for Passover; ⁺*pəssa dry* to prepare the ceremonial Pasover dish

⁺*pəsxanula* n.f. **gladness, joy, happiness; festive occasion**

⁺*pətxa* n.m. **flatness, broadness, thickness**

⁺*pliča* adj. (K?) (f. ⁺*pləčta,* pl. ⁺*pliče*) **crooked**

⁺*plima* adj. (f. ⁺*pləmta,* pl. ⁺*plime*) **crooked; dishonest** (cf. *kāj*)

⁺*plimula* n.f. **crookedness; dishonesty**

⁺*plow* n.f. (K/T < P) **pilav**

⁺*polād* n.m. (K/T <P) **steel**

⁺*polka* n.f. **type of pear**

⁺*portqal* n.f. (T/K) **orange**

⁺*posta* n.f. (T/K < It) **post, mail** | *gal* ⁺*posta šdr* to post, to mail

⁺*praxod* n.f. (? < R) **steamer; engine of a train**

⁺*psixa* adj. (f. ⁺*psəxta,* pl. ⁺*psixe*) **glad, happy**

⁺*pul* n.m. (T/K) **stamp; 0.02** ⁺*qrān* (q.v.)

⁺*pyada* n.m. (K/T < P) **foot-soldiers, infantry; on foot**

⁺*pyala* n.m. (K/T < P) **goblet, tumbler**

⁺*pyān* adj. invar. (? < R) **drunken** (cf. *mast, skira*)

⁺*pyanči* n.m. (? < R) **drunkard**

q

qadim adj. invar. (K < A) **old, ancient (of time)**

qadr n.m. (K/T < A) **worth, value** | *b-qadrət* according to

qahr n.m. (K/T < A) **sadness, depression**

qahti n.f. (K < A) **drought, famine**

qahwa (K/T < A) **coffee** (cf. ⁺*qahwaxana*)

qahwai adj. invar. (K < P/A) **coffee-coloured, brown**

qajal, qajala n.f. (K) **magpie**

qălăma n.m. (K/T < A) **writing-pen; poplar**

qalam⁺*dān* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **case for scribe's utensils**

qalandar adj. (f. *qalandarta*, pl. *qalandare*) (K/T < P) **poor, unfortu-**
    nate (cf. *faqir*, ⁺*kasəb*; ⁺*məsken*)

qalandărula n.f. (K/T < P) **poverty, misfortune** (cf. ⁺*kasbula*; *məskeni*)

qalma n.f. **louse**

qalpa n.m. **peel, skin**

qalulula n.f. **lightness, little worth**

qalya n.m. **preserved roast meat**

qamči n.m. (T/K) **whip, lash** | *qamči dhl* to strike with a whip

qămol prep./adv. **before (in time); formerly** | *yomawət qămol* (in) the
    former days

qamxa n.m. **flour, meal**

qanana n.f. **horn**

qand n.m. (T/K < P) **sugar** (cf. *šakar*) | *marazət qand* diabetes

qand⁺*dān* n.m. (K/T < P) **sugar-bowl** (cf. *šakar*⁺*dān*)

qandil n.f. (T/K < It) **oil-lamp**

qanušta n.f. (pl. *qanušye*) **broom**

qara n.m. **pumpkin; vegetable marrow, squash**

qaračna n.m./f. (pl. *qaračne*) (K/T < P) **gipsy; riffraff** (cf. ⁺*nawār*)

qaralwa n.m. (T?) **sloe**

qarawāt n.f. (T/K) **bed, bedstead**

qara⁺xarmān n.f. (T/K) **corn eaten raw**

qarda n.f. **cold** | *qarda qəpla llew* He caught a cold (literally: The cold struck him); *qardela* It is cold; *ana qardila* I am cold

qariba n.m. (f. *qarəbta*, pl. *qaribe*) (K/T < A) **stranger**

qaribula n.f. (K/T < A) **strange place, strange land**

qarila adj. (f. *qarəlta*, pl. *qarile*) **cold; cold-blooded, phlegmatic** (cf. *samt*)

qarita n.f. (pl. *qarite*) **beam (in building)** | *qaritət zaqqara* spider's web (cf. *nawarda*; *šəmra*); *qarita* ∅*wd* to lay beams

qaroe f. **reading, study**

qarq (K < A) | — ∅*wd* to drown (tr.); — *xdr* to drown (intr.)

qaryana n.m. (f. *qaryanta*, pl. *qaryane*) **reader; student, scholar**

qasr n.f. (pl. *qasre, qasrawe*) (K/T < A) **castle**

qašša n.m. **priest, monk** (cf. *kašiš*)

qayči n.f. (T/K) **scissors**

qayd n.m. (K/T < A) **trouble, care** | *qayd let!* No problem!

qayəš n.m. (T/K) **belt**

qaylun (K/T < P/A?) **pipe (for smoking)**

qayqa n.f. (T/K) **boat**

qazzab n.f. (T/K < A) **anger, wrath**

qdiša n.m. (f. *qdəšta*) **holy**

qdurta n.f. (K < A) **power**

qədduš n.f. (H) **benediction said over wine; wine used for ritual purposes** | *qədduš* ∅*wd* to say benediction over wine; to perform the marriage ceremony

qəfl- → *qfəl*

qəflband adj. invar. (K < P/A) **fettered** | *qəflband* ∅*wd* to fetter

qəlyale n.pl. **roast wheat-corns**

qəmta n.f. (K/T < A) **value** (cf. ⁺*tima*)

qənna n.f. **reed, stem; nut kernel**

qənnara n.m. (K < P) **gallows** (cf. ⁺*dār-aġači,* ⁺*siwa*) | *qənnara dhl* to hang someone

qənya adj. (f. *qnita,* pl. *qənye*) **green, blue; bruised**

qəpša n.m. **hem**

qərpi n.f. **hedgehog**

qərqra n.f. (K?) **Adam's apple** (cf. *qurqŭra;* ⁺*xərxra*)

qərta n.f. (K) **jealousy, zeal**

qəsmta, qəsmətta n.f. (pl. *qəsmətte*) (K/T < A) **fate; lot; portion, aspect** | *kí ayét kí* ⁺*kaló qəsməttòx-ila*| so that you know that the bride is your fortune (= is destined for you) (80); *ána ayné kəmmá qəsməttát áy xlulá kí mirilì*| *kullú aná namayšù kəlwawalí*| I wrote a play about all these aspects of a wedding that I have described (97)

qəwta, qwətta n.f. (K/T < A) **strength** | *qəwta hwl* to strengthen; *idew qəwta hwəlle* He made an effort

qəwya adj. (f. *qwita,* pl. *qəwye*) (K < A) **strong, hard, solid** | *ləbbew qəwyele* He is self-reliant (literally: His heart is strong); *rešew qəwyele* He is head-strong; *nošxun qəwya duquna!* Stick together! / Have courage!

qəwyanula, qəwyula n.f. (K < A) **hardness, solidity**

qəwyətta n.f. **strength**

qfəl ~ qəfl (with suffix: *qəfl-*) (K/T < A) **lock (of door)**

qlila n.f. (pl. *qləlye*) **key**

qliwa adj. (f. *qləwta,* pl. *qliwe*) **clean** (cf. *tamiz*) | *qliwa* ⁺*xaləs* clean and pure

qliwula n.f. **cleanness** (cf. *tamizula*)

qoč (T) | — ∅*wd ~ dhl* to gore

qoma n.m. **stature** | *qome qome* (They walked) erect

qora n.f. (pl. *qore, qorawe*) **tomb, grave**

qotya n.m. (T/K) **box**

qra n.m. **bottom, ground; sole of shoe** (cf. *əqra*)

qraa n.f. **reading**

qrawa n.f. **war, battle, fight** | *qrawa* ∅*wd* to make war, to fight, to quarrel

qruš n.m. (K/T < A < Lat) **piaster**

qudrat n.f. (K < A) **power**

quduz adj. invar. (T) **sleepless**

qulašta n.f. (pl. *qulašye*) **earring**

qulb- prep. (K < A) (used only with *m-* prefix) **instead of** | *m-qulbi* in my stead; with following content clause: *m-qulbə́t ki-adé geb-marasxaná əllí xazè,⎮ awwál zə́lle əl-d-ó lóka* ⁺*plə̀tlele⎮* Instead of coming to the hospital to see me, he first went and had him (the teacher) released from there (the police station) (148)

qulba n.f. (K/T) **bracelet**

qulpa n.f. (T) **handle of vessel**

qulunčik qulunčiqa n.f. (K) **little finger**

qupa n.m. (pl. *qupe*) **pot**

qurqúšum n.m. (T/K) **lead (metal)**

qúrsi-naná n.f. (K/T < P/A) **peppermint candy**

quš n.m./f. (pl. *quše*) (K/T) **bird** | *ləxmət quše* marrow

quyi n.f. (pl. *quyiye, quyawe*) (T) **well, cistern**

⁺***q***

⁺*qāb* n.f. (T/K) **receptacle** | ⁺*qāb xədye* brassière

⁺*qabāġ* prep. (T) **before (in space)** | *šulxún biš-*⁺*qàbāġ-ile⎮* Your business is more ahead (= is more successful) (192)

⁺*qabāl* n.f. (K < A) **portion of work (in common undertaking)**

⁺*qabār* n.f. (T) **bruise**

⁺*qaburqa* n.f. (T/K) **rib**

⁺*qada* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qadae*) (K/T < A) **misfortune, accident** (cf. ⁺*qaza*) |
⁺*qadae* ⁺*balae* misfortunes and disasters

⁺*qadaġa* n.f. **government order**

⁺*qafa* n.f. (K/T < A) **nape, back of the neck**

⁺*qafās* n.f. (K/T < A) **cage, coop**

⁺*qahba* n.f. (K/T < A) **whore, adultress**

⁺*qahbula* n.f. (K/T < A) **whoring, adultery** (cf. *zonula*)

⁺*qahwaxana* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **coffee-room, coffee-house; ante-room**
(cf. *qahwa*)

⁺*qāl* adj. invar. (T/K) **smelted, refined** | ⁺*qāl* ∅*wd* to smelt, to refine

⁺*qala* n.m. **voice, sound** | ⁺*qala hwl* to make a noise

⁺*qala* n.f. (K/T < A) **tower, fortress** | *mare-*⁺*qala* adj. invar. fortified

⁺*qalaband* adj. invar. (K/T < P/A) **besieged**

⁺*qalabandi* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **siege, state of siege** | ⁺*qalabandi m-ndy*
to besiege, to beleaguer (cf. ⁺*mansura*)

⁺*qalāġ* n.f. **heap** | ⁺*qalāġ* ∅*wd* ∼ *dhl* to heap

⁺*qalāy* n.m. (T/K < A?) **tin (metal)**

⁺*qalayča* n.f. (K/T < A) **tower**

⁺*qalayči* n.m. (T/K < A?) **tinsmith**

⁺*qaləb* n.m. (K/T < A) **form, mould**

⁺*qalən* adj. invar. (T/K) **thick, coarse**

⁺*qalmaqāl* n.f. (K/T < A) **noise**

⁺*qalpax* n.m. (T/K) **fur-cap**

⁺*qalxān* n.f. (T/K) **shield**

⁺*qamiš* n.m. (T/K) **reeds**

⁺*qamišalān, qamišləġ* n.m./f. (T) **thicket of reeds**

⁺*qanāt,* ⁺*qanata* n.f. (T/K) **wing; fin; sail**

⁺*qanddān, qandkān* n.f. (K/T < P) **sugar-bowl**

⁺*qanšar* prep. **in front of**; (arch) **before (temporal)**

⁺*qapči* n.m. (T/K) **door-keeper** (cf. ⁺*darwazači*)

⁺*qappāġ* n.m. (pl. ⁺*qappaġye*) (T/K) **lid, cover** | ⁺*qappāġ reša* top of scull

⁺*qappān* n.f. (T/K) **steelyard**

⁺*qaqqa* **goody-goody (children's language)**

⁺*qarāl,* ⁺*qaraldād* n.m. (lit.) **declaration; thanks-giving** | ⁺*qarāl mdy* to profess, to declare, to thank

⁺*qaraqul* n.m. (T/K) **guard, sentry**

⁺*qaraqulxana* n.f. (T/K) **guard-room**

⁺*qarawāš* n.f. (pl. *qarawaše*) (T/K) **maidservant, female slave**

⁺*qaraxalta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qaraxale*) **playing-card**

⁺*qarəlmiš* (T/K) |— *xdr* to become old (esp. of woman)

⁺*qarəlmišula* n.f. (T/K) **old age (esp. of woman)** (cf. *pərča-xwarula,* ⁺*rəwwula*)

⁺*qari* n.f. (T/K) **old woman** | ⁺*dae* ⁺*qari* (good) old woman

⁺*qarnabit* n.m. (K/T < A?) **cauliflower**

⁺*qarqara* n.f. (K) **raven, crow**

⁺*qaša* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qaše*) **eyebrow**

⁺*qasd* n.f. (K/T < A) **purpose, intention; on purpose, intentionally** (cf. *taaddula*)

⁺*qasəd* n.m./f. (K/T < A) **messenger**

⁺*qasod,* ⁺*qasoda* n.m. (K < A) **messenger**

⁺*qassāb* n.m. (K/T < A) **butcher**

⁺*qassābxana* n.f. (K/T < A) **butchery, slaughterhouse**

⁺*qāš* n.f. (T) **precious stone** |⁺*qaše* ⁺*daše* all kinds of precious stones

⁺*qaša* n.f. (T) **eyebrow**

⁺*qašuġ* n.f. (T/K) **spoon**

⁺*qāt* n.m./f. (T) **layer** | ⁺*qāt* ⁺*qāt* in layers; *əsra* ⁺*qate* tenfold

⁺*qatəġ* (pl. ⁺*qatġe*) (T/K**) sour milk, curds; yoghurt** | ⁺*qatəġ* ⁺*batlətte m-amān, har xanči peš gaew; băle doe* ⁺*batləttu m-amān, heč gaew la peš* (proverb) If you empty a vessel of curds, something will still remain in it; but if you empty a vessel of whey, nothing will remain in it (i.e. The new poor are preferable to the new rich)

⁺*qatər* n.f. (T/K) **mule**

⁺*qatərči* n.m. (T/K) **muleteer**

⁺*qatula* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qatwe*) **cat**

⁺*qawala* n.f. (T/K) **drum** | ⁺*qāl* ⁺*qawala* ⁺*m-rəqqa jwān gde* (proverb) The sound of the distant drum is pleasant (i.e. Distant things seem better than they are)

⁺*qawra* n.f. **file (instrument)**

⁺*qawwās* n.m. (T < A) **fisherman** (cf. *masita*; ⁺*torči*)

⁺*qaxta* n.f. (pl. *qaxe*) **dried peach**

⁺*qaya* n.m. (T/K) **rock**

⁺*qayda* n.f. (K/T < A) **rule, custom, manner** | ⁺*qaydət áy d-ò-tka*| *ya-jùr-wela*| the custom of that place was like that (144)

⁺*qaymāġ* n.m. (T/K) **cream**

⁺*qayyām* adj. invar. (H) **stable** | ⁺*qayyām* ∅*wd* to stabilize; to fulfil (word)

⁺*qāz* n.f. (T/K) **goose**

⁺*qaza,* ⁺*qazya* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qazye*) (K/T < A) **accident; incident; suffering; judgement** (cf. ⁺*qada*) | ⁺*qazye hwl* to make suffer; ⁺*qazye xzy* to suffer; *bára géna hamā́n hamā́n yá* ⁺*qazya xdə̀ra*| Afterwards exactly the same thing happened (148)

⁺*qazalāx* n.f. (K) **lark**

⁺*qazanj* n.m. (T/K) **gain, profit**

⁺*qazanja* n.f. (T/K) **metal saucepan**

⁺*qazi* n.m. (K/T < A) **cadi**

⁺*qazma* n.m. (T) **pickaxe**

⁺*qazye* → *qaza*

⁺*qbaa* n.m. **smock**

⁺*qeta* n.m. **summer**

⁺*qənyana* n.f. **domestic animal (bovine or equine)**

⁺*qərjala* n.f. **crab**

⁺*qərməz* adj. invar. (T/K) **deep red, scarlet**

⁺*qərmita* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qərmite*) **wrinkle**

⁺*qərraqər* (K) │ — ∅*wd* to croak

⁺*qərtlu* adj. invar. **wormy** (cf. *kərmana*)

⁺*qərt-qərt* (K) **cracking noise**

⁺*qəsta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qəste*) (K/T < A) **story, matter** │ *ya* ⁺*qəsta ma-ila?* What is the matter?; *ma* ⁺*qəsta* …? What is the reason that... ?

⁺*qətla* n.m. **killing, murder**

⁺*qətma* n.m. **ash, cinder**

⁺*qətra* n.m. **knot** │ *ixala* ⁺*qətra kwəšle* The food went down with difficulty; ⁺*qətrət* ⁺*xasa* backbone

⁺*qətta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qətte*) **piece** │ ⁺*qətte* ⁺*qətte xdəre* It was broken into pieces (cf. *tika*); *wədlele* ⁺*qətte* ⁺*qətte* He broke it into pieces

⁺*qətta* n.m. **woven fabric, textile**

⁺*qəzəlgul* n.f. (T) **rose**

⁺*qəzne* n.pl. (K) **mould (in bread)**

⁺*qira* n.f. (K < A < Gr) **pitch, tar**

⁺*qlič* n.f. (T) **sword** (cf. *sepa*)

⁺*qočāġ* adj. invar. (T) **agile, diligent**

⁺*qočaqān* n.f. (K) **sling** (cf. ⁺*soppān*)

⁺*qodəġ* n.m. **young ass**

⁺*qoja* n.m. (T) **old man**

⁺*qojalmiš* (T) │ — *xdr* to grow old (of man)

⁺*qojalmišula,* ⁺*qojanula,* ⁺*qojula* n.f. (T) **old age (of men)** (cf. ⁺*dəqna-xwarula,* ⁺*rəwwula*)

⁺*qol,* ⁺*qola* n.f. (T) **arm** | ⁺*m-qolew dwəqlele* He took him by the arm; ⁺*qola grš reš* to put one's signature to

⁺*qoltəġ* n.f. (T/K) **armpit**

⁺*qondaġ* n.f. (T/K) **large grape** | ⁺*qondăġət tfang* butt of a gun

⁺*qondaġa* n.f. (T) **swaddling-cloth** (cf. ⁺*malafa*)

⁺*qondara* n.f. (pl. ⁺*qondare*) (T) **European style shoe**

⁺*qondarači* n.m. (T) **shoemaker**

⁺*qonsol* n.m. (T < It) **consul**

⁺*qoqa* n.m. **earthenware cooking-pot**

⁺*qora* n.m. (K) **sour grape**

⁺*qorəġ* n.f. **pasture lot**

⁺*qotər* adj. invar. (T) **rough (of surface), pock-marked**

⁺*qotrula* n.f. (T) **being pock-marked**

⁺*qottāz* n.f. (T) **balls of silk (ornaments)**

⁺*qoza* n.m. (T) **husk**

⁺*qrāġ* n.m. (T/K) **side; aside** (cf. *kanār*) *ya peš* ⁺*qrāġ!* Leave this aside! Never mind!; ⁺*qraġət* ⁺*yama* sea-side, shore; ⁺*qrāġ olka* the outskirts of a city

⁺*qrān* n.m. (P) **unit of money** (= 0.1 *tumān* = 5 ⁺*abbasi* = 20 ⁺*šai* = 200 ⁺*pul*)

⁺*qrot* adj. invar. **stricken with ringworm** (cf. *kačal*)

⁺*quhum* n.m. (T < A) **people, assembly**

⁺*qul* n.m. (T/K) **slave; servant** (cf. *nokar*)

⁺*qulabduz* adj. invar. (K < P) **embroidered with gold or silver**

⁺*qulluġ* n.f. (T/K) **service** | ⁺*smixen ba-*⁺*qulluġox* I am (standing) at your service

⁺*qulluġdār,* ⁺*qulluġkār* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*qullġdare*) (T/K < P) **servant**

⁺*qulunjān* n.m. (K) **type of brown root?**

⁺*qumār* n.m. (K/T < A) **gambling** | ⁺*qumār* ⁺*tyl* to gamble

⁺*qumarbāz* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*qumarbaze*) (K/T < A) **gambler**

⁺*qumāš* n.m. (K/T < A) **woven fabric, material**

⁺*quraba* n.m. **public sale** (cf. ⁺*mazād*) | ⁺*quraba dry* to offer for public sale

⁺*qurʾān* n.m. (K/T < A) **the Koran**

⁺*qurbān* n.m. (pl. of ⁺*qurbanye*) (K/T < A) **sacrifice** | ⁺*qurbān* ∅*wd* to sacrifice; ⁺*qurbanox xadren!* May I become your sacrifice! *qurbān dinox xadren* May I become the sacrifce of your relgion (expressions of devotion); ⁺*qurbān d-o šəkla xadren!* How good it is to see that picture!

⁺*qurbānləġ* (T < A) | — ∅*wd* to sacrifice

⁺*qurmiš* adj. invar. (T) **wound up** | ⁺*qurmiš* ∅*wd* to wind up

⁺*qurtum* n.f. (T) **mouthful (of drink)**

⁺*quta* n.f. **vulva (rude)**

r

rafiq n.m. (f. *rafəqta*, pl. *rafiqe*) (K/T < A) **client; paramour** (cf. ⁺*sahāb*)

rafta n.f. (pl. *rafte*) (K/T < A) **shelf**

rahat adj. invar. (K/T < A) **restful(ly)**

rahati, rahatula n.f. (K/T < A) **rest, ease** | *rahatula grš* to rest, to take a rest, to be at ease

rahm- → *rahami*

rahmana adj. (f. *rahmanta*, pl. *rahmane*) (K/T < A, or H) **merciful (of humans)** (cf. ⁺*rahmana*)

rais n.m. (K < A) **head, leader** | *raísət áy komsérət áy Urmì* the head of police in Urmi (134)

rakixa adj. (f. *rakəxta*, pl. *rakixe*) **soft**

rala n.f. (pl. *rale*) **lung**

ramši adv. **last night**

randa n.f. (T/K < P) **carpenter's plane** | *randa ∅wd* to plane

rang n.m. (K/T < P) **colour** | *hawá-rangi* grey (cf. *nim-rang*); *range range* many-coloured

raqlana n.m. (pl. *raqlane*) **dancer**

rašbar n.m. **farmer, peasant**

raxoma n.m. (pl. *raxome*) **lover**

raxt n.f. (K < P) **ornamental necklace of horse**

rayəj adj. invar. (K/T < A) **current**

rayta n.m.f. (K/T < A) **subject, national**

reš- part. **upon; concerning** | *ya-mắnni xoîšt wắdle xákma čorkè-š⌐ réšət d-áy Šlómo ha-mèlex⌐ amrén baèw.⌐* He has asked me to tell him some stories about King Solomon

reš prep. **on, upon, over; concerning; on account of** | *reš eni!* You are welcome! willingly, with pleasure!

reša n.m. **head** | *reša ∅nty* to set out on one's way; *reša ∅zl* to work-properly, to be successful; *reša bsm* to condole (say the formula *rešox basima hawe!* May your head be safe!); *reša basimula* n.f. condolence; *reša basimula hwl* to condole; *reša dhl* to pay a visit, to occur to someone; *rešew pəlle* He grasped it (literally: It fell into his head); *rešew məmrele* He bothered him (literally: He gave him a headache); *rešew ⁺palət m-d-ay šula* He is versed in this matter (literally: He takes his head out of this matter); *rešew ⁺rummanele* He is proud (lierally: His head is high); *rešew ⁺taše* He supports, maintains himself (literally: He hides his head); *b-reši!* (I swear) by my head!; *ədyele b-rešew* It happened to him; *m-reša* (from) above; *m-reša xala* anew; *rešox torənne, băle xabrox godənne* (proverb) I'll break your head but do as you say; *mən d-a reša* tonight; *mən d-o reša* early tomorrow; *reš-šata* New Year

rešana n.m. **head, leader**

rəbbi n.m. (H) **rabbi**

rəqla n.f. **dance**

rəzza n.m. **rice**

ri⁺hān n.f. (K < A) **sweet basil**

riswāy (K < P) | — ∅*wd* to speak unmannerly

rixa n.m. **smell** | *rixa maroxen* I can smell something; *rixət ixala idayle* I smell food.

roqe n.pl. **spittle**

rotana n.f. **tremor, trembling**

roxa n.f. **rheum, rheumatism**

ršuta n.f. (K < A) **bribe(s)**

rutubat n.f. (K/T < A) **moisture** (cf. ⁺*namula*)

⁺**r**

⁺*rába* adv. mod. (with suffix *rabbay-*) **much, many; very** | ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába* at the utmost; *xanči* ⁺*rába* more or less; ⁺*rabbayu* most of them

⁺*rabta* → ⁺*rəwwa*

⁺*rabtula* n.f. **greatness, majesty**

⁺*rahami* n.m. (with suffix ⁺*rahm-*) (K < A) **mercy, pity** | ⁺*rahmi ədyele əllew* I took pity on him

⁺*rahamta* n.f. (K/T < A) **(of) blessed memory**

⁺*rahma* n.m. **mercy, pity** | ⁺*rahmèw ədyelé*| He had mercy (70); ⁺*rahmàx adé!*| Have mercy! (38)

⁺*rahmān,* ⁺*rahmana* n.m. (H) **the Merciful (God)** (cf. *rahmana*)

⁺*rakkawa* n.m. (pl. ⁺*rakkawe*) **rider, horseman**

⁺*rast* adj. invar. (K, T/P) **right** | *kpanaw ay* ⁺*rast* her right shoulder

⁺*rasta* n.f. **vaulted room (used for trading purposes)**

⁺*raša* adj. invar. (H) **wicked**

⁺*razi* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **pleased, satisfied** | ⁺*rába* ⁺*razilen mənnox!* Thank you very much (literally: I am very pleased with you); ⁺*razi* ∅*wd* to please, to satisfy; ⁺*razi xdr* to become pleased, satisfied

⁺*raziula* n.f. (K/T < A) **content, contentment**

⁺*rəda* n.m. (K < A) **grace (found)**; **wish** (cf. ⁺*rəza*)

⁺*rəjāh* n.m. (T/K < A) **request** | ⁺*rəjāh* ∅*wd* to request, to ask for

⁺*rəpya* adj. (f. *rpita*, pl. *rəpye*) **slack; thin (of soup)**

⁺*rəqqa* adj. invar. **far, distant** | ⁺*rəqqa mənnox/m-šamyane* Far be it from you/from the listeners! (answer: ⁺*rəqqa m-maqyana/m-amrana!* Far be it from the speaker!; ⁺*m-rəqqa* from afar;

⁺*rəšqande* n.pl. (K) **mockery** | ⁺*rəšqande* ∅*wd* to mock (cf. *masxăra*)

⁺*rəwwa,* ⁺*rəwwana* adj. (f. ⁺*rabta*, pl. ⁺*rəwwe*) **big, large, great** | *əlha (baan)* ⁺*rəwwele/*⁺*rəwwanele!* God will help (us)! n.m. **leader, chief** | ⁺*rəwwát áy komsèr*| the chief of police (101)

⁺*rəwwana* n.m. (f. ⁺*rəwwanta*, pl. ⁺*rəwwane*) **important person, chief, leader**

⁺*rəwwanula* n.f. **bigness, largeness, greatness**

⁺*rəwwula* n.f. **old age** (cf. ⁺*dəqna-xwarula, pərča-xwarula,* ⁺*qarəlmišula,* ⁺*qojalmišula*)

⁺*rəwya* adj. (f. ⁺*rwita*, pl. ⁺*rəwye*) **large** | *ləbba rəwya* large-hearted, generous (cf. *mard, saxyana*)

⁺*rəza* n.m. (K/T < A) **grace (found)** (cf. ⁺*rəda*)

⁺*rima* n.m. (K < P) **pus, matter**

⁺*rire* n.pl. **saliva**

⁺*Rostam* n.m. (K < P) **Rostam (name of legendary Persian hero), hero** | *ăgàr*| *ləxmá šaqə́lwa* ⁺*mə-trosá kì*| ⁺*Rostàm-wele*| If he could buy bread, he was truly a hero (174)

⁺*roššana* n.m. (H) **New Year's Day**

⁺*rotl* n.f. (K/T < A) **rotl (about 3 kilograms)**

⁺*rub* n.m. (K/T < A) **quarter** | ⁺*sata* ⁺*taha* ⁺*bassor xa-*⁺*rùb-ila*| It is a quarter to three (cf. *čarag*)

⁺*ruh* n.f. (T/K < A) **spirit, soul**

⁺*rummana* adj. (f. ⁺*rummanta*) **high, tall** | *rešew* ⁺*rummanele* He is proud

⁺*rummanula* n.f. **height, tallness**

⁺*runga* n.f. (? < R) **small liquor-glass**

⁺*rusqat* n.f. (K/T < A) **permission, permit** (cf. *dastur*) | ⁺*rusqat hwl* to permit, to allow

⁺*ruštahin* n.f. (K) **noodles, maccaroni**

⁺*rut* adj. invar. (K < P) **naked** (cf. *lut, šulxa*)

⁺*ruzi* (P) n.m. **salary; provision** | *hár gal-d-áy* ⁺*ruzì⸼ ána yomí maporⁿnne⸼* I am eking out my day with this salary (51); *ba-yalí* ⁺*ruzí fⁿryà hól⸼* Give my children abundant provsion (112)

s

sabadye → sbadila

sabⁿt adj. **established, proved** (P < A) | — ∅*wd* to prove: *ebélu ya-šúla* ⁺*hudáe sabⁿt odíwale⸼ kí ya-šúla duz-lèwe⸼* The Jews wanted to prove that this was not true (101)

sabgul adj. invar. **freckled**

sabr n.m. (T/K < A) **patience** | *sabr ∅wd* to have patience, to be patient; *sabrew la ⁿdyele* He lost patience (literally: His patience did not come)

sadr(i)azām n.m. (K/T < P/A) **chief minister**

safar n.m. (K/T < A) **travel, journey** | *safar ∅wd* to travel, to journey

safarim n.pl. → *séfer*

safⁿg adj. invar. (K/T < A) **silly, foolish**

safir n.m./f. (K < A) **traveller** | *safir sarwada* vagabond

sahla n.m./f. (pl. *sahle*) **witness** | *xdⁿru sahle* They bore witness

sahlula n.f. **testimony**

sahm n.m. (T < P) **fear, dread** | *mare sahm* fearful, dreadful

sahmlu adj. invar. (T < P) **fearful, dreadful**

sakən adj. invar. (K/T < A) **quiet, calm**

sakət adj. invar. (K/T < A) **quiet, relaxed**

sakkana n.f. (H) **danger**

saktula n.f. (K/T < A) **quiet**

saku n.f. (T/K) **platform; courtyard** (cf. ⁺*hayāt*)

salabta n.f. (K/T < A) **booty, prey**

salam n.m. (K < A) **usury** (cf. *sut*) | *salam šql* to take usury

salda n.f. (pl. *salye*) **basket**

salim (K/T < A) → ⁺*sāġ*

sama n.m. (T < A) **part, portion**

samani n.m. **stew of cracked wheat (eaten at Passover)**

sammawir n.m. (T < A) **light-blue colour**

samt adj. invar. **cold, phlegmatic** (cf. *qarila*)

samtur n.f. (T < P) **psaltery**

samyeli n.f. (T < A) **blast, hot wind**

sanai adj. invar. **mediocre, middling**

sănatkar n.m. (pl. *sănatkăre*) **craftsman**

sandaq n.m. (H) **godfather**

sangak n.m. (pl. *sangage*) (T) **loaf of bread**

sangar n.f. (K < P) **shooting-hole**

santin n.m. (K/T< A < Fr) **centimeter**

sarad n.f. **large sieve**

sardār n.m. (pl. *sardare, sardarawe*) (K/T < P) **high official**

sargar⁺*dān* adj. invar. (K < P?) **confused, at loss**

sargar⁺*danula* n.f. (K < P ?) **confusion (of individual)**

sarhad n.f. (K/T < P/A) **border, frontier** (cf. ⁺*had*, ⁺*haddusad*, ⁺*hal*)

sarhang n.f. (K) **governor general** | *sarhangi* ⁺*šame* governor general of Damascus

sarin adj. invar. (K/T < P) **cool, fresh**

sarini, sarinula n.f. (K/T < P) **coolness, freshness**

sarkār n.m. (K < P) **chief, chieftain**

sarkarda n.m. (K < P) **commander**

sarna n.f. **spindle**

sartip n.m. (K) **general**

sarwarda adj. invar. (K) **ashamed** (cf. *nəxpana*) | *safir sarwarda* vagabond

sarwardula n.f. (K) **shame** (cf. *nəxpanula, sarmanda*)

satərjam adj. invar. **frozen**

sawa adj. (f. *sawta*, pl. *sawe*) **young, new** | ⁺*yala sawa* small child

sawan n.m./f. (T) **friend, well-wisher** (cf. ⁺*baruxa*)

sawgu adj. (T) **beloved (girl)**

saxsi n.f. (T/K) **earthenware vessel**

saxyana (i) n.m. (f. *saxyanta*, pl. *saxyane*) **bather**

saxyana (ii) adj. (f. *saxyanta*, pl. *saxyane*) **generous (of heart)** (cf. *mard*, ⁺*rəwya*)

sbadila n.f. (pl. *sbadye*) **cushion**

sbargla n.m. (pl. *sbargle*) **quince**

sbəlta n.f. (pl. *sbəlye, sbəlyawe*) **lip**

sduna n.f. (K < P) **column, pillar** | *sdunət aqla* shin

séfer n.f. (pl. *safarim, səfre*) (with suffixes sing. and pl: *səfr-*) (H) **Scroll of the Law**

sehma n.m.**silver**

sehra n.m. **moon**

sel n.m./f. (K/T < A) **flood, gushing stream**

sepa n.f. **sword** (cf. ⁺*qləč*)

sesid n.f. (H) **prayer-shawl** (cf. ⁺*sisit*)

setra n.f. (K < A?) **coat**

se⁺*wāy* (K < A) **except, beside** (cf. ⁺*umbul*)

seyful⁺*lāh* (? < A) **a great deal** (cf. *xallega*)

səddur n.f. **prayer-book**

səfra n.f. (K < A) **napkin**

səkka n.f. (K < A) **coin** (cf. *ska*)

səlli n.f. (K/T < P) **slap, box on the ear** | *xá-danka səllí* ⁺*m-salmáw dahèn*ˈ I shall give her face a slap (23) (cf. *čapilāġ, šapilāġ, zəlli*)

səlqa n.m. **beet (root)** | *səlqa xwara* mangold

səmbulta n.f. (pl. *səmbule*) (T/K < A) **ear of corn**

səmmāġ n.m. (K < A) **sumac**

sənči n.m. (K) **oleaster**

sənga n.m. (K) **breast, chest**

sənjaqta n.m. (T/K) (pl. *sənjaqe*) **pin**

sənji n.m. (K) **look** | *sənji m-ndy* to cast a look; *sənjew əntelele* He took a look at him

sənsla n.f. (K < A) **descendants, dynasty; ornamental chain hanging from the temples**

sənya adj. (f. *snita*, pl. *sənye*) **hateful, ugly**

sər⁺*dāb* n.m. (K/T < P) **cellar** (cf. *zerzami*)

sərka n.m. (K/T < P) **vinegar**

sərsra n.f. **severe cold, frost**

səst adj. invar. (K < P) **weak, slack** | *səst ∅wd* to weaken, to slacken (tr.); *səst xdr* to weaken, to slacken (intr.)

sətra n.m. **hole in a rock**

sətta (i) n.f. **pulpit for reading the Law in synagogue**

sətta (ii) n.f. **large stone mortar**

sətwa n.m. **winter**

səwya adj. (f. *swita*, pl. *səwye*) **satiated, satisfied (physically)**

səwyanula n.f. **satiety** | *ba-səwyanulew xəlle* He ate his fill

sinama n.f. (K/T < Fr) **cinema**

sinor n.f. (K/T) **border, frontier** (not in general use; cf. [+]*had,* [+]*haddusad,* sarhad)

si[+]*wān* n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Sivan**

skira adj. (f. *skərta*, pl. *skire*) (K/T < A) **drunken** (cf. *mast,* [+]*pyān*)

skirula n.f. (K/T < A) **drunkenness**

skita n.f. (pl. *skənye*) **knife**

smoqa adj. (f. *smoqta*, pl. *smoqe*) **red**

smoqula n.f. **redness**

smur n.f. (K/T < P) **type of eagle** | *smur-quši* the Simurgh (a fabulous bird)

sofer n.m. (H) **scribe**

sona n.m. (pl. *sone, sonawe*) **grandfather**

soranita n.f. (pl. *soranye*) (K) **Kurdish long sleeve**

sorke n.pl. (K) **measles**

sosanbar n.f. (K?) **acacia**

sota n.f. (pl. *sote*) **grandmother**

sqəlta (pl. *sqəlye*) **ring (jewel)**

sqila adj. (f. *sqəlta,* pl. *sqile*) **beautiful** | *baxta sqəlta* beautiful woman

sqilula n.f. **beauty**

suč n.m. (T/K) **fault** | *suč mənni lewe* It is not my fault

suət talga n.f. **cold wind bringing snow**

sukka n.f. (pl. *sukke*) (H) **booth**; pl. **Feast of Tabernacles**

sum n.f. (K < P ?) **sheep's foot jelly**

suraa n.m. (f. *surayta*, pl. *sarae*) **Assyrian or Chaldean Christian**

surgun (T) | — ∅*wd* **to banish, to exile**

suri n.f. (T) **flock, herd**

surma n.f. (T/K) **antimony, eye-salve** (cf. *kəxla*)

sur⁺madān n.f. (T/P) **long bolt**

suse n.m. (pl. *susawe*) **horse**

sust adj. invar. (P) **weak, feeble**

sut (i) n.m. (K ? < P) **usury**

sut (ii) **whistle** | *sut dhl* to whistle

suwari n.f. (K/T < P) **cavalry**

suzanag n.m. (K < P ?) **ischury**

swina n.f. (K < P ?) **earthenware washing-tub**

sxawta n.f. (pl. *sxawte*) (K/T < A) **voluntary gift**

sya n.f. **measure of length (about 15cm); measure of capacity (= 1 manya, *q.v.*)**

syamta n.f. (pl. *syame*) **shoe**

⁺*s*

⁺*sablaġna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*sablaġne*) (T/K) **person from Sablaġ (Mahabad)**

⁺*sabun* n.m. (K/T < P) **soap**

⁺*sačbaġi* n.f. (T) **golden lace for hair**

⁺*sadaf* n.f. (K/T < A) **sea-shell, mother-of-pearl**

⁺*sadaqa* n.f. (H) **charity, alms**

⁺*saddiq* adj. (f. ⁺*saddaqit,* pl. ⁺*saddiqe,* ⁺*sadiqime*) (H) **pious, righteous**

⁺*saddiqula* n.f. (H) **piety, righteousness**

⁺*sāf* n.m. **fear** (cf. *zdela*)

⁺*saf(i)* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **pure, unadulterated**

⁺*safon* n.m. (H) **North**

⁺*sāġ* adj. invar. (T/K) **right (side); sound, healthy** | ⁺*sāġ salamta ~ salim* sound and well; *əlha xa* ⁺*sāġ* ⁺*gana hawəllox* May God give you a sound body! (formula of blessing or thanks)

⁺*saġula* n.f. (T/K) **wholeness, good health**

⁺*sahāb* n.m./f. (? < A) **paramour** (cf. *rafiq*) | *mare* ⁺*sahāb* person having illicit lover

⁺*sahāt* n.f. (T < A) **watch, clock**

⁺*sahatči* n.m. (T < A) **watchmaker**

⁺*sahna* n.f. (T/K < A) **plate** (cf. ⁺*səhna*)

⁺*saldat* n.m. (T < R) **soldier** (cf. ⁺*sarbaẓa*)

⁺*salhyana* adj. (f. ⁺*salhyanta*, pl. ⁺*salhyane*) **successful**

⁺*salma komula* n.f. **shame** (literally: black faceness) | ⁺*salmá komulà mdéla bratá*| The girl has brought shame (upon us) (116)

⁺*salma* n.m. (pl. ⁺*salmawe*) **face, front; cover** | ⁺*salmət ena* eyelid; ⁺*m-salma* ⁺*plt* to be or to make obstinate; ⁺*haša* ⁺*m-salmox* Far be it from you! ⁺*salmew hwəllele* ⁺*qabāġ* ... He set out in the direction of (literally: He gave his face before …); ⁺*salmew komele* He is ashamed (literally: His face is black); ⁺*salmew xwarele* He is honourable / He has nothing to be ashamed of (literally: His face is white); ⁺*salmawew qəwyelu* He is obstinate (literally: His faces are hard); *nāš-*⁺*sálma la-kwə̀lwala*| Nobody gave her respect (116)

⁺*salma xwari,* ⁺*salma xwarula* n.f. **honour** | literally: white faceness

⁺*salmasna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*salmasne*) **person from Salmas**

⁺*salmət aqla* n.m. **foot, top of foot**

⁺*saltanat* n.f. (K/T < A) **majesty, sultanate** (cf. ⁺*sultanula*)

⁺*salxum* n.f. (pl. ⁺*salxume*) (T) **bunch of grapes**

⁺*samawār* n.f. (K/T < R) **samovar, tea-urn**

⁺*sanăm* n.m. (K/T < A) **idol** | ⁺*sanăme xadmana* (f. *xadmanta*) worshipper of idols

⁺*sanduq,* ⁺*sanduqa* n.f. (K/T < A) **chest, box** | ⁺*sandúq d-áy jehèz|* chest containing dowry (78)

⁺*sanju* n.f. (T/K) **colic** (cf. ⁺*žān*)

⁺*sapyo* n.f. **strainer**

⁺*saqiči* n.m. (K/T < A) **cup-bearer**

⁺*saqičula* n.f. (K/T < A) **occupation of a cup-bearer**

⁺*saqqarāġ* n.f. (K?) **large hollow, dish, bowl**

⁺*sarbaza* n.m. (pl. ⁺*sarbaze*) (K/T < P) **soldier** (cf. ⁺*saldāt*)

⁺*sarbazula* n.f. (K/T < P) **military service** (cf. *askărula*)

⁺*sare* n.pl. **barley** (cf. ⁺*sarta*)

⁺*sarrafa* n.m. (K/T < A) **jeweller**

⁺*sarta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sare*) **grain of barley**

⁺*sata* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sate*) (K < A) **hour** | ⁺*sata tre-ila* It is two o'clock; ⁺*sata tre pəlge-ila* It is half past two; ⁺*sata* ⁺*taha* ⁺*bassor xa-*⁺*rub-ila* It is a quarter to three; ⁺*sata pira rešew* He grew giddy

⁺*satān* n.m. (H) **Satan, the devil** (cf. *šey*⁺*tān*)

⁺*satanula* n.f. (H) **devilry**

⁺*satla* n.f. (K < A) **vat, cauldron**

⁺*sawda* n.f. (K/T < P) **business** | ⁺*sawda* ∅*wd* to make business; ⁺*sawdaú xadóra gal-dəġdè|* They make a deal with each other (77)

⁺*sawqta,* ⁺*sawqăta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sawqənye,* ⁺*sawqăte*) (K < A) **gift** (cf. *karam*)

⁺*sawze* n.pl. (K < P) **green (unripe) grapes; raisins** (cf. ⁺*qora*)

⁺*sawzi* n.f. (K < P) **vegetable** | ⁺*sawzye zabnana* n.m. greengrocer

⁺*sawzixana* n.f. (K < P) **place for growing or selling vegetables**

⁺*sāz* n.f. (K/T < P) **kind of lute**

⁺*sbota* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sbonye*) **finger, toe**

⁺*sbuġ* n.m. (K/T < A) **paint** | ⁺*sbuġ* ∅*wd* to paint (cf. ⁺*boya*)

⁺*səfra* n.m. (K/T < A) **leather cloth spread out on the ground in instead of a table; napkin**

⁺*səhr* n.m. (K/T < A) **magic, spell** | ⁺*səhr ∅wd* to cast a spell (cf. ⁺*jadu*)

⁺*səhya* adj. (f. ⁺*shita*, pl. ⁺*səhye*) **thirsty**

⁺*səhyanula* n.f. **thirst** | ⁺*səhyanula twr* to quench one's thirst

⁺*səlhanula,* ⁺*səlhya* n.f. **success**

⁺*səmbela* n.f. (K) **moustache** | *xa gab* ⁺*səmbele* one side of a moustache

⁺*səmha ilane* **Festival of the Trees (Tu b-Shvat)**

⁺*səmha* n.f. (H) **festivity (of religious character)**

⁺*səndān* n.m. (K/T < P) **anvil**

⁺*səpya* adj. (f. ⁺*spita*, pl. ⁺*səpye*) **clear; innocent**

⁺*səpyanula* n.f. **clearness, innocence**

⁺*sər* n.m. (T/K < A) **secret**

⁺*səsbār* n.f. (K?) **fringe**

⁺*səsqe* n.pl. (K) **gristle**

⁺*sətra* n.m. **crack**

⁺*səwya* adj. (f. ⁺*swita*, pl. ⁺*səwye*) **stiff, rigid**

⁺*sfāt* n.m. (K/T < A) **looks, appearance**

⁺*simān* ⁺*to* (H) **congratulations!**

⁺*siwa* n.m. (pl. ⁺*siwe*) **piece of wood, stick; tree; gallows** (cf. ⁺*dār-aġači, qənnara*); pl. **wood, timber**

⁺*slola* n.f. (pl. ⁺*slolye*) n.f. **prayer (liturgy)**

⁺*smata* (K < A) | ⁺*bə-smata,* ⁺*bə-smatox* your very good health!

⁺*sneta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*snee,* ⁺*snete*) (K/T < A) **art, craft** | *mare-*⁺*sneta* craftsman, artisan

⁺*sol* (T) **left (side)** (cf. *čap*)

⁺*solduzna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*solduzne*) **person from Solduz (Naghada)**

⁺*soma* n.m. **fast** | ⁺*soma dwq* to fast; ⁺*soma šry* to break a fast; ⁺*somele*
    He is fasting

⁺*sonsiz* adj. invar. (T) **childless, barren**

⁺*sonsizi,* ⁺*sonsizula* n.f. (T) **childlessness, barrenness**

⁺*sooda* n.f. (H) **ritual meal**

⁺*sopa* n.f. (T/K) **stove**

⁺*soppān* n.f. (T/K) **sling** (cf. *qočaqan*)

⁺*sraxta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sraxte*) **cry, shout**

⁺*stansya* n.f. (? < R) **station; landing-place**

⁺*stol* n.m. (K < R) **table** (cf. *miz, šul*⁺*hān*); **chair** (cf. *kursi*)

⁺*sudra* n.f. (pl. ⁺*sudrawe*) **shirt, blouse**

⁺*sulaka* n.f. (T) **gutter, water-trough**

⁺*sultān* n.m. (f. ⁺*sultanta*) (K/T < A) **sultan**

⁺*sultanula* n.f. (K/T < A) **kingship, sultanate** (cf. ⁺*saltanāt*)

⁺*sup* n.f. (T< R < Fr) **soup**

⁺*surāt* n.f. (pl. ⁺*surate,* ⁺*suratye*) (K/T < A) **form, appearance; picture; cherub** (cf. *škəl*)

⁺*surta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*surtawe*) (K < A?) **cheek**

⁺*susulta* n.f. (pl. *susye, susulye*) **plait, pigtail**

⁺*swāx* n.f. (K) **clay mixed with straw (used in building)**

⁺*syot* n.f. (T/K) **pepper**

š

-*š* ∼ -*əš* part. (following consonant) (K) **connective particle** (§13.1.3.)
    also, too | ⁺*rába-š ayne-šúle xdìriwa*⌐ Many of these things happened (82); *anà-š m-Urmí ədyén láxxa*⌐ I also came here from
    Urmi.' (187)

šabaka n.f. (? < A) **check (pattern), checked fabric**

šabbāt n.f. (pl. *šabbawe*) (H) **Sabbath, Saturday** (cf. *šəbbāt*)

šadda n.f. (K < A) **striped turban-cloth**

šafaq n.m. (K < A) **dawn**

šafqana adj. (f. *šafqanta*, pl. *šafqane*) (K/T < A) **merciful**

šafqanula n.f. (K/T < A) **divine mercy**

šaftaluta n.f. (pl. *šaftalwe*) (T < P) **small peach**

šagərd n.m. (pl. *šagərye*) (K/T < P) **apprentice, errand-boy**

šagərdula n.f. (K/T < P) **apprenticeship**

šahar n.f. (K/T < P) **city** (cf. ⁺*ahra, olka*)

šahrdār n.m. (P) **mayor of a town**

šakar n.m. (K/T < P) **sugar** (cf. *qand*)

šakar⁺*dān* n.f. (K/T < P) **sugar-bowl** (cf. ⁺*qanddān*)

šakwanta n.f. (pl. *šakwane*) **ant**

šal⁺*faya* n.f. **razor-blade**

šala n.f. **fever** (cf. *šəxna*)

šališ n.m. (H) **third man called up for the reading of the weekly portion of the Law in synagogue**

šalom, šalom alexem (H) **formula of greeting** (answer: *alexem šalom*) | *šalom hwl* to greet

šalomi n.f. (pl. *šalomye*) (H) **peace, in peace; greeting** | *puš šalomi!* farewell; *m-pənni* ⁺*raba* ⁺*raba šalmoye hol ba-* … Give my best regards to ... ⁺*raba* ⁺*raba šalomye əttox m-*… ... sends you his best regards

šalxana n.m. (pl. *šalxane*) **robber**

šamakta n.f. (pl. *šamake*) **gum**

šamala n.f. (K < A?) **torch**

šamandafer n.f. (? < Fr) **railway; train**

šamča, šamša n.f. (K < A) **sulphur, match** (cf. *gugurd*)

šamina adj. (f. *šamənta*, pl. *šamine*) **fat** | *šamina* ⁺*patuxa* fat and broad

šamla n.f. (? < A) **turban** (cf. ⁺*amama*)

šamsiya n.f. (T < A) **umbrella** (cf. *čatər*, ⁺*zondig*)

šamša → *šamča*

šãns n.f. (? < French) **chance, fortune** | *šãnsáx* ⁺*rába bahurtèla*⌐ Your fortune is very bright (18)

šapilaq n.f. (T) **slap (on face)**

šaq adj. invar. **(standing) upright, at attention** | *šaq* ⁺*smx* to stand upright

šaqe n.pl. **roaring, clamour** | ⁺*nare šaqe dahole* He is making a clamour

šaqila n.f. **stream**

šaqqa n.m. (K < A) **parcel of land**

šar (T) **calumny, slander** | *šar mndy* to slander

ša⁺*rāw* n.m. **corn growing of its own accord**

šarbāt n.f. (K/T < A) **sherbet, sweet drink**

šarik n.m. (f. *šarəkta*) (K/T < A) **partner**

šarikula n.f. (K/T < A) **partnership; jointly**

šarmanda, šarmandula n.f. (K) **shame** (cf. *nəxpa, nəxpana, sarwardula*) | *šarmanda* ∅*wd* to put to shame

šart n.m. (K/T < A) **condition; covenant** | *šart hawe* on the condition that; *šart* ⁺*qty* to make a covenant

šašša n.f. **ceremony of lighting candles on a tray on the seventh day after the birth of a boy**

šata n.f. (pl. *šənne*) **year** | *šata tyama* anniversary of death; *šatət adya* next year, the coming year; *yom šata* New Year's day; *lel šata* New Year's eve; *šənne šate* for years, for ages; *šə́nne šaté* ⁺*matètun*⌐ many happy returns of the day (105); ⁺*raba* ⁺*raba šənne hawet!* many happy returns of the day; *g-šənne* ⁺∅*wr* to be getting on in years

šatər n.m. (pl. *šatəre*) (T) **baker**

šawa n.f. (K < P) **jet**

šawci⁺*rāġ* n.f. (K) **lantern**

šawi adj. invar. (K) **stale (of food)**

šawq n.f. (K < A) **clearing of the sky before dawn** | *šawq pəlla* It will be dawn soon

šaxina adj. (f. *šaxənta*, pl. *šaxine*) **hot, warm**

šaxsan adv. (P < A) **in person, personally**

šaypur n.f. (K/T < P) **trumpet**

šaypurči n.m. (K/T < P) **trumpeter**

šbira adj. (f. *šbərta*, pl. *šbire*) **good; well**

šbirula n.f. **goodness, favour**

šedim n.m. (H) **demon, spirit**

šekast adj. invar. (K/T < P) **infirm, crippled** | *šəkast* ∅*wd* to cripple; *šekast dhl* to shatter, to damage / injure by beating: +*rába šekàst dahíwa*| They would beat and inflict severe injuries (140)

šekastula n.f. (K/T < P) **infirmity**

šer (i) n.m. (K) **lion** (cf. +*aslān*)

šer (ii) n.m. (K) **tap**

šerināg n.f. **disease of trees caused by insects**

šex n.m. (K/T < A) **sheikh**

šey adj. invar. **fresh, moist** (cf. +*nām*)

šey+*tān* n.m. (K/T < A) **devil, Satan** (cf. +*satān*)

šəfta n.f. (pl. *šəfte*) n.f. **dumpling made of pounded groats or rice with meat**

šək n.m. (with suffix: *šəkk-*) (K/T < A) **suspicion** | *šək pəlle rešew* He became a suspect; *šək ~ šəkkew pəlle ~ wədle* He grew suspicious

šəkl- → *škəl*

šəlwala n.m. (pl. *šəlwale*) **pair of drawers**

šəlxa n.m. **crowd, host** (used after *magon*)

šəmma n.m. **name** | *šəmmət .. mdy* to mention, to call the name of; *mare šəmma* famous, *xa mare-šəmma baxta-wela* She was a famous woman

šəmme n.pl. **sky, heaven**

šəmša n.f. **sun**

šəm⁺šād n.m. (K < P) **box-tree**

šənda n.f. (pl. *šənde*) **sleep** | *šənda ~ šəndew ədyela* He grew sleepy; *šənda ~ šəndew əntelale* He was overtaken by sleep

šənne n.pl. → *šata*

šənoyna n.m./f. (pl. *šənoyne*) **person from Šəno (Ushnuye)**

šərma n.f. (pl. *šərmawe*) **buttocks, posterior** | *m-nehra pyara šərmu qipa ⁺l-dəġde* They are very distantly related (literally: While crossing the river their buttocks knocked together)

šəška n.f. (T/K) **knitting needle**

šətqel adv. **last year**

šətya n.m. **warp**

šəwya adj. (f. *šwita*, pl. *šəwye*) **worth, equal** (*ba-* to)

šəwya n.f. **bed on the ground** (cf. *šwila*)

šəwye n.pl. → *šwila*

šəxna n.m. **heat, warmth** | *ədyo(m) šəxnela* It is hot/warm today; *ana šəxnile* I am hot

šəxta n.f. **dirt**

šəxtana adj. (f. *šəxnanta*, pl. *šəxtane*) **dirty**

šid n.m. (? < A) **chalk, whitewash**

ši⁺kār n.m. (K < P) **hunt** (cf. *⁺āw*); **trophy**

šir n.m. **enamel**

šira n.m. (K/T < P) **grape-juice**

šira n.f. (H) **religious song**

širači n.m./f. (pl. *širačiye*) (H + T/K) **singer**

šiš n.m. (T/K) **skewer, spit**

šiw n.f. (K) **supple twig**

šiwān n.m. (K < P ?) **wailing**

šiya adj. (f. *šita*, pl. *šiye*) **mad**

škalta n.f. (pl. *škalye*) **testicle**

škayta n.f. (P < A) **complaint** | *škaytà wə́dwalu m-idéw*| They made a complaint against him (142)

škəl n.m. (with suffix: *škəl-*) (K/T < A) **picture, likeness** | *šəklət …
m-ndy* to paint a portrait, to take a picture, of someone; *šəkla
∅nty* to take a picture; *šəklew m-ndy* to have one's picture taken;
xa šəklət xa-ilu The two are exactly alike; *tu xa škəl-ilu* The two are
exactly alike

škur interj. (K/T < A) **thank God!** | *əl-əlhá škùr wadéx*| We give thanks
to God (171)

škurdār (K/T < P/A) **thankful, grateful**

šlewa n.f. (K) **sleet**

šoba n.f. **cough** | *šoba ∅wd* to cough

šogai adj. invar. **sane**

špi+*tāl* n.f. (? < R < Germ) **hospital**

šrata n.f. (pl. *šrae*) **lamp** | *šrata mənnew la nahra* He is useless (literally:
A lamp does not shine because of him); *axči sqəltela, ba-šrata
mara: la nhur, ana nahran!* She is so beautiful (that) she may say to
a lamp: do not shine, I shine!

štəl n.m. (with suffix: *šətl-*) (K/T < A) **young plant**

šula n.m. (K < A) **work; matter, affair** | *šula ∅wd* to work; *šula odana*
n.m. (f. *odanta*) worker; *haxxa šula let!* This is not done! This can-
not be!; *heč šula lətti!* I don't care!; *mən-nā̌š šúla lə̀twalu*| They did
not interfere with anybody (172); *ma šulox mənni?* What do you
want of me?; *šul* +*tota* arrangement of marriage (literally: matter
of kindness); *šule wale* n.pl. (all kinds of) affairs

šul+*hān* n.m. (H) **table** (cf. *miz*; +*stol*)

šulxa adj. (f. *šulxta*, pl. *šulxe*) **naked**

šuqa n.f. (pl. *šuqe, šuqane*) **market**

šuqula n.f. **marketing** | *šuqula* ∅*zl* to go to market

šura n.f. **navel** | *šurew pila* He has a hernia (literally: His navel has fallen); *šurew* ⁺*mərmala* She has cured his hernia by massage (literally: She has lifed his navel)

šuša n.f. (K/T < P) **bottle; glass (material); nylon** | *xa šuša xamra* a bottle of wine; *xa šuš xamra* a wine-bottle; *goryət šuša* nylon stockings

šušaband adj. invar. (K/T < P) **glass-covered**

šuška n.f. (K<P?) **sceptre**

šušme n.pl. **sesame** (cf. *kunjət*)

šwa n.m. (pl. *šwe*) **week**

šwa-xet adv. **last week**

šwila n.f. (pl. *šəwye*) **bed** (cf. *šəwya*)

šyanula n.f. **madness**

⁺*š*

⁺*šaa* n.f. **thick soup of chick-peas or beans with dumplings**

⁺*šabadya* n.f. (K < P) **large bowl**

⁺*šadi,* ⁺*šadula* n.f. (K/T < P) **joy, gladness, happiness**

⁺*šāh* n.m. (K/T < P) **Shah**

⁺*šahayánu* (H) **benediction said on seasonally returning occasions** (literally: Who has kept us alive [to this day])

⁺*šahpăra* n.m. (K < P) **wing feather**

⁺*šahzada* adj.m./f. (pl. ⁺*šahzade*) (K/T < P) **of royal birth**

⁺*šai* n.m. (pl. ⁺*šae*) (K/T < P) **small Persian coin** (= 0.5 ⁺*qrān* q.v.)

⁺*šāl* n.f. (K/T < P) **shawl** | ⁺*šāl šapək* wide Kurdish trousers with shawl bound around the waist; ⁺*taġa* ⁺*šāl* the finest kind of wool

⁺*šala* n.f. (K < A) **load** (cf. ⁺*tena*)

⁺*šalġam* n.m. (K/T < P) **turnip**

⁺*šama* n.f. (K < P < A) **wax**

⁺*šamadān* n.m. (K/T < P < A) **candlestick**

⁺*šamala* n.f. (pl. ⁺*šamale*) (K < P < A) **candle**

⁺*šamasrael* n.f. (H) **Jewish profession of faith** (literally: Hear, Israel!)

⁺*šammāš* n.m. (H) **beadle**

⁺*šana* n.f. (K < P) **winnowing fan** | *šanət duša* honeycomb

⁺*šapilāx*, ⁺*šapilāġ* n.f. (T/K) **box on the ear** (cf. ⁺*čapilāġ, səlli, zəlli*)

⁺*šappa* n.m. (K) **wave** (cf. *palla*)

⁺*šaqqamiš* adj. invar. (K /T < A) **cleft** | ⁺*šaqqamiš* ∅*wd* to cleave
asunder

⁺*šaryana* n.m. (K < A) **judge**

⁺*šaršiqa* n.f. **slap (on behind)** | ⁺*g-šərmawew* ⁺*šaršiqa dhəlli* I slapped
his buttocks

⁺*šatlaxana* n.f. (K < P) **(splendid) feast**

⁺*šawāt* n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Shvat**

⁺*šəmra* n.m. **spider's web**

⁺*šəwta* n.f. **tribe**

⁺*šluġula* n.f. (K < P) **state of unrest**

⁺*šofār* n.m. (H) **ram's horn ritually blown**

⁺*šoka* n.f. (? < A) **chisel**

⁺*šopate* n.pl. **dish made of boiled wheat with honey syrup and oil,
eaten on the Sabbath preceding Passover**

⁺*šoxim* | — ∅*wd* to make furrows

⁺*šqata* n.f. (pl. ⁺*šqate*) **sticking-plaster**

⁺*šreta* n.f. (K < A) **trial, judgment** | ⁺*šreta* ∅*wd* to make a law-suit; to
pass judgment; *zəllan* ⁺*šreta* We went to court; *mār* ⁺*šreta* contend-
ing party, adversary (in a lawsuit)

⁺*šultana* n.m. (pl. ⁺*šultane*, ⁺*šultanawe*) **king**

⁺*šultanta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*šultane*) **queen**

⁺*šultanula* n.f. **kingdom, royalty** | *jullət* ⁺*šultanula məlbəšlule* They dressed him in royal clothes

⁺*šwawa* n.m. (f. ⁺*šwawta*, pl. ⁺*šwawe*) **neighbour**

⁺*šwawula* n.f. **neighbourhood; relation between neighbours**

t

taaddi n.f. (K < A) **tort; oppression** | *taaddi* ∅*wd* to hurt, to oppress

taaddula n.f. (K < A) **evil purpose** | *taaddula* ∅*wd* to do on purpose (cf. ⁺*qasd*)

taajubāt adj. invar. (K/T < A) **strange, wonderful** | *taajubāt xabrele ~ šulele!* This is strange!

taajublu adj. invar. (T < A) **surprising, wonderful**

taarif n.f. **praise** (K < A) | *taarif* ∅*wd* to praise; *taarif dhl* to boast; ⁺*yalulì⎮ aná axčà⎮ áy taaríf là-wela⎮* My childhood was not very praiseworthy (151)

taasuf (P < A) | *m-taasufane* **regrettably**

taasuf-awar adj. invar. (P) **regrettable**

taazya n.m. (K/T < A) **mourning** | *taazya dwq* to go into mourning, to mourn (cf. ⁺*yās*)

taazyadār n.m./f. (pl. *taazyadare*) (K/T < P/A) **mourner** (cf. ⁺*awel;* ⁺*yaslu*)

taazyula n.f. (K/T < A) **state of mourning, grief**

tabyāt n.f. (K/T < A) **nature**

tadarāk n.f. (K/T < A) **provision(s)** | *tadarāk* ∅*wd* to provide oneself or another

tafaat n.f. (K < A) **difference** (cf. *farq ~ farqi*)

tafəllim n.pl. (H) **phylacteries**

tafqa part. (K < A) **perhaps, maybe**

tafsir n.m. (K/T < A) **explanation or translation of Hebrew texts into the vernacular** | *tafsir ∅wd* to explain or to translate into the vernacular

taftiš n.f. (K/T < A) **search, inquiry** | *taftiš ∅wd* to search, to inquire into

tagbir n.m. (K/T < A) **plan** | *tagbir ∅wd* to plan, to deliberate; *tagbiri ma-ile?* What am I to do?

tahār n.m. (K < A) **way, manner**

tak adj. invar. (K/T < P) **single, alone** | *bráta šúqla tàk laxxá|* Leave the girl here alone (25); *tak brona* only son

takan n.f. (K) **spur** | *takan dhl* to spur

takkar n.f. (T/K) **wheel (of a vehicle)**

takla (followed by verb in the irrealis mood) **would that** | *taklá adyàwa!|* If only she had come! (§10.2.2.1.) (cf. *kuziwa*)

taklif n.f. (K/T < A) **warning** | *taklif hwl* to give warning (cf. *hušyār ∅wd*, *tanbeh ∅wd*); *taklif pyl* to take warning

tăkula n.f. (K/T < P) **singleness**

talasug adv. (T < A) **immediately, in haste** | *talasug xdr* to act hastily; *tala talasug* quickly

talasugula n.f. (T < A) **haste**

táldel adv. **two years ago**

talga n.m. **snow**

talga-⁺došāb n.m. **grape-syrup mixed with snow** (cf. ⁺*došāb*)

talila adj. (f. *taləlta*, pl. *talile*) **wet, moist**

talilula n.f. **wetness, moistness**

talis n.f. (T) **sack, sack-cloth**

talma n.m. **pitcher, ewer**

talmid n.m. (H) **pupil, student**

taltassar num. **thirteen**

taltassarmənji num. **the thirteenth**

tamanna n.m. (K/T < A) **salutation** | *tamanna* ∅*wd* to salute

tamiz adj. invar. (K/T) **clean** (cf. *qliwa*)

tamizula n.f. (K/T) **cleanness** (cf. *qliwula*)

tammuz n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Tamuz**

tanaf n.m. (K/T < P) **tent rope**

tanafči n.m. (K/T < P) **architect; rope-dancer**

tanbeh (K/T < A) | — ∅*wd* to warn (cf. *hušyār* ∅*wd*; *taklif hwl*)

tang n.f. (pl. *tange*) (K < E) **tank**

tang adj. invar. (K < P ?) **narrow** (cf. *iqa, yiqa*)

tanga-nafas n.f. (K + A) **asthma**

tanga-tang (K) | — *yrq* to run panting

tangula n.f. (K) **narrowness, anguish** (cf. ⁺*aqa, iqanula, yiqanula*)

tanika n.m. (K/T < P) **tin (receptacle), can**

tanura n.f. **oven, furnace**

tappa n.m. (pl. *tappe, tappae*) (T/K) **summit, head; hill** (cf. *dəkka*) | *m-tappət rešew* ⁺*attat* ⁺*tpuryət aqlew* from head to foot; *tappət reša* skull, crown of head

tapug, tapugta n.f. (T/K) **kick** | *tapug dhl* to kick: *abúlen ezén xa-dánka tapúg dahèn| əl-d-áy* ⁺*amartèw|* I want to go and kick his palace (45)

taqqa n.m. **noise of explosion**

taqriban adv. (P < A) **about, approximately**

tara n.m. **door**; adv. **outside**

tărăf (P < A) | *mən-tărăfət* **on behalf of**

tarba n.m. **suet (ritually unclean)**

targum n.m. **Aramaic translation of the Bible** | *lišanət targum* Aramaic

tarjuma n.m. (pl. *tarjume*) **translation** | *tarjuma* ∅*wd* to translate

tarju⁺*mān* n.m./f. (pl. *tarju*⁺*mane*) (K/T < P/A) **translator, interpreter** (cf. *dəlmanj*)

tarka n.f. (K/T) **back part of the saddle** | ⁺*rkəwle bar tarkew* He rode pillion behind him

tarsa, tarsăki (K/T < P) **on the contrary; upside down; inside out** | *tarsa pil* It fell upside down; ⁺*čaketew tarsa lwašəlla* He puts on his jacket inside out

taryāq n.f. (K/T < P < Gr) **hashish, opium**

tasal n.f. (K/T < A) **ease, comfort.** adj. invar. **at ease, comfortable** | *tasal šql* to be at ease

tasalyula n.f. (K/T < A) **comfort, ease**

tasbehe n.pl. (K/T < A) **rosary**

tasmim (P) | — *dwq* to decide

tăši ~ *tašši* n.f. (K) **distaff**

tašri n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Tishri**

tašši → *tăši*

taxt n.m. (K/T < P) **throne**

taxta n.m. (K/T < P) **wood, timber, board; stool**

taxtaband n.f. (pl. *taxtabande*) (K/T < P) **clothes-pin.** adj. invar. **made of wood** | *taxtaband aqla* foot-stool

taza adj.m./f. (pl. *taze*) (K/T < P) **fresh**

tazbăha n.f. (K/T < A) **rosary; necklace of beeds**

teatr n.f. **theatre, stage production** | ⁺*rába náše-š teatrú xəzyùla*⌐ Many people have seen their stage production (97)

tel n.f. (T/K) **wire; string (of instrument)** (cf. *sim*)

telefon n.m. **telephone** | *telefon ∅wd* to telephone

tena n.f. (pl. *tene*) **fig**

tewet n.m. (H) **Jewish month of Tevet**

tez adv. (T) **quickly, early**

tezdān adv. (T) **early** | *baqatyom tezdān* early in the morning

təf (K) | — *∅wd* to spit

təmmal adv. **yesterday**

tənna n.m. **tobacco**

təntina n.m. **snot, nasal mucus**

təxya adv. **below, down, downstairs** | *bàra-š⌐ košét təxyà⌐* Afterwards you should go downstairs (80); ⁺*qəttət təxya* lower piece

tfaqi part. (K < A) **it so happened that**

tfənka n.f. (pl. *tfənke*) (K) **nostril**

tika n.m. (K/T < P) **piece** (cf. ⁺*qətta*) | *xdəre tike tike* It was broken into pieces; *xà-tika lə́xma* a piece of bread (50)

tira n.f. (K < P) **beam (architecture)**

tka n.f. **place; bedstead (on the ground)** | *tka šwy* to make a bed; *tka bə-tka* there and then; *tkət aqla* foot-print; *tkət taška* lavatory (cf. *adab*, *kalawa*, *kallawa*); *zəlle tkət* ⁺*haqqew* He died (literally: He went to the place of his deserts); *tkew* ⁺*gnedem hawya* May he rest in Paradise; *qəmle mə-tkew* He got up; *tka bə-tka pešet* You will remain where you are; *tka bə-tka qəmle* He immediately arose

tkalta n.f. (K/T < A) **trust, confidence**

tkana n.f. (K/T < A) **shop**

tkila adj. (f. *tkəlta*, pl. *tkile*) **trusting, confident**

tkit n.f. **lavatory** (cf. *adab, kalawa, kallawa*)

tmanya num. **eight**

tmany-alpe num. **eight thousand**

tmanyamənji num. **the eighth**

tmanyá-mme num. **eight hundred**

tokanag n.m. **tow**

tokma adj. invar. (K) **stout, strong**

tora n.m. (pl. *tore*) **bull, ox**

torta n.f. (pl. *torye*) **cow**

tre num. **two** | *tre-reše* two-headed

tremənji num. **the second**

tressar num. **twelve**

tressarmənji num. **the twelfth**

trənga n.m. **tune; merriment** | ⁺*rába* ⁺*rába ay-xazòe-inan*⌋ *áy trəngà welá*⌋ It (the wedding celebration) was well worthwhile to see and very merry. (96)

trémme num. **two hundred**

trušeb n.m. **Monday**

tu num. (with suffixes: *tunn-*) **both** | *tu xa škəl-ilu* the two are exactly alike; *tunnan* both of us

tuk n.m. (T/K) **feathers, down** (cf. ⁺*păra*); **wool (of animal) used for padding; nap**

tulki n.m. (T) **fox** | *tulki báma gbele? ba-xatr məškew!* Why do they want the fox? because of his pelt (proverb)

tuma n.m. **garlic**

tumān n.m. (P) **unit of money (10 ⁺*qrān*); myriad**

tuna n.m. **straw**

tund adj. invar. (K/T < P) **strong, vivid (of colour)** | *ya* ⁺*čay* ⁺*raba tund-ila* This tea is too strong

tunga, tungi n.f. (K/T < P?) **water-bottle, decanter**

tunn- → *tu*

turki (T/K) **Turkish language**

turkna n.m./f. (pl. *turkne*) (T/K) **Turk**

tusi n.f. (T) **smoke** | *tusi ∅wd* to give off smoke

tuš prep. (K/T) | *tuš-ba-tuš* **opposite**

tušin prep. (K/T) **opposite**

tutag n.f. (T/K) **penny-whistle**

tutu-quši n.f. (pl. *tutu-quši*) (T/K < P) **parrot**

tuwa n.m. (pl. *tuwe*) **mulberry**

tyāx n.m. **distemper; whitewash** | *tyāx* ∅*wd* to distemper, to white-wash

⁺*t*

⁺*tabla* n.f. (T/K < Ital) **tablet, blackboard**

⁺*tabqa,* ⁺*tăbăqa* n.f. (K/T < A) **layer, shelf; firmament** | ⁺*taha* ⁺*tăbăqe* ⁺*tamret* You will sink three layers deep (G:93)

⁺*tabut* n.m. (K/T < A) **coffin**

⁺*tāġ* n.f. (K/T < P) **vault, dome**

⁺*taġa-šāl* n.f. (P?) **the finest kind of wool**

⁺*taha* num. **three**

⁺*tah-alpe* num. **three thousand**

⁺*tahamənji* num. **third**

⁺*tahá-mme* num. **three hundred**

⁺*taher* adj. invar. (H) **ritually permissible (of food)**

⁺*tahi* num. **thirty**

⁺*tahimənji* num. **the thirtieth**

⁺*tahušeb* n.m. **Tuesday**

⁺*tajər* n.m. (K/T < A) **merchant**

⁺*tajərula* n.f. (K/T < A) **trade, commerce**

⁺*talabta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*talabye*) (K/T < A) **demand**

⁺*talafa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*talafye*) (K < A) **requital, reciprocation** (cf. ⁺*tol*, ⁺*tolafye*) | ⁺*talafa/*⁺*talafye* ∅*wd* to requite, to reciprocate: *əlhá manté* ⁺*kaló* ⁺*hatằn*| *gal-xaltə̀t*| *áy* ⁺*kalò*| ⁺*talafyé šbirè odílu*| God willing the bride and groom will reciprocate the aunt of the bride well (94)

⁺*talāh* n.f. (K/T < A) **luck, fortune** (cf. ⁺*mazzāl*)

⁺*talān* n.f. (K/T < P) **loot, spoils** | ⁺*talān* ∅*wd* to loot, to despoil

⁺*talana* n.m. (f. ⁺*talanta*) **player** | *jge* ⁺*talana* knucklebone-player, idler; ⁺*zare* ⁺*talana* dice-player, gambler

⁺*talānči* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*talānčiye*) (K/T < P) **looter**

⁺*talani* n.f. (K/T < P) **looting, despoiling** | ⁺*talani* ∅*wd* to loot, to despoil

⁺*talānmiš* adj. invar. (T/K < P) **looted, sacked** | ⁺*talānmiš* ∅*wd* to loot, to sack

⁺*talla* n.f. (K/T < P?) **trap**

⁺*taluba* n.m. (pl. ⁺*talube*) **beggar**

⁺*talubula* n.f. **begging, beggary** | ⁺*talubula* ∅*wd* to beg

⁺*tamāh* n.m. (K/T < A) **avarice** | ⁺*tamāh* ∅*wd* to covet

⁺*tamāhkār* adj. invar. (K/T < P/A) **avaricious, covetous**

⁺*tamām* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **complete, perfect.** adv. **completely, perfectly** | ⁺*tamām* ∅*wd* to complete, to perfect; ⁺*tamām xdr* to be completed, perfected

⁺*tamamula* n.f. (K/T < A) **wholeness, whole-heartedness, perfection**

⁺*tamaša* n.f. (K/T < A) **show, pageant; tour** | ⁺*tamaša* ∅*wd* to watch; to make a tour; ⁺*tamaša* ∅*zl* to go to see a show

⁺*tambal* adj. invar. (K/T < P < A?) **lazy, clumsy**

⁺*tambălula* n.f. (K/T < P < A?) **laziness, clumsiness**

⁺*tamġa* n.f. (T) **official stamp**

⁺*taniš* n. invar. (T) **acquaintance**

⁺*tanj* n.f. (K) **crown** | ⁺*tanj* ∅*wd* to crown; ⁺*tanj xdr* to be crowned; ⁺*tanjət* ⁺*sbonye* thumb

⁺*tappān* n.f. (K?) **door-hinge**

⁺*tapurta* n.f. **fire, blaze**

⁺*tār* n.f. (K/T < P) **kind of string instrument**

⁺*tara* → ⁺*təmma*

⁺*tarabzun* n.m. (K/T < A < Gr) **railing, parapet**

⁺*taraf* n.m. (K/T < A) **side** (cf. *gab*)

⁺*tārči* n.m. (K/T < P) **player of the** ⁺*tār*

⁺*tarəstān* n.f. (K) **darkness** (cf. *xəška*)

⁺*tarpa* n.m. **leaf**

⁺*taryana* n.m. (f. ⁺*taryanta*) **driver**

⁺*tās* n.f. (K/T < A) **basin, bowl** (cf. ⁺*tosi*)

⁺*tašt* n.f. (K/T < P) **tub**

⁺*tawa* n.f. (K/T < P) **frying-pan, skillet; omelette** | ⁺*tāw* ⁺*bəsle* n.f. omelette with chopped mangold leaves and chives

⁺*tawəlla* n.f. (H) **ritual immersion**

⁺*tawq* n.f. (K < A) **necklace** (cf. *gərdaband*)

⁺*tawuq-wurān* n.f. (T) **hawk**

⁺*tawuz* n.f. (K/T < P) **peacock, peahen**

⁺*tāy* n.m. (K/T < P) **bale**

⁺*taya* (i) n.f. (T) **wet-nurse**

⁺*taya* (ii) n.f. (K < P) **sheaf**

⁺*tayfa* n.f. (K/T < A) **community, nation**

⁺*tayyara* n.f. (K/T < A) **airplane** (cf. ⁺*erplān*) | ⁺*tayyara* ⁺*taryana* pilot

⁺*tazi* n.f. (K/T < P) **greyhound**

⁺*tena* n.m. **load, burden** (cf. ⁺*šala*)

⁺*tezāb* n.f. (K < P) **fire-water, acid**

⁺*təmma* n.m. (pl. ⁺*təmme*) **taste** | *la* ⁺*təmma la* ⁺*tara* There is no taste to it; pl. tasty dishes; *mare* ⁺*təmma* tasty

⁺*təmya* adj. (f. ⁺*tmita*, pl. ⁺*təmye*) **impure, unclean** (cf. *najəs*)

⁺*təmyula* n.f. **impurity** (cf. *najsula*)

⁺*təppa* n.f. (H) **drop (of liquid)**

⁺*tfān* n.f. (K/T < A) **flood**

⁺*tfang* n.f. (K/T < P) **rifle**

⁺*tima* n.m. **price, value** (cf. *qəmta*) | ⁺*tima* ∅*wd* to valuate; *mare-*⁺*tima* precious

⁺*tina* n.m. **clay** | ⁺*g-tina šerənnox* May I bury you in clay!

⁺*tinalu* adj. invar. **miserable**

⁺*tintela* n.f. (A) **lace**

⁺*tləbta* n.f. (K/T < A) **fiancée**

⁺*tliba* n.m. (K/T < A) **suitor, fiancé**

⁺*tloxta* (pl. ⁺*tloxe*) n.f. **lentil**

⁺*tluġ* n.m. (K) **water-skin** (cf. *xiga*)

⁺*tmān* n.f. **head cold**

⁺*tmanessar* num. **eighteen**

⁺*tmanəssarmənji* num. **eighteenth**

⁺*tmoni* num. **eighty**

⁺*tmonimənji* num. **the eightieth**

⁺*toba* (K/T < A) **(I shall do it) no more!** | ⁺*toba dyr* to repent; *ana* ⁺*toba widənna šatoe* I have given up drinking

⁺*toġ,* ⁺*tox* adj. invar. (T) **deep, dark (of colour)**

⁺*top* n.f. (with suffix: ⁺*topp-*) (pl. ⁺*toppe*) (T/K) **cannon; cannon-ball; ball.** pl. also: **exaggeration** | ⁺*toppox jalqi* ~ *əlha* ⁺*l-toppox jaləqlu* Stop exaggerating (literally: May your cannons be torn ~ May God tear your cannons to pieces)!

⁺*toppa* n.f. (T/K) **ball**

⁺*topxana* n.f. (T/K + P) **artillery; arsenal**

⁺*tor* n.f. (T/K) **fisherman's or hunter's net**

⁺*tora* n.f. (pl. ⁺*tore,* ⁺*torae*) **Torah**

⁺*torba* n.f. (T/K) **bag**

⁺*torči* n.m. (T/K) **fisherman** (cf. *masita,* ⁺*qawwās*)

⁺*tosi* n.f. (K/T? < A) **small bowl; ashtray** (cf. ⁺*tās*)

⁺*tota* n.f. (H) **favour, kindness** | *šul* ⁺*tota* arrangement of marriage (matter of kindness); ⁺*totew matxrale!* May his kindness remember him! (formula used after mentioning a person's name in conversa-

tion); ⁺*totew mənšele* He proved ungrateful to someone (literally: He forgot his kindness)

⁺*tox* → *toġ*

⁺*toxəm* n.m. (K/T < P) **seed**

⁺*toxmaġ* n.f. (T/K) **mallet**

⁺*toz* n.f. (T/K) **dust** | ⁺*toz* ∅*nty* to dust

⁺*tozbaġa* n.f. (T) **tortoise**

⁺*tpərta* (pl. ⁺*tpərye*) **finger-nail, toe-nail; talon** | *m-tappew* ⁺*attat* ⁺*tpəryət aqlew* from head to foot (literally: from the summit of his head to the nails of his feet)

⁺*trana* n.f. **ladle**

⁺*trefa* (H) **ritually forbidden food**

⁺*trisa* adj. (f. ⁺*trəsta*, pl. ⁺*trise*) **trim, orderly**

⁺*trosa* adj. invar. **true, correct, certain.** n.m. **truth** | | *mə-*⁺*trosa* truly, certainly: *bắle* ⁺*mə-trosá ki-Šlómo ha-mélex hoxmà-ttox|* It is indeed so, King Solomon, that you have wisdom (61); *ăgàr| ləxmá šaqə́lwa* ⁺*mə-trosá kì| Rustàm-wele|* Whoever could buy bread was truly a hero (174)

⁺*trostula* n.f. **truth**

⁺*tufān* n.m. **flood** (P < A)

⁺*tuj* n.m. (K) **cast-iron? brass** (cf. *brənja*)

⁺*tujjarāt* n.f. (K/T < A) **trade, commerce** | ⁺*tujjarāt* ∅*wd* to trade

⁺*tura* n.m. (pl. ⁺*turawe*) **mountain** | ⁺*tura əl-*⁺*tura la* ⁺*sanəq, nāš əl-nāš* ⁺*sanəq* One mountain is in no need of another, but a person may be in need of another (proverb)

⁺*turši* n.m. (K/T < P) **pickles**

⁺*tyān* n.f. (K < P) **vat**

u

uja n.m. (T) **edge, end**

ule part. (f. *ula*, pl. *ulu*) **here he (she) is, here they are**

une pron. **they, those**

urməžna n.m./f. (pl. *urməžne*) **person from Urmi**

ušwa num. **seven**

ušw-alpe num. **seven thousand**

ušwamənji num. **the seventh**

ušwá-mme num. **seven hundred**

ušwassar num. **seventeen**

ušwassarmənji **seventeenth**

ušwoi num. **seventy**

ušwoimənji **seventeenth**

uzangi n.f. (T) **stirrup**

uzgun (T) | — *dhl* to swim

uzgunči n.m./f. (pl. *uzgunčiye*) (T) **swimmer**

⁺*u*

⁺*umud* n.m. (K/T < P) **hope** | ⁺*umud hwl* to give hope; ⁺*umud-ilen* I am
   hoping; *əlha* ⁺*umudan la* ⁺*qatele* We hope to see you again soon
   (literally: May God not put an end to our hope)! (formula of leave-
   taking)

⁺*umudwār* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **hopeful**

⁺*unsa* n.f. (P ?) **ounce (about 250 grams)**

⁺*urusi* (T/K < R) **Russian language**

⁺*urusna* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*urusne*) (T/K < R) **Russian**

⁺*urusya* n.f. (T/K < R) **Russia**

⁺*usta,* ⁺*ustād,* ⁺*ustakār* n.m./f. (K/T < P) **master craftsman; title of
   learned person**

⁺*ušaġləġ* n.f. (T) **womb**

⁺*uzara* n.m. **tow**

w

w, wa part. **and** (§9.12.1., §13.1.2.)

wa → *w*

wakil n.m. (K/T < A) **deputy, minister** | *wakil* ∅*wd* to put in charge; *wazir wakil* the ministers of state

wakilula n.f. (K/T < A) **charge, office**

wale n.pl. → *šula*

wasita ~ *wasyata* n.f. (pl. *wasye*) (K/T < A) **bequest, will, testament** | *wasita* ∅*wd* to make a bequest

waxt n.m. (pl. *waxte*, pl. *waxtawe*) (K/T < A) **time** (cf. ⁺*wada*, ⁺*zmān*) | *waxt lətti* I have no time; *waxtət* at the time that, when; *dadáx wáxt-ile šaydə̀n*ˈ Your father is about to go mad / almost going mad (18)

wazir n.m. (K/T < A) **minister** | *wazir wakil* the ministers of state

wazyat (K < A) n.f. **situation, circumstances** | *wazyătú jwān-là-wela*ˈ Their situation was not good (50)

wəžwəž (K) | — ∅*wd* to hum

wida adj. (f. *wədta*, pl. *wide*) **made, done**

wiša adj. (f. *wəšta*, pl. *wiše*) **dry, stiff, bare, empty-handed**

wišanula n.f. **dryness, stiffness**

wišula n.f. **dry land**

⁺*w*

⁺*wada* n.m. (K < A) **(appointed) time** (cf. *waxt*, ⁺*zmān*) | ⁺*wada* ∅*wd* to appoint a time; ⁺*wada lətti* I do not have the time; *kud* ⁺*wada* always, at any time; *o-*⁺*wada* at that time, then; *g-d-o* ⁺*wada* meanwhile, in the meantime; ⁺*wadew gnele* His time has passed (literally: set)

⁺*wahš* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*wahše*) (K/T < A) **wild beast.** adj. invar. **wild**

⁺*wajəb* n.m. (K/T < A) **duty**

⁺*wajəbi* n.f. (K < P/A) **depilatory ointment** | *wajəbi dry* to apply a depilatory ointment

⁺*wallā(h)* interj. (K/T < A) **by God; well, why (in hesitating speech)**

⁺*warda* n.f. **flower** | *warda plx* to blossom

⁺*wardana* adj. (f. *wardanta*) **flowery (material)**

⁺*wāy* interj. **exclamation of pain** | *wāy li* Woe is me!

⁺*werān* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **desolate**

⁺*werani* n.f. (K/T < P/A) **desolation**

⁺*wərtila* n.f. (pl. ⁺*wərtye*) n.f. **fart** | ⁺*wərtila* ⁺*plt* to fart

⁺*wərxa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*wərxawe*) **way, road** | *pəlle* ⁺*wərxa* He set out on his way; *gal …* ⁺*wərxa* ∅*zl* to get on with …; *enew pəšla* ⁺*g-wərxa* He awaited someone impatiently (literally: His eye remained on the road); ⁺*wərxew dwəqle* ~ ⁺*qtele* He barred his way; ⁺*wərxa* ⁺*qatyana* highway robber; *gal-*⁺*arelé bìš-*⁺*wərxa izalá-welanᐟ* We got on better with the Christians (literally: With the Christians we went more road) (184)

x

xa num. (with suffix: *xay-*) **one; a, an** (indefinite marker §9.1.) | *xa ba-xa* to one another; *xa l-xa* ∅*zl* to resemble each other; *xa m-nošew* by himself; *xa-kəmma* a few; *xa səlhət hwy* to be alike; *kud xa* everyone; *xayan* one of us; *xaí tré la-xdìrᐟ* My one has not become two (= I have not advanced in life) (51)

xa part. **deontic particle** | *xa-ána m-aqə̀rwaᐟ bratá xazə̀nna,ᐟ maqén gallàw.ᐟ* Let me see the girl from close up and speak with her (14). Combined with *mar*: *xá bratóx mar-adyàᐟ* Let your daughter come (33)

xa(w)ula n.f. **the state of being alive** | *b-xaulew* while he was alive

xaa adj. (f. *xayta*, pl. *xae*) **alive, lively, agile**

xabar n.m. (K/T < A) **announcement** | *xabar hwl* to announce

xabra n.m. (K/T < A) **word, matter** | *xabra hwl* to promise; to issue a command: *xabrá hiwalá-wele rešèw* ⁺*qatáa-weluleᐟ* He would give an order and they would cut off his head (3); *xa xabra mare baox*

(*baqren mənnox*) I should like to tell (ask) you something; *xabri xabrele* I have spoken (literally: My word is a word)! *xabrox-ile* You are (were) right (literally: Your word it is); *duz xabra əttxun, mqimun bai* If you want to speak the truth, tell me; *gben xabri odətte!* I want you to do as I say; *xabru-xà wadúle gal-⁺də́ġde wa-ziré⌉* The ministers agree among themselves (13); *ba-ma xabrew xyaret?* Why do you believe what he says?

xabuša n.m. (pl. *xabuše*) **apple**

xadmana n.m. (f. *xadmanta*) (K/T < A) **servant** | ⁺*sanăme xadmana* idol-worshopper

xae n.pl. **life** | *xaox yarxi ~ əlha xaox mayrəxlu* Long life to you! *xai!* My life! (addressing beloved)

xala adj. (f. *xalta*, pl. *xale*) **new** | *xdirwa xala* He had just been born (G:92); *xala ydəltatte?* Have you recently given birth to him? (G:92)

xălifa n.m./f. (pl. *xălife*) (K/T < A) **teacher in an elementary Jewish school**

xalta n.f. (vocative *xalto*, pl. *xalte*) (T/K < A) **maternal aunt**

xaluna n.f. **loom**

xalunta n.f. (pl. *xalunye*) **sister**

xalwa n.m. **milk.** pl. *xalwe* **milk products**

xalwana n.m. (f. *xalwanta*) **milker** | *torta xalwanta* milch-cow

xamra n.m. **wine**

xamša num. **five**

xamš-alpe num. **five thousand**

xamšá-mme num. **five hundred**

xamšamsamənji num. **fifth**

xamšassar num. **fifteen**

xamšassarmənji num. **fifteenth**

xamši num. **fifty**

xamšimənji num. **fiftieth**

xamšuseb n.m. **Thursday**

xanči mod. **a little, few** *xanči xanči* at least; *xanči* ⁺*raba* more or less; *xanči piš* almost, nearly (literally: A little has remained): *ayolát ki-dadáx mə-xdúg xánči-piš šàydən*| You know that your father has almost gone mad with worry (17); *xančyu* some of them, a minority; *xanči xet xa l-xa b-goretun* In a little while, you will marry one another

xandaq n.f. (K/T < P) **ditch, trench**

xanjar n.f. (K/T < P) **dagger**

xar (K) | — ∅*wd* to put to shame

xarāb adj. invar. (K/T < A) **spoiled** | *xarāb* ∅*wd* to spoil

xaraba adj. (f. *xarabta*, pl. *xarabe*) **ruined**

xarabi n.f. (K < A) **ruin** (cf. ⁺*xarabəstān*)

xarazān n.m. **plaited whip**

xardal n.f. (K/T < A) **mustard**

xaripula n.f. **sharpness**

xarj n.m. (K < A) **tax, tribute**

xarupa adj. (f. *xarupta*, pl. *xarupe*) **sharp (also of taste)**

xāš adv. **once more, again** | *tu xāš škəl-ilu* They look exactly alike

xašuxa adj. (f. *xašuxta*, pl. *xašuxe*) **dark** (cf. *xəškana*)

xat n.m. (with suffixes: *xatt-*) (K/T < A) **handwriting**

xatər n.m. (K/T < A) **sake** | *ba-xatrox* for your sake; *ba-xátrət ki-juwé-*⁺*wada broná yadlà*| *jùr ba-júr ixále báaw kwíwa*| In order that she would give birth to a boy another time they would give her all kinds of food (120)

xatərjam adj. invar. (K < P/A) **safe, secure**

xay- → *xa*

xayta → *xaa*

xazna n.f. (pl. *xazne*) (K/T < A) **treasure, treasury**

xaznadār n.m. (K/T < P/A) **treasurer**

xdaa n.f. **stew cooked on Friday and eaten in the evening**

xdamta n.f. (K/T < A) **service**

xdug n.m. (K < P) **worry** | *xdug ∅wd* to worry: *ána ⁺rába ⁺rába xdúg wadèn⌐* I am very worried (11); *⁺šultaná mə-xdúg la-ayolá-wele m-òdwa⌐* The king did not know what to do on account of worry (7)

xdugana adj. (f. *xduganta*, pl. *xdugane*) (K < P) **worried**

xduglu adj. invar. (K/T < P) **worried**

xel prep. **under** | *xel-kotàk dahólɜlla⌐* He beats her (literally: He hits her under a blow) (114)

xéla adv. (arch.) **underneath** | *m-xela* underhand; secretly; *⁺šultaná m-xelá xyarà-wele⌐* The king was watching in secret (7)

xen **more (temporal), else, already** | *xén áxni ɔ́llux là-⁺msex ⁺tašéx⌐* We cannot keep you (maintain you) any more (89); *la-xèn⌐ m-korpí enéw čimè la-pyára-wele⌐* He never again crossed the bridge with his eyes closed (61); *xen ma?* what else? *atta xen* already: *átta xén àt⌐ gorà xdirét⌐* You have already become a husband (89); *xen lɜttox m-odet?!* Don't you have something else to do?; *prɜqlox xen!* Your time is already up! → *lél-xen*

xessar num. **eleven**

xessarmɜnji num. **eleventh**

xet mod. invar. **other** | combined with *xa* when indefinite or a demonstrative pronoun when definite: *xa-xet gora* another man, *o-xet gora* the other man (§9.7.5.)

xɜdmat, xɜdmatula n.f. (K/T < A) **service** | *xɜdmat ∅wd* to serve, to do service

xɜdmatkār n.m./f. (pl. *xɜdmatkare*) (K/T < P/A) **servant**

xɜdmatula n.f. (K/T < A) → *xɜdmat*

xɜdya n.m. (pl. *xɜdye*, pl. *xɜdyawe*) **woman's breast** | *⁺qāb xɜdya* brassière

xɜlqa n.f. (K < A) **character**

xǝlya adj. (f. *xlita,* pl. *xǝlye*) **sweet, pleasant** | *xǝ́lye mǝ́lye* all kinds of sweet things (121)

xǝlyanula n.f. **sweetness, pleasantness; sweets**

xǝmyana n.m. **father-in-law**

xǝška n.m. **darkness** (cf. ⁺*tarǝstān*)

xǝškana adj. (f. *xǝškanta,* pl. *xǝškane*) **dark (not of colour)** (cf. *xašuxa*)

xǝšma n.m. (K < P ?) **anger, wrath** (cf. *jǝgra*) | ⁺*tpǝre xǝšmew* His wrath was kindled

xǝtna n.m. (pl. *xǝtne*) **son-in-law**

xǝzma n.m./f. (pl. *xǝzme, xǝzmawe*) (T/K) **relative**

xiga n.m. (K < P ?) **water-skin** (cf. ⁺*tluġ*)

xila adj. (f. *xǝlta,* pl. *xile*) **eaten**

xiyawān n.m. (P) **street, road**

xlima adj. (f. *xlǝmta,* pl. *xlime*) **thick, coarse** (also figurative)

xlimula n.f. **thickness, coarseness** (also figurative)

xlula n.f. (pl. *xlulye*) **wedding**

xmala n.f. (pl. *xmale, xmalawe*) **mother-in-law**

xmara n.m. (pl. *xmare*) **ass, donkey**

xmarta n.f. (pl. *xmarye*) **she-ass**

xmira n.m. **yeast**

xmurta n.f. (pl. *xmurye*) **bead**

xof (K < A) | *xof* ∅*wd* to fear

xoišt n.f. (K/T) **wish** | *xoišt* ∅*wd* to request, to plead

xokana n.f. **itch, scabies**

xola n.m. **rope** | *xola zǝlle bar* ⁺*dolča* One loss after another (literally: The rope went after the bucket)

xonča n.m. (K) **wooden tablet; tablet with sweets etc. prepared by the bridegroom's mother for the bride**

xoš adj. invar. (K/T < P) **good, pleasant** | *xošew idayle* He feels like doing something / He is happy with something; *Šlómo ha-mélex +rába xošèw idáyle mən-d-áy măsălà|* King Solomon was very amused with this story (49)

xošamad (K/T < P) | — ∅*wd* to flatter

xošamadi, xošamadula n.f. (K/T < P) **flattery**

xoš-baxt adj. invar. (K/T < P) **fortunate, happy**

xoš-baxtula n.f. (K/T < P) **good fortune, happiness**

xošbeš n.f. (T < P) **friendly meeting, exchange of compliments** | *xošbeš* ∅*wd* to meet, to exchange compliments

xošeba n.m. **Sunday**

xoškbār n.m. (P) **dried fruit**

xpaqa n.f. **bosom**

xriwa adj. (f. *xrəwta*, pl. *xriwe*) **bad, spoiled** | *xriwe xabre* n.pl. slander; *xriwe xabre +plt reš* to slander someone

xriwula n.f. **badness**

xruke n.f. (K < P ?) **small-pox**

xšəlta n.f. (pl. *xšəlye*) **bridal jewelry**

xulma n.f. (pl. *xulme*) **dream** | *xulma xzy* to dream

xunaw n.m. (K < P ?) **dew**

xurag n.f. (K < P) **food** (cf. *ixala*)

xuri n.m. (K < A < Gr) **Christian priest** (cf. *kašiš, qašša*)

xurjin n.f. (K < P/A) **saddle-bag**

xwara adj. (f. *xwarta*, pl. *xware*) **white** | *+salmew xwarele* He is honourable / He has nothing to be ashamed of (literally: His face is white)

xwarula n.f. **whiteness**

xzəmta (pl. *xzəmye*) (? < A) **nose-ring**

⁺*x*

⁺*xabya* n.f. (? < A) **earthenware cask for storage of food**

⁺*xajalta* n.f. (K/T < A) **(great) shame** | ⁺*xajaltelen* I am greatly ashamed

⁺*xalasi* n.f. (K < A) **what has been saved**

⁺*xaliča* n.f. (K/T < P) **rug, carpet**

⁺*xalis* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **pure, unadulterated**

⁺*xalla* n.f. (K < A) **birth-mark, mole**

⁺*xallana* adj. (f. ⁺*xallanta*, pl. ⁺*xallane*) (K < A) **having a birthmark, a mole** (cf. ⁺*xal-xāl*)

⁺*xalqana* n.m. (K/T < A) **the Creator**

⁺*xalwār* n.f. (K < P) **unit of weight** (= 100 *manya*)

⁺*xal-xāl* adj. invar. (K < P/A) **full of birthmarks** (cf. ⁺*xallana*)

⁺*xalxāl* n.m. (K < A) **anklet**

⁺*xam* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **raw (of material)**

⁺*xameš* adj. invar. (K/T < P) **silent** | ⁺*xameš* ∅*wd* to silence; ⁺*xameš xdr* to become silent: *kullxún* ⁺*xamèš xdúrun!*| All of you be quiet! (39)

⁺*xamešula* n.f. (K/T < P) **silence**

⁺*xammara* n.f. (K < A) **tavern**

⁺*xamusa* adj. (f. ⁺*xamusta*, pl. ⁺*xamuse*) **sour**

⁺*xān* n.f. (K/T < P) **inn**

⁺*xana* n.f. **lap**

⁺*xanəm,* ⁺*xanum* n.f. (T/K) **lady, mistress** | ⁺*xanəm-baji* form of address to a woman older than oneself (esp. to a husband's elder sister)

⁺*xanmula* n.f. (T/K) **state of a lady**

⁺*xarabəstān* n.f. (K/T < A) **deserted, ruined place** (cf. *xaraba*)

⁺*xarmān* n.f. (K/T < P) **threshing (floor)** | ⁺*xarmān* ∅*wd* to thresh

⁺*xarrata* n.m. (pl. ⁺*xarrate*) (K/T < A) **turner**

⁺*xarratula* n.f. (K/T < A) **turner's trade**

⁺*xasa* n.f. **back** | ⁺*xasət* ~ ⁺*xās ena* upper eyelid; *əl-…* ⁺*xasa* ⁺*ysr* to rely upon (to bind one's back to); ⁺*m-xasa* related on the father's side (cf. *m-kasa* related on the mother's side); ⁺*xasaw plix* She has the menses (literally: Her back has opened); ⁺*xasa kupele* He is a hunchback; *əntilu* ⁺*xasox* Take them on your back; ⁺*qətrət* ⁺*xasa* backbone

⁺*xasola* n.m. **harvest** (cf. ⁺*xəsla*)

⁺*xašləġ* n.f. (T < A) **expenses**

⁺*xašša* n.f. **sack-cloth**

⁺*xatakār* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*xatakare*) (K/T < P/A) **sinner, culprit** | ⁺*xatakār lewe* He is innocent (cf. *gunah*⁺*kār*, ⁺*awunkār*)

⁺*xawli* n.f. (T/K) **towel** (cf. *peš*⁺*tamāl*)

⁺*xayata* n.m./f. (pl. ⁺*xayate*) **tailor; dressmaker**

⁺*xayən* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **faithless, treacherous**

⁺*xayənula* n.f. (K/T < A) **faithlessness, treachery, treason** | ⁺*xayənula* ∅*wd* to betray

⁺*xəlt* n.m. (K < A) **dross**

⁺*xəlta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*xəlte*) (K < A) **error, mistake**

⁺*xəpna* n.f. **two handfuls**

⁺*xərraxər* | — ∅*wd* to snore (cf. *pərxapərx* ∅*wd*)

⁺*xərt* adj. invar. (K) **stout, robust**

⁺*xərxra* n.f. **Adam's apple** (cf. *qərqra*)

⁺*xəsla* n.m. **harvest** (cf. ⁺*xasola*)

⁺*xəsya* n.m. (pl. ⁺*xəsye*, ⁺*xəsyawe*) (K < A) **eunuch**

⁺*xətte* n.pl. **wheat**

⁺*xəttelta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*xəttelye*) **grain of wheat**

⁺*xiz* n.f. (K/T < Arm) **sand**

⁺*xleta* n.f. (pl. *xlee*) (K/T < A) **gift**

⁺*xmata* n.f. (pl. ⁺*xmae*) **needle** | *əl-*⁺*yala tre* ⁺*xmae dhəllu* They gave the child two injections (G:95)

⁺*xnami* n.m./f. (pl. *xnamiye*) (K < P ?) **parent-in-law of one's own child**

⁺*xorai* adv. (K) **for nothing** (cf. *məfta*)

⁺*xorəz* n.m. (T) **cock, rooster**

⁺*xošāl* adj. invar. (K < P/A) **pleased with another's misfortune**

⁺*xošāw* n.f. (K/T < P) **honey-syrup mixed with water**

⁺*xošhāl* adj. invar. (K < P/A) **well, happy**

⁺*xsus* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **special, specially** (cf. ⁺*maxsus*)

⁺*xŭmār* n.f. (K/T < A) **hangover**

⁺*xurma* n.f. (K/T < P) **date, date-palm**

⁺*xurtmanta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*xurtmane*) **hulled chick-pea**

⁺*xuyye* n.m. (pl. ⁺*xuyyawe*) **snake, serpent**

⁺*xyāl* n.m. (K/T < A) **imagination, fancy** | ⁺*xyāl ∅wd* to imagine, to fancy

⁺*xyarta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*xyare*) (K/T < P) **cucumber**

y

ya part. (K/T) **or** | *ya … ya* either ... or ... (cf. ⁺*yān*)

ya pron. (pl. *ayne*) **this** (§2.2., §9.2.)

yabuma n.m. (arch.) **husband's brother** (cf. *ədma*)

yabumta n.f. (arch.) **wife of husband's brother**

yadole f. **child-birth**

yalope f. **learning**

yalpana n.m. (f. *yalpanta*, pl. *yalpane*) **pupil, learner**

yamān n.f. **kind of precious stone** | ⁺*yaqut yamān* precious stones

yamani n.f. (T/K < A) **a light kind of shoe**

yapluk n.f. (T) **fan** | *yapluk ∅wd* to fan

yapyana n.m. (pl. *yapyane*) **baker** | *ləxma yapyana* baker of bread

yaqin part. (K/T < A) **probably, certainly**

yaqura adj. (f. *yaqurta,* pl. *yaqure*) **heavy** | *o baxta aqlaw yaqurtela* That woman is pregnant

yaqura adj. (f. *yaqurta,* pl. *yaqure*) **heavy; grave, serious; difficult** | *aqlaw yaqurtela* She is pregnant

yaqurula n.f. **heaviness; worth**

yaquša adj. (f. *yaqušta, yaquše*) **thick (of soup etc.)**

yaqušula n.f. **thickness (of soup etc.)**

yarixa adj. (f. *yarəxta,* pl. *yarixe*) **long, lengthy**

yarixula n.f. **lengthiness**

yarxa n.m. (pl. *yarxe, yarxawe*) **month**

yatuma n.m. (f. *yatumta,* pl. *yatume*) **orphan**

yaxni n.m. (K/T < P) **thick pea-soup with dumplings**

yaxsir n.m. (K/T < A) **prisoner-of-war, captive** | *yaxsir ∅wd* to capture; *yaxsir xdr* to be captured

yaxsiri, yaxsirula n.f. (K < T) **captivity**

yaxxa n.f. (T) **collar**

yazna n.m. (T/K) **brother-in-law (sister's husband)**

yem n.m. (T/K) **fodder**

yer ba-yer (T/K) **in place; in an orderly manner**

yəlxi n.f. (K) **crowd, mob**

yəqra n.m. **weight, heaviness** | *yəqrew dehwa hol* Give (me) its weight in gold (G:93)

yərmuġ n.f. (T) **fist**

yərxa n.m. **length**

yéli, yéle etc. part. **here I am, here he is, etc.** | 3ms. form *yele* is used to introduce a proposition: *yelè˺ ayné ixalé báaw hwə̀llan˺* See, we gave her these items of food (122)

yéna **what's-his-name**

yéza **and then; so then**

yoma n.m. (pl. *yome, yomawe, yomane*) **day, day-time** | *ma yoma b-yomew?* Why today of all days? *xa yoma b-yomawe* one day (in story-telling); *yom din* work-day

yonja n.m. (T) **clover, trefoil**

yriwa adj. (f. *yrə̄wta*, pl. *yriwe*) **mixed, mixed-up, confused**

yriwula n.f. **confusion**

⁺*y*

⁺*yabān* n.m. (K/T < P) **heath, moor**

⁺*yala* n.m. **child** | ⁺*yala sawa* small child; *pə̄šla* ⁺*b-yala* She became pregnant

⁺*yaləġ* n.f. (T) **kerchief, handkerchief** (cf. ⁺*čarqat*)

⁺*yalta* n.f. **girl**

⁺*yaltula* n.f. **girlhood**

⁺*yalula* n.f. **childhood (of a man)**

⁺*yama* n.f. **sea, lake** | ⁺*yamət Urmi* Lake Urmi

⁺*yān* n.m. (pl. ⁺*yane*, ⁺*yanane*) (T/K) **side** | *ó ytíw* ⁺*g-yā́n daéw wə-*⁺*yā́n dadèw.˺* 'He is sitting between his mother and his father; *ʾšúqle yatə́w b-*⁺*yān-nòšew˺* Leave him in peace (literally: Let him sit by himself) (46). prep. ⁺*yān* **beside, by; or** (cf. *ya*)

⁺*yanaqta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*yanaqe*) (T) **cheek**

⁺*yani* (K/T < A) **that is to say**

⁺*yapəšqān* n.f. (T) **glue** | ⁺*yapəšqān* ∅*wd* to glue

⁺*yaqut* n.f. (K/T < A) **sapphire** | ⁺*yaqut yamān* precious stones

⁺*yār* adj. invar. (T/K < P) **beloved**

⁺*yara* n.f. (T/K) **wound** | ⁺*yara* ∅*wd* to wound

⁺*yaralu* adj. invar. (T/K) **wounded**

⁺*yarjān* adj. invar. (T/K < P) **dear, beloved**

⁺*yarpăǧe* n.f. (T) **wine-leaves stuffed with rice** (cf. ⁺*dolma*)

⁺*yās* n.m. (T) **mourning** (cf. *taazya*) | ⁺*yās dwq* to sit in mourning (for seven days)

⁺*yasāǧ* adj. invar. (T/K) **detained, sequestered** | ⁺*yasāǧ* ∅*wd* to detain, sequester

⁺*yaslu* adj. invar. (T) **mourning** (cf. ⁺*awel; taazyadār*)

⁺*yasmin* n.m. (K < P) **jasmine**

⁺*yašəl* adj. invar. (T) **green**

⁺*yašəm* n.f. (K/T < P) **jasper**

⁺*yawar* n.m. (T/K < P ?) **aide-de-camp**

⁺*yawāš* ⁺*yawāš* adv. (T/K) **slowly, gently, gradually**

⁺*yaxur* n.f. (K < P) **crib, stall**

⁺*yayləm* n.m. (T) **summer pasturage**

⁺*yəldərəm* n.m. (T) **lightning** (cf. *bərq*)

⁺*yohu* n.f. (pl. ⁺*yohwe*) **pigeon**

⁺*yorǧān* n.f. (T/K) **quilt** (cf. ⁺*lefa*)

⁺*yorona* adj. (f. *yoronta*) (K/T < P) **beloved (of near relatives)**

⁺*yoxsan* part. (T) **or else, otherwise**

⁺*ysira* n.m./adj. (f. ⁺*ysərta*, pl. ⁺*ysire*) **bound; prisoner**

⁺*yubqa* n.f. (pl. ⁺*yubqe*) (K/T < R) **skirt, petticoat**

z

zaa n.m. (pl. *zae, zaane*) **time, instance** | *zaa zaa* from time to time; *zaane* at times; ⁺*raba zaane* on many occasions; *axní* ⁺*tangé báat awwalmənjì-zaa xzèlan*| We saw tanks for the first time (172); *kud šwa xa zaa* once a week

zabun adj. invar. (K/T < P) **feeble, exhausted**

zabunula n.f. (K/T < A) **feebleness, exhaustion**

zadyana adj. (f. *zadyanta*, pl. *zadyane*) **timorous, cowardly** | *m-əlha zadyana* God-fearing, pious

zafar n.m. (K/T < A) **hurt** | *zafar ⁺m-mty* to hurt

zăgărag n.f. **poppy-seed**

zahar n.m. (K/T < P) **poison** (cf. *žahar*)

zahla n.f. (K/T) **disgust** | *zahlew ədyela m-* He was tired of, disgusted with

zalil adj. invar.(K/T < A) **infirm**

zami n.f. (K < P ?) **plot of land**

zammera n.f. (? < A) **car-horn** | *zammera dhl* to toot

zamrana n.m. (pl. *zamrane*) **singer**

zamurta n.f. (pl. *zamurye*) **song**

zanjafil n.m. (K) **ginger**

zaqqara n.m. (pl. *zaqqare*) **weaver; spider**

zarāl n.f. (K/T < A) **loss, damage** | *zarāl dhl* to cause loss, to damage; *zarāl ∅wd* to make a loss

zarda adj. invar. (K < P ?) **yellow** | *zarda čiwa* n.f. saffron

zardəkta n.f. (pl. *zardke*) (K?) **a type of green seeds or berries**

zardki n.f. (K < P ?) **jaundice**

zardula n.f. (K < P ?) **yellowness**

zargar n.m. (pl. *zargăre*) (K/T < P) **goldsmith, silversmith, jeweller**

zarqeta n.f. (pl. *zarqee*) **bee; wasp**

za-xet adv. **last time**

zaytunta n.f. (pl. *zaytune*) (K/T < A) **olive**

zdela n.f. (pl. *zdele*) **fear** (cf. *⁺sāf*)

zerzami n.f. (K < A) **cellar** (cf. *sər⁺dāb*)

zəkr n.m. (K/T < A) **Muslim religious meeting with singing and dancing** | *zəkr* ∅*wd* to hold such a meeting

zəlzəla n.f. **earthquake** (P < A)

zəmrud n.m. (K/T < P) **emerald**

zəngira n.m. **small cluster of grapes**

zənglokta n.f. (pl. *zəngloke*) (K < P) **bell (on animal's neck)**

zənjira n.f. (pl. *zənjərye*) (K/T < P) **chain**

zirajoš n.f. **sweet paste made of nuts etc. and eaten on the day after a wedding**

zi⁺wān n.m. (? < A) **tares, weeds**

ziwuġ n.m../f. (H) **(ordained) match, mate**

ziyān, ziyana n.m. (K/T < P) **harm** | *ziyān* ∅*wd* to harm

zoa n.m. (pl. *zoe*) **pair** | *xá-zoa goryə́t awuršùm* a pair of silk stockings (94)

zóda mod. (K < A) **more** | *biš zóda* still more; *zóda* ⁺*bassor* more or less; *əmma* ⁺*qate m-Moše zodelen* I excel Moses a hundred times (G:93)

zora adj. (f. *zorta*, pl. *zore*) **small, little**

zorula n.f. **smallness; young age** | *b-zorulew* in his young age

zreta n.f. (pl. *zree*) **agriculture; sown or planted land**

zudda adj. invar. **brave, manly, strong**

zuza n.f. **howling** | *deval zuza magroše* The wolf is howling

⁺*ʐ*

⁺*zabət* n.m. (K/T < A) **officer**

⁺*zabt* (K/T < A) | — ∅*wd* to sequestrate

⁺*zāġ* (T) | — ∅*wd* to purify metals

⁺*zaġa* n.f. (K < Arm) **tunnel**

⁺*zahamta* n.f. (K/T < A) **trouble taken** | ⁺*zahamta grš* to take trouble; *ăgar* ⁺*zahamta la hawya baox* if it is not difficult for you / if you would not mind

⁺*zahm* n.m. (T < P) **wound, hurt**

⁺*zaləm* n.m./f. (K/T < A) **cruel oppressor**

⁺*zamin* n.m./f. (K/T < A) **one who vouches, guarantor** | ⁺*zamin xdr ba-* to vouch, to warrant, to guarantee for

⁺*zār* n.m. (pl. ⁺*zare*) (T/K) **dice** | ⁺*zare* ⁺*talana* n.m. gambler

⁺*zarʾa* n.m. **seed, posterity**

⁺*zarb* (K < A) | *gal — yrq* to run with all one's might

⁺*zāy* (K/T < A) | *— xdr* to become lost, to perish; to become spoiled

⁺*zayəf* adj. invar. (K/T < A) **weak, feeble, thin**

⁺*zəbla* n.m. **rubbish, refuse**

⁺*zərnəqta* n.f. (K/T < P) **arsenic**

⁺*zlobita* n.f. (pl. ⁺*zlobye*) (K < A) **fritter**

⁺*zlum* (K/T < A) | *— ∅wd* to oppress cruelly

⁺*zmān* n.m./f. (K/T < A) **time** (cf. *waxt,* ⁺*wada*)

⁺*zóhar* n.f. (H) **the Zohar**

⁺*zol,* ⁺*zola* n.m. (K/T) **stripe, line** | ⁺*zol* ⁺*zol* adj. invar. striped

⁺*zondəg* n.f. (? < R) **umbrella** (cf. *čatər, šamsiya*)

⁺*zor* n.f. (K/T < P) **force, compulsion; oppression** | ⁺*zor ∅wd* to oppress, to wrong; ⁺*zor hwl* to take pains; *gal* ⁺*zor* by force; *aqlàw* ⁺*lečəttá*| *ki-ất réšaw* ⁺*zòr hawét*| Tread on her foot, so that you will be dominant over her (the bride) (80)

⁺*zorlamiš* (T < A) | *— ∅wd* to rob, to oppress

⁺*zurna* n.f. (pl. ⁺*zurne,* ⁺*zurnae*) (K/T < P) **type of flute**

⁺*zyarta* n.f. (pl. ⁺*zyare*) (K/T < A) **(place of) pilgrimage**

ž

žahar n.m. (K) **snake poison** (cf. *zahar*)

žanasar n.f. **apoplectic stroke** | *žanasar dwəqlale* He has had a stroke

žang n.m. (K) **rust** | *žang dwq* to become rusty; *žang dwiq, žang bəzyəlle*
    It is (has become) rusty (literally: It has taken rust / Rust has
    made holes in it)

⁺**ž**

⁺*žān* n.f. (pl. *žane*) pl. **birth-pangs** | *žane grš ~ hwl* to be in labour