

The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Bohtan



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9

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The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Bohtan

Samuel Ethan Fox



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In Memory of Beverly Fried Fox

זכרונה לברכה

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This book is dedicated, with very much love, to the memory of my wife, Beverly Fried Fox, זכרונה לברכה.

ABBREVIATIONS

GP	Gorgias Press
K	Kurdish
NENA	North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic
R	Russian
S	Syriac

INTRODUCTION

0.1. ORIGINAL HOMELAND OF SPEAKERS

In the early nineteenth century, Western scholars became aware of the existence of a population of Aramaic speakers living in the mountains of South-East Anatolia and the neighboring plains of Urmia and Mosul. It quickly became clear that the dialects spoken by this population, made up mostly of Christians, with a significant number of Jews as well, were very diverse. Through much of their range, the speakers of Aramaic were a minority, their villages sprinkled among those of speakers of other languages: Kurdish in the mountains, Azeri Turkish around Urmia, and Arabic in the plain of Mosul.

All of these languages, but especially Kurdish, have had influence on the modern dialects of Aramaic spoken in this area, which are now referred to as North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic, commonly abbreviated to NENA.

At the northwest fringe of the area where NENA speakers were found, within the present-day Turkish province of Siirt, was the district of Bohtan.¹ The earliest reference to NENA speakers in this area is in Stoddard (1856: 23), who refers to ‘Bootan’ as the most remote district of Kurdistan and includes some valuable information on a Bohtan dialect.

Maclean (1895: xiv) mentions the Bohtan dialect, placing it in his ‘Southern’ group, along with the Christian dialects of the plain of Mosul and the Jewish dialect of Zakho. In the body of his grammar Maclean gives very

¹ Bohtan is a general term describing the territory between the Tigris and its tributary, the Bohtan River, which meets it at about 37° 45' N, 45° 45' E. At the southern boundary of Bohtan, on the Tigris, is the city of Cizre. Both within the city and in the Cudi Dağ region just to its east, dialects of NENA were once spoken. One of the Cudi dialects is described in detail in Sinha (2000). In the present work, however, ‘Bohtan’ refers specifically to the villages of Ruma, Shwata, and Borb, and their dialect.

little information on the dialect, almost all of it evidently derived from Stoddard (1856).

In June 1881, Fr. Jacques Rhétoré (1841-1921), a missionary and scholar who had worked since 1874 among the Christian NENA speakers, entered remarks on the district of Bohtan in general, and its Catholic inhabitants in particular, into his private notebooks.² Fr. Rhétoré's notes include a list of villages, with the number of houses in each, and their religious affiliation. They provide the best glimpse of the Bohtan speakers before their exile.

According to Fr. Rhétoré, there were about 3,600 Christians in the Siirt area, almost all of them Catholic, and about 3,000 of them speakers of NENA.³ The Bicheir sub-district of Siirt, located to the east, around 38° 52' N, 45° 50' E, contained seven villages, totaling ninety-three households, or about 558 inhabitants, according to Rhétoré's estimate of six people per household. The list of villages follows:

District de Bicheir: converti depuis 3 ans

Choaita: 10 maisons, 1 prêtre, Cas Yacoub, pas d'école, langue chaldéenne, à un jour et demi de Seert

Poïs: 5 maisons, ni prêtre ni école, langue chaldéenne

Raoma: 15 maisons, ni prêtre ni école, langue chaldéenne

Borm, 25 maisons, divisées en 4 quartiers, 5 maisons catholiques, 20 maisons nestoriennes, langue chaldéenne, 1 prêtre nestorien qui vient de se faire catholique avec les nestoriens de son village

Nerachen: 10 maisons, ni prêtre ni école, langue chaldéenne

Ardchaghanes: 8 maisons, ni prêtre ni école, langue chaldéenne

Coritch: 20 maisons, ni prêtre ni école, langue chaldéenne, de Coritch à Moki il y a 8 h de chemin, de Coritch à Chakh il y a 7 heures.

² I am greatly indebted to Bruno Poizat for sharing these notes with me.

³ The exceptions were a few villages of Kurdish-speaking Christians and the town of Siirt itself, whose Christians spoke Arabic.

A census of the diocese of Siirt was carried out around 1912 or 1913⁴ by Joseph Tfinkdji, a priest in Mardin. He found 282 Catholics in Borim (Borm), 95 in Chwithá (Choaita), and 110 in Rauma (Raoma). The whole diocese of Siirt totaled 5,430.

0.2. OUTLINE OF THE PERIOD 1915-2000

In May 1915, Turkish forces that had been expelled from Van by the Armenian revolt there arrived in Bohtan and began to organize the destruction of the Christian population of the region.⁵ During the month of June 1915, the majority of the Christians of the region perished. However, some of the Christian inhabitants of Hertevin, a village of a few hundred inhabitants a bit southwest of the Bicheir district, survived. In addition, the 500 or so inhabitants of three villages of the Bicheir district, Ruma, Shwata, and Borb (Rhétoré's Raoma, Choaita, and Borm) were warned by a Kurdish friend hours before they were to be attacked and fled in the night, just ahead of their pursuers. The villagers crossed a river on an improvised bridge, which they destroyed behind them, and made for Van, which was by then occupied by the Russian army. They continued on into the Russian empire, entering it through Armenia, along with considerable numbers of Assyrian refugees from other districts.

The newly arrived refugees were sent by the Red Cross to various locations throughout the Russian Empire, but principally within the Caucasus. Starting in the early nineteenth century, groups of ethnic Germans had moved to the Caucasus, settling in small, self-sufficient villages. The Bohtan Assyrians, along with other Assyrian refugees from Nudáz and the Van area, were sent to work as field hands in several of these colonies: Helenendorf (present day Xanlar), Annenfeld (present day Şəmkir), and Grünfeld at Ağstafa. During the unrest of 1918-1920 they fled to Vladikavkaz, in Russia, but afterwards returned to Azerbaijan. The villages became collective farms during the 1930s, and in October 1941 the German colonists were deported to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and Central Asia as potential traitors to the state. However, the Assyrians continued to live there peacefully until 1949.

At that time, much of the Assyrian population of the Caucasus was accused of conspiring with the governments of their countries of origin, and

⁴ Gaunt (2006: 429-430), quoting Tfinkdji (1914).

⁵ (Rhétoré 2005: 177) According to Gaunt (2006: 250-256), the Turkish forces were returning from Hakkari, not Van.

deported to Siberia. On the night of June 13, 1949 they were roused from their sleep, given twenty minutes to gather their belongings and hauled away. They were taken by truck to railway stations where they were loaded into closed freight cars to begin a seventeen-day trip to Siberia. At Tomsk they were transferred to barges and then spent another eighteen days floating slowly down the Tom' and Ob' rivers, and then up the Chaya River before they arrived at the settlements which were their ultimate destination.

There they remained, in harsh conditions and a hostile climate, for seven years. A number of the Bohtan Assyrians did not survive this difficult period.

In 1956 permission was given for them to leave Siberia, and most returned together to their previous homes in Azerbaijan. Those who had come from Xanlar resettled there successfully, but the situation in Ağstafa was not entirely satisfactory for the returnees, and eventually most of them moved just over the border to Gardabani in the Georgian SSR. They continued living there until the disintegration of the Soviet Union. This led to a dramatic deterioration in economic conditions, together with lawlessness and hostile nationalism, both in Georgia and in Azerbaijan. The result was that most of the Bohtan Assyrians left their homes in Xanlar, Ağstafa, and Gardabani and moved to the adjacent areas of Russia.

0.3. CURRENT LOCATION, SITUATION, AND NUMBERS

Gravitating together, as always, the Bohtan Assyrians now live mostly in two towns on the northern fringes of the Caucasus: Krymsk in the Krasnodarskiy Kray, and Novopavlovsk in the Stavropolskiy Kray. In general, the inhabitants of Ruma and Šwata settled in Ağstafa, from there moved to Gardabani, and now live in Novopavlovsk, while the inhabitants of Borb settled in Xanlar and now live in Krymsk. As might be expected, the younger generations of Bohtan speakers have often intermarried, mostly with other Assyrians, but also with non-Assyrians. The younger generations speak the language less, and less proficiently. The total number of speakers of the Bohtan dialect is very difficult to estimate but is probably less than 500. Only a very few Bohtan speakers live outside the former Soviet Union.

0.4. OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY BOHTAN SPEAKERS

A great degree of bi- and multilingualism characterizes practically all speakers of NENA. Certain features of the dialect betray contact with Arabic at some period in the past. However, in Bohtan they had little or no contact

with speakers of Arabic, but did speak Kurdish, a language which has left a very strong imprint on the dialect. In Azerbaijan they learned a certain amount of the Swabian German of the founders of the villages where they lived, in addition to Russian and Azeri Turkish. Those who live in Krymsk frequently spoke Turkish with the members of the Meskhetian Turkish minority who were their neighbors there for some years. Currently, Russian is the only other language spoken by all Bohtan Assyrians.

0.5. BOHTAN WITHIN NENA

At the present state of our knowledge at least, NENA does not seem amenable to description in terms of the Stammbaum model. On the other hand, there are a number of features present in those dialects that are (or were) spoken in the center of the NENA-speaking region, but absent on its eastern and western fringes. These features, among them the creation of verb tenses based on the *CCaCa* verbal noun, seem to have developed in the center and to have spread outwards, without ever reaching the more peripheral dialects.

Among these peripheral dialects is Bohtan, which occupied, together with Hertevin (Jastrow 1988), the Northwest border of the NENA area.

Besides Hertevin, the Umra (Hobrack 2000) and Bepin (Sinha 2000) dialects were fairly close geographically to Bohtan, and share certain features with it. In addition, there are some points of resemblance between Bohtan and Qaraqosh (Khan 2002), which is spoken in the Mosul plain.

Among the features of Bohtan that are shared with these dialects are the lack of any tenses formed on the *CCaCa* verbal noun, the aberrant I stem of the verb ‘to go’ (see §2.1.5.2 below), the independent possessive pronoun stem *did-* (§2.2.3), and the reflexive pronoun *rux-* (§2.2.4).

The use of L-set suffixes to mark the object on the preterite (§2.1.7.5) is found outside of Bohtan only in Hertevin and Umra.

One other important feature of Bohtan, the Perfect tense formed on the *CCiC* stem with A-set suffixes (§2.1.7.6) is shared only with Hertevin.

Some prominent features of Bohtan are not found in any other dialects. These include the changes of open penultimate *a* to *o* (§1.6.1), and *ay* to *a* (§1.6.2).

Hertevin is clearly closer to Bohtan than any other dialect. Also showing affinities with Bohtan are (in descending order of closeness) Qaraqosh, Umra, and Bepin. The points of resemblance with the relatively distant dialect of Qaraqosh are striking, and suggest that the ancestors of Bohtan villagers may have been migrants from the plain of Mosul.

The classificatory features are summarized in the table below, with Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982), a dialect of the central group, added for comparison:

	Hertevin	Qaraqosh	Umra	Bespin	Aradhin
<i>CCiC</i> perfect	x				
L-set preterite object	x		x		
<i>zole</i> I stem 'to go'	x	x	x	x	
<i>CCaCa</i> present				x	x
<i>did-</i> possessive	x	x			
<i>rux-</i> reflexive	x	x			

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. CONSONANTS

1.1.1. Chart

The consonants of Bohtan are typical of NENA dialects:

labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	glottal	
<i>p f</i>	<i>t s</i>	<i>š č</i>	<i>k x</i>	<i>q</i>		voiceless
<i>b</i>	<i>d z</i>	<i>ž j</i>	<i>g ğ</i>	<i>g</i>		voiced
	<i>t̥ s̥</i>					emphatic
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					nasal
	<i>l r</i>				<i>h</i>	liquid
<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>			glide

1.1.2. Realization

The voiceless plain stops /p/, /t/, and /k/ are all normally aspirated when they precede a vowel: [pʰ], [tʰ], [kʰ]. Some speakers pronounce /k/ consistently as a plain stop, without any palatalization, except where it precedes the diphthong /aw/, where it is lightly palatalized: /kawdanne/ [kʰawdanne] ‘mules,’ but /karačuke/ [karatʃuke] ‘gypsies.’ However, for other speakers /k/ varies freely in all environments from [k] through [c] and almost to [tʃ].

A few words borrowed from Kurdish retain an unaspirated *k*: *kura* [kura] ‘blind,’ *karra* [karra] ‘deaf.’ The presence in NENA dialects of some Kurdish words with unaspirated *k* is common and unremarkable, since most NENA speakers have historically also spoken Kurdish. It is, however, surprising that the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated *k* should have persisted in Bohtan, whose speakers have long been out of contact with Kurdish.

/g/ is normally pronounced as an unpalatalized [g], except before the diphthong /aw/ where it is lightly palatalized: /gawra/ [gʷawra] ‘man, husband,’ but /gumota/ [gumota] ‘stables.’ However, those speakers whose /k/ varies from [k] through [c] almost to [tʃ] similarly vary /g/ from [g] through [j] almost to [ç] in all environments.

/w/ is normally the bilabial proximate [w], however all speakers sometimes substitute [v], perhaps under the influence of Russian.

/r/ is a flap [ɾ]. Geminated /rr/ is pronounced as a rolled [r]. In at least one borrowed word, farrokšu ‘rag,’ geminated /rr/ represents borrowed Kurdish \bar{r} , a separate phoneme in that language.

1.2. BGDKPT

1.2.1. Regular

In earlier stages of Aramaic the six consonants /bgdkpt/ had two realizations, plosive initially and after a consonant, and fricative when they followed a vowel. Already in Middle Aramaic dialects this straightforward rule had begun to break down, so that in some cases stops follow vowels and fricatives follow consonants. In NENA dialects like Bohtan little remains of the old alternations for two reasons: loss of fricative alternants and leveling across paradigms. In half of the bgdkpt consonants the fricative alternants have simply merged back into the stops, eliminating the alternations: the regular developments of \underline{d} , \underline{p} , and \underline{t} are *d*, *p*, and *t*. Even in the remaining cases, where the stop and fricative variants have remained distinct, the alternations have all but disappeared. Where verbs once had consonants that showed stop / fricative alternations, Bohtan and other NENA dialects have selected one alternant and generalized it, regardless of whether it follows a vowel. For example, the verb ‘to do’ had a *b*/ \underline{b} alternation in Syriac: $\underline{b}ad$ ‘he did’ *neʿbed* ‘he does.’ In Bohtan, all forms of this verb have *w*, the descendant of earlier \underline{b} , even when it is not preceded by a vowel: *yowəd* ‘he does,’ *wädle* ‘he did.’

The regular developments of the earlier stop and fricative alternants of the bgdkpt letters are as follows:

Middle Aramaic	Bohtan	Example
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bata</i> ‘house’
\underline{b}	<i>w</i>	<i>yowəd</i> ‘he does’
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gälla</i> ‘grass’

\bar{g}	∅	<i>šəšle</i> ‘he shook’ < *šʾəšle < *šʿəšle < *šgəšle
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dəmma</i> ‘blood’
\underline{d}	<i>d</i>	<i>ida</i> ‘hand’
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kalba</i> ‘dog’
\underline{k}	<i>x</i>	<i>yoxəl</i> ‘he eats’
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ploṭa</i> ‘to go out’
\bar{p}	<i>p</i>	<i>yoləp</i> ‘he learns’
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tawra</i> ‘bull’
\underline{t}	<i>t</i>	<i>yote</i> ‘he comes’

1.2.2. Occasional *f*

/f/ is comparatively rare, but is found in some words of foreign origin: *froka* ‘to rub’ < Arabic *faraka*, *kēf* ‘pleasure’ < Kurdish *k’êf*, *hafsora* ‘bridle’ < Kurdish *hevsar*, and *farrokšu* ‘rag’ whose first element is Kurdish *pērök* ‘rag.’ Note that in the latter two of these words the */f/* does not correspond to */f/* in the original. In addition, one example is attested of *f* in an inherited Aramaic word: *tofəq*, the J stem masculine singular of *ṭpoqa* ‘to meet.’

1.2.3. Borrowed and Native *č*

Most instances of *č* are borrowed from Kurdish:

<i>čappa</i>	‘left’
<i>čatun</i>	‘difficult’
<i>bewač</i>	‘weak’
<i>čəlme</i>	‘snot’

A few cases, however, are developments in native Aramaic words:

<i>əčča</i>	‘nine’
<i>nčoqa</i>	‘to kiss’
<i>nčoya</i>	‘to forget’
<i>mročə</i>	‘to press’

əčča is widespread in NENA. It developed from Middle Aramaic *tšə*‘ through prothesis, reinterpretation of the cluster *tš* as a single segment *č*, and gemination.

The *nč* cluster in *nčoqa* and *nčoya* developed from *nš* through introduction of a *t* between the *n* and *š*. This is due to the latter part of the *n* becoming devoiced in anticipation of the voiceless *š*.

The *č* of *mročā* is an idiosyncratic development of *s*: the Syriac antecedent is *mrās* ‘to crush.’

1.2.4 Reflexes of *ġ*, *ħ*, *ʿ*, and *ʾ*

In Bohtan, Middle Aramaic *ħ* has become *x*, while *ġ*, *ʿ* and *ʾ* have all disappeared.

Bohtan		Syriac	
<i>xolu</i>	‘he milks’	<i>ħāleb</i>	‘to milk (active participle)’
<i>axni/axnən</i>	‘we’	<i>ħnan</i>	‘we’
<i>dämme</i>	‘tears’	<i>demʿē</i>	‘tears’
<i>ana</i>	‘eye’	<i>ʿaynā</i>	‘eye’
<i>beta</i>	‘egg’	<i>bēʿtā</i>	‘egg’
<i>šrowa</i>	‘electricity’	<i>šrāġa</i>	‘lamp’

The change of *ħ* to *x* is the norm in NENA, but in this development Bohtan differs from its close relatives Hertevin and Umra, where Middle Aramaic *ħ* and *x* have merged into *ħ*.

Bohtan	Hertevin	
<i>maxrəp</i>	<i>maħrəp</i>	‘he sharpens’

Loss of *ġ*, *ʿ*, and *ʾ* is also found in many other NENA dialects, including Jilu. However, in Hertevin and some other dialects the three have been retained in some cases as *ʾ*. Comparative evidence suggests that *ġ* passed through a stage as *ʿ* before becoming *ʾ* (Mutzafi 2004b: 39).

Bohtan	Hertevin	Syriac	
<i>dəle</i>	<i>deʾle</i>	<i>īdāʿ</i>	‘he knew’
<i>qoṭə</i>	<i>qateʾ</i>	<i>qāṭa ʿ</i>	‘he cuts’
<i>šəšle</i>	<i>šʾešle</i>	<i>šġaš</i>	‘he shook’

1.3. VOWELS

1.3.1. Nature of long / short alternation

In NENA dialects there are separate systems of long and short vowels. In general, short vowels appear in closed syllables, those which end in a consonant, and long vowels appear in open syllables, those which end with the vowel. In some dialects, such as Jilu, this distinction applies fairly consistently, and the number of exceptions is small. In other dialects, such as Bohtan, while the rule applies in most cases, the exceptions are frequent and

important. In Bohtan there are both long vowels in closed syllables and short vowels in open syllables:

<i>īmal</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>xīl</i>	‘he has eaten’
<i>mālāl</i>	‘upstairs’
<i>lašona</i>	‘tongue’

Long vowels appear in closed syllables partly as a result of borrowing. For example, *šōš* ‘dazzled,’ *gēž* ‘dizzy,’ *kēf* ‘pleasure,’ and *čūl* ‘desert’ are words borrowed from Kurdish which retain their long vowels though the syllable is closed. However, there are also a number of native words which have long vowels in closed syllables.

An important case is the Pf stem of Class I verbs, which has a long *ī* throughout. In all the forms of the perfect tense except the 3ms., the Pf stem is followed by a suffix which opens the stem syllable, so that a long vowel is normal. However, the stem vowel is long even in the 3ms., where the stem syllable is closed because there is no suffix:

<i>ptīxən</i>	‘I have opened’
<i>ptīxa</i>	‘she has opened’
<i>ptīx</i>	‘he has opened’

It is also notable that the syllable *īt* has retained a long *ī* in two inherited words: *īt* ‘there is’ and in *īmal* ‘yesterday.’

Short vowels appear in open syllables both in borrowed and inherited words:

<i>fālfāla</i>	‘pepper’	
<i>zərar</i>	‘harm’	< Kurdish <i>zirar</i>

Short vowels in open syllables may occur in inherited words due to the loss of a consonant which earlier closed the syllable. This may be an *ʿ* which became *ʾ* and then was lost altogether:

<i>ṭāna</i>	‘she carries, takes’	< <i>ṭaʿna*</i> < <i>ṭaʿna*</i>
<i>tāla</i>	‘fox’	< <i>taʿla*</i> < <i>ṭaʿla*</i>
<i>qəṭa</i>	‘piece’	< <i>qəṭʿa*</i> < <i>qəṭʿa*</i>
<i>dəle</i>	‘he knew’	< <i>dəʿle*</i> < <i>dəʿle*</i>

Another common case is the variable simplification of a geminate cluster. Geminate clusters are often simplified in speech, but the preceding vowel remains short:

<i>dər̄ra</i> / <i>dəra</i>	‘she returned’
<i>laššona</i> / <i>lašona</i>	‘tongue, language’

A third cause is paradigm coherence. Specifically, in Class III verbs the base form, the 3ms., of both the J and Pf stems has two short vowels in closed syllables:

maxrəp 'he sharpens'
muxrəp 'he has sharpened'

When a suffix that begins with a vowel is added to these forms, the second vowel of the stem is left in an open syllable. A similar situation occurs in the J stem of Class I verbs, and in this case the short vowel is elided:

potəx 'he opens'
patxət 'you open'

However, in a Class III verb, elision of the vowel would result in a sequence of three consonants: *maxrəp* + *ət* > **maxrpət*. This is not permitted because syllables can end only in a vowel or a single consonant, and syllable-initial clusters are limited to two consonants and are permitted only at the beginning of a word. One solution to this problem would be to insert an epenthetic vowel between the first and second consonants of the cluster: *maxrəp* + *ət* > **maxrpət* > **maxərpət*. Another solution would be not to elide the vowel at all, but to create an environment where it can remain by geminating the final consonant of the stem, closing the syllable: *maxrəp* + *ət* > **maxrəppət*. However, Bohtan follows neither of these approaches, but simply allows the short vowel to remain in an open syllable: *maxrəp* + *ət* > *maxrəpət*.

1.3.2. Long vowels

The long vowels are:

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>a</i>	

/i/	[i]
/e/	[e]
/a/	[æ] (stressed), [a] (unstressed)
/o/	[o]
/u/	[u] / [y]

The alternation between stressed and unstressed long /a/ is a striking feature of the vowel system. Because stress shifts with the addition of a clitic, this alternation is very frequent and prominent:

<i>oġa</i>	[^l o:ɣa]	‘tribal leader’
<i>oġa-wa</i>	[o'ɣæ:wa]	‘tribal leader’ + ‘was’

/u/ is most often realized as [u], but has an alternant [y]. This is most frequent after *y*, *s*, *z*, *t*, *ʃ*, and *č*.

<i>ruɣaw</i>	[ruɣaw]	‘herself’
<i>susa</i>	[sysa]	‘horse’
<i>háɣuna</i>	[^l haiɣna]	‘morning’

Some speakers pronounce most tokens of /u/, regardless of environment, as [y].

In the perfect of the verb ‘to be’ *e* sometimes coalesces with the preceding *w*, becoming [ø]: *hwele* [høle] ‘he/it became, began.’

1.3.3. Short Vowels

The short vowels are:

ə	u
a	

/ə/	[ɪ] / [ə] / [a] / [ʌ]
/a/	[a]
/u/	[ʊ] / [y]

The short vowel represented here as /ə/ has four distinct realizations: [ɪ], [ə], [a], and [ʌ].

a) Realizations of /ə/ as [ɪ] are found in certain specific cases:

1) Often, but not uniformly, in the A-set pronominal suffixes

/patxət/	[patxɪt]	‘you open’
/patxən/	[patxɪn]	‘I open’
/patxəx/	[patxɪx]	‘we open’

2) Some words where it precedes /t/ or /n/:

/axnən/	[axnɪn]	‘we’
/əčča/	[ɪttʃa]	‘she has come’

3) The marker of possession and its derivatives:

/ətle/ [ɪtle] ‘he has’
 /lətwoli/ [ˈɪltwoli] ‘I didn’t have’

4) Sporadically, in the *idafa* ending of nouns, following a high front vowel:

/reʃəd anəd mowe/ [reʃɪd anad mowe]
 ‘the mouth of the well (lit. the head of the well of water)’

b) /ə/ is realized as [ə] in the third person masculine singular possessive pronominal suffix:

/batəw/ [batəv] ‘his house’

The /w/ of this suffix sometimes coalesces with the preceding vowel, producing a rounded front vowel [ø]:

/abrəw/ [abrø] ‘his son’

c) In labial environments, /ə/ is sometimes realized as [ʌ]:

/qowəm/ [qowʌm] ‘he stands.’

d) In all remaining cases, /ə/ in Bohtan is pronounced as a low front vowel, practically identical with short /a/. This low realization of /ə/ is a very distinctive feature of the dialect, and is one of the features that first strikes the ear of one who is familiar with other forms of NENA. These realizations of /ə/ are entirely found within the acoustic space occupied by /a/, and most speakers at least do not seem to perceive them as distinct phonemes.

Short /u/, like long /u/, is often unrounded:

/susta/ [systa] ‘mare’

There are a few instances of [o] and [ɛ] in borrowed words:

/dorma/ [dorma] ‘tree’
 /mež/ [mɛʒ] ‘fog’

1.3.4. Vowel Minimal Pairs

1.3.4.1. Long Vowels

i : e *zili* ‘they went’
 zile ‘he went’

<i>i : o</i>	<i>brita</i> <i>brota</i>	‘world, creation’ ‘daughter, girl’
<i>i : u</i>	<i>izi</i> <i>izu</i>	‘they have gone’ ‘he has gone’
<i>i : a</i>	<i>zila</i> <i>zili</i>	‘she went’ ‘they went’
<i>e : o</i>	<i>pola</i> <i>pela</i>	‘servant’ ‘she baked’
<i>e : u</i>	<i>mute</i> <i>mete</i>	‘he has brought’ ‘he brings’
<i>e : a</i>	<i>zile</i> <i>zila</i>	‘he went’ ‘she went’
<i>o : u</i>	<i>toma</i> <i>tuma</i>	‘there’ ‘garlic’
<i>o : a</i>	<i>ona</i> <i>ana</i>	‘I’ ‘spring (of water)’
<i>u : a</i>	<i>izu</i> <i>iza</i>	‘he has gone’ ‘she has gone’

1.3.4.2. Short Vowels

<i>ə : u</i>	<i>ləšle</i> <i>lušle</i>	‘he kneaded it’ ‘knead it’
<i>ə : a</i>	<i>patxən</i> <i>patxan</i>	‘I (m.) open’ ‘I (f.) open’
<i>u : a</i>	<i>qurša</i> <i>qarša</i>	‘cold’ ‘she catches cold’

1.3.5. Diphthongs

The diphthongs are:

<i>ay</i>	[a _i]
<i>aw</i>	[a _u]
<i>əw</i>	[ə _u]
<i>oy</i>	[o _i]

/ay/ and */aw/* are frequently reduced to */e/* and */o/*, but in careful speech they are distinguished:

<i>/qaymi/</i>	[qai _i mi] ~ [qemi]	‘they get up’
<i>/yawdət/</i>	[i _a u _d It] ~ [i _o dIt]	‘you (ms.) do.’

The diphthong */oy/* is unusual in NENA dialects and is present in Boh-tan because of the change of *a* to *o*⁶:

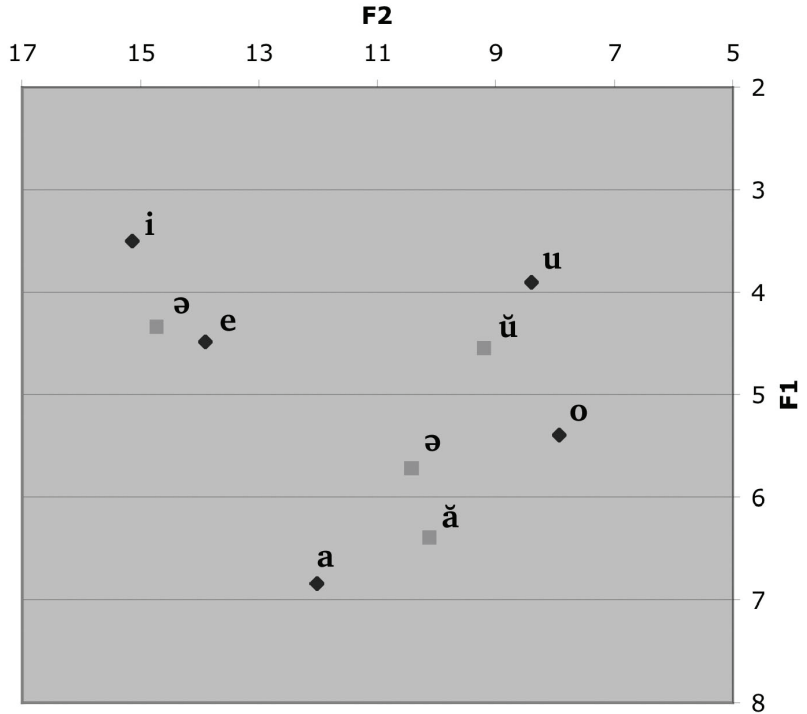
Bohtan	Hertevin	
<i>moy</i>	<i>mahi</i>	‘what’

As noted above in §1.3.3., */əw/* sometimes collapses into a rounded high front vowel [ø]:

<i>/abrəw/</i>	[abrø]	‘his son’
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⁶ See §2.5.1 below.

1.3 6. Acoustic Analysis of Vowels



The chart above shows the vowels of the Bohtan dialect in terms of the first two formants. The x-axis shows the second formant, and the y-axis shows the first formant. The scales are in Barks, a unit of acoustic distance. Vowels that are separated by less than one bark are perceived as identical. The diamonds represent the long vowels, and the squares the short ones.

Note the two separate *ə* vowels, one higher and more forward than *e*, the other higher and more forward than *ǎ*. The third *ə*, which appears only in the pronominal suffix *-əw*, is omitted for clarity. In fact, the average positions of *ǎ* and the lower *ə* are within one bark of each other, meaning that they are perceived as identical.

1.3.7. Problem of Overlap

It is not entirely clear whether the lower variant of ə and the short *a* should be regarded as separate phonemes. Their average positions are practically identical, and since they are within one bark of each other, they are considered to be too close to be distinguished. Nevertheless, after much vacillation, as can be noted in comparing the present study with Fox (2002) and Fox (2007), I have decided to transcribe historical ə and short *a* separately. A disadvantage of this approach is that if the transcriptions are consulted in isolation from the discussion of the realization of the vowels in §1.3.3, they may give a misleading impression of the pronunciation of ə. Still, it seems worthwhile to distinguish ə from *a* for several reasons:

1) At least one speaker seems to distinguish short *a* and ə in citation forms, clearly pronouncing *čamma* ‘river’ with a lower more back vowel than *kamma* ‘mouth.’⁷

2) There is some variation in the distribution of the two allophones of ə, with some words that usually have the lower allophone sometimes being heard with the higher allophone, which is clearly different from short *a*.

3) Retaining the separate transcription allows us to distinguish their historical origins and makes it easier to compare Bohtan with other NENA dialects.

1.4. STRESS

1.4.1. General Remarks

Polysyllabic words are generally stressed on the penultimate syllable.

<i>nóša</i>	‘man’
<i>báxta</i>	‘woman’
<i>tíqa</i>	‘old’
<i>lóla</i>	‘dumb (mute)’
<i>márre</i>	‘he said’
<i>nčíqi</i>	‘they have kissed’
<i>máššud</i>	‘together’

⁷ When Fox (2007) was written I transcribed *kamma* phonetically as [čəmma], but I have since realized that the farthest forward variant of *k* is not [tʃ], but [c].

There are a few exceptions to the rule of penultimate stress.

<i>ənsón</i>	‘human being’
<i>ágdode</i>	‘each other’

Henceforth, where stress is penultimate, it will be left unmarked. Stress on other syllables will be indicated with an acute accent.

1.4.2. Verbal Constructions

Stress in verbal constructions generally conforms to the rule of penultimate stress, but there are some important constraints that result in stresses falling three and more syllables from the end of the word.

The L-set suffixes, which mark both subject and object on Preterite verbs, never take the stress, even when their vowel is in penultimate position:

<i>štele</i>	‘he drank’
<i>štélexun</i> (*šteléxun)	‘you (pl.) drank’
<i>štále-le</i> (*štalé-le)	‘he drank it (m.)’

The suffix *-wa/-wo-*, which marks the past and pluperfect tenses, never takes the stress:

<i>ṭowən</i>	‘he carries’
<i>ṭowánwa</i>	‘he would take’
<i>ṭowánwo-le</i>	‘he would take it’

1.4.3. Nouns with Suffixes

When a possessive or plural suffix causes one or more syllables to be added to a noun, the stress shifts to stay on the new penultimate syllable:

<i>bata</i>	‘house’
<i>batwota</i>	‘houses’
<i>qdola</i>	‘neck’
<i>qdaleni</i>	‘our necks’

When a clitic, such as *-se* ‘also, the same,’ the copula, or the postposition *-ləl* ‘in,’ is added to a noun, the clitic syllable is taken into account in determining the new penultimate syllable:

<i>xatwota</i>	‘sisters’
<i>xatwoti</i>	‘my sisters’
<i>xatwotí-se</i>	‘my sisters, too’
<i>tura</i>	‘mountain’

<i>turone</i>	‘mountains’
<i>turoné-ləl</i>	‘in the mountains’
<i>sowi šəmməw zarú-wa</i>	‘my grandfather’s name was Zaru’
<i>tlibí-le</i>	‘he is my betrothed’

1.5. EMPHASIS

Emphasis is not as prominent a feature of Bohtan as it is in some other NENA dialects. It is heard on the two emphatic consonants themselves, and sometimes influences the following vowel, but it does not spread through the whole word. Its impact even on neighboring vowels is somewhat limited. For example, the word *šada* ‘hunting’ is pronounced [ʃæ:da] with the same high front [æ] that is heard in *bata* [bæ:ta] ‘house.’

Emphatic allomorphs of /l/ and /d/ are found in certain words:

<i>lola</i>	[lol ^ʕ a]	‘deaf’
<i>malya</i>	[mal ^ʕ ya]	‘full’
<i>dyora</i>	[d ^ʕ yora]	‘return’

1.6. HISTORICAL CHANGES

1.6.1. *a* > *o*

Long /a/ in penultimate position has become /o/. This is one of the most striking features of Bohtan, and one which differentiates it from all other NENA dialects. Long /a/ in closely related Hertevin is distinguished by a low back articulation, and the Bohtan change can be seen as a continuation of this change. In Bohtan the vowel, which had already moved from low central to low back, has continued around the periphery of the vowel space, rising to mid back /o/. The change takes place only in open syllables, and therefore gives rise to a frequent alternation of /a/ – /o/ in verbs and adjectives where the addition of an inflectional suffix causes a syllable to become closed:

<i>potəx</i>	‘he opens’
<i>patxa</i>	‘she opens’
<i>roma</i>	‘high (ms.)’
<i>ramta</i>	‘high (fs.)’
<i>rome</i>	‘high (pl.)’

The change is essentially restricted to the penultimate syllable, unlike the similar change in Ṭuroyo, another modern Aramaic dialect outside the NENA group, where /a/ has become /o/ in the final syllable as well. Here is the adjective ‘old’ in the masculine singular as it is found in three modern dialects, Jilu, Bohtan, and Ṭuroyo:

Jilu	Bohtan	Ṭuroyo
<i>sawa</i>	<i>sowa</i>	<i>sowo</i>

In Jilu, as in all other NENA dialects, there has been no change of /a/ to /o/. In Bohtan, the change has been restricted to the penultimate syllable. In Ṭuroyo, the change has affected not only the penultimate, but also the final syllable.

Where the change of *a* -> *o* has occurred in a verb stem, the *o* is retained even when suffixes are added so that the vowel is no longer stressed and is no longer in penultimate position:

<i>potax</i>	‘he opens’
<i>potaxwa</i>	‘he opened’
<i>potáxwo-le</i>	‘he opened it’ (<i>*patáxwo-le</i>)

Notice also that the affix *-wa* becomes *-wo-* in penultimate position, even though it is not stressed. Another example which shows this is the paradigm of *látwa* ‘there was not,’ which takes suffixes to express lack of possession in the past:

<i>látwa</i>	‘there was not’
<i>látwole</i>	‘he didn’t have’
<i>látwalahan</i>	‘they didn’t have’

Another interesting example is furnished by the noun *mota* (< *maṭa*) ‘village,’ which takes the common plural suffix *-wota* (< *waṭa*):

<i>mota</i>	‘village’
<i>matwota</i>	‘villages’
<i>matwateni</i>	‘our villages’

In the plural, *matwota*, the stem vowel of the noun is closed and not penultimate, so it has remained *a*, while the vowel of the plural suffix is open and penultimate, so it has become *o*. When the bisyllabic possessive suffix *-eni* is added to the plural, the vowel of the plural suffix is no longer penultimate, and it reverts to *a*.

1.6.2. *ay* > *a*

The diphthong *ay* has become *a* in Bohtan, except before *a*, *i*, and *e*, where it is retained.⁸

<i>bata</i>	(< <i>bayta</i>)	‘house’
<i>ana</i>	(< ‘ <i>ayna</i>)	‘well’
<i>layle</i>		‘night’

This leads to alternations in the deictic copula and in the final vowel of words to which the clitic copula is added:

<i>baté-le</i>	(< <i>bata</i> + <i>ile</i>)	‘he is (at) home’
<i>batá-la</i>	(< <i>bata</i> + <i>ila</i>)	‘she is (at) home’
<i>hawlele</i>	(< <i>hawla</i> + <i>ile</i>)	‘he is’
<i>hawlala</i>	(< <i>hawla</i> + <i>ila</i>)	‘she is’

The change of *ay* to *a* also gives rise to alternations in the J stem of middle-weak verbs, where it interacts with two other changes, *a* > *o* (§1.6.1), and *owə* / *oyə* (§1.7.1):

<i>qaymən</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘I get up (m.)’
<i>qaman</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘I get up (f.)’
<i>qaymət</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘you get up (m.)’
<i>qamat</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘you get up (f.)’
<i>qoyəm</i> / <i>qowəm</i>	(<i>a</i> > <i>o</i>)	‘he gets up’
<i>qama</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘she gets up’
<i>qayməx</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘we get up’
<i>qaymetun</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘you get up (pl.)’
<i>qaymi</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘they get up’

The possessive suffixes and the plural ending *-e* can also cause alternations:

<i>bata</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘house’
<i>bayti</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘my house’
<i>baytəw</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘his house’
<i>bataw</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘her house’
<i>awa</i>	(<i>ay</i> > <i>a</i>)	‘cloud’
<i>aywe</i>	(<i>ay</i> retained)	‘clouds’

⁸ Change of *ay* > *a* is attested also in some Cudi dialects, such as Harbole, but is not blocked by a following high vowel (Geoffrey Khan, personal communication).

a resulting from *ay* could potentially merge with inherited *a* in non-penultimate open syllables. In open penultimate syllables *a* has become *o*, however there are no actual cases of words which differ only in having pre-penultimate *a* < *ay* versus pre-penultimate *a* < *a*. However, there is a common case of final *a* < *ay* contrasting with final *a* < *a*: the L set pronominal endings have 3 p. pl. *-la* < *-lay* and 3fs. *-la* < *-la*:

<i>ptaxla</i>	‘she opened’
<i>ptaxla</i>	‘they opened’

Some speakers explicitly deny that there is any difference between the two, but others pronounce the *a* < *ay* perceptibly more forward.

1.7. VARIABILITY

1.7.1. *oyV* / *owV* / *ohV*

The sequence *oyV* is sometimes realized as *owV*:

<i>qoyəm</i> / <i>qowəm</i>	‘he gets up’
<i>xoyər</i> / <i>xowər</i>	‘he looks’
<i>moye</i> / <i>moye</i>	‘water’ ⁹
<i>oyət</i> / <i>owət</i>	‘you (ms.)’

Some speakers sometimes realize *oyV* as *ohV*:

<i>moyən</i> / <i>mohən</i>	‘what’
<i>oyət</i> / <i>ohət</i>	‘you (ms.)’

1.7.2. The Alternation *k* / *c*

As noted above in §1.1.2, the pronunciation of *k* varies from speaker to speaker. For some speakers, *k* is almost always [k], while for others, it varies from [k] through [kʲ] to [c], and almost to [tʃ].

1.7.3. The Alternation *u* / *ü*

As noted above in §1.3.2 and §1.3.3, long and short /*u*/ are most often realized as [u] and [ʊ], respectively, but both alternate with [y]. The front alternant is most frequent after the coronals *y*, *s*, *z*, *t*, *ʧ*, and *č*.

⁹ cf. Hertevin *maye* (Jastrow 1988: 193).

<i>ruxaw</i>	[ruxaw]	‘herself’
<i>susa</i>	[sysa]	‘horse’
<i>háyuna</i>	[‘haiyna]	‘morning’

Some speakers pronounce most tokens of /u/, regardless of environment, as [y].

1.7.4. The Alternation *i* / *ü*

There is sporadic alternation between [i] and [y]. In some cases this is assimilation of *i* to a following *ü*:

<i>p-tüqüta</i> (< <i>p-tiqüta</i>)	‘in the old days’
<i>üzü</i> (< <i>izü</i>)	‘he has gone’

In other cases the change from *i* to *ü*, or *ü* to *i* appears unmotivated:

<i>sadita</i> / <i>sadüta</i>	‘pillow’
<i>yozi</i> / <i>yozi</i>	‘he goes’

1.8. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

As is typical for NENA dialects, Bohtan limits clusters to two consonants, and allows even these only in initial position. Outside of initial position all sequences of two consonants are broken by a syllable boundary. There are no consonant clusters in final position.

Consonant clusters in initial position are particularly common because several of the stems of sound Class I verbs start with clusters:

<i>ploxá</i>	‘to work’
<i>plix</i>	‘he has worked’
<i>plaxle</i>	‘he worked’
<i>plux</i>	‘work!’

The following initial clusters are attested in Bohtan:

<i>br</i>	<i>brita</i>	‘the world’
<i>čl</i>	<i>čloka</i>	‘to tear’
<i>dr</i>	<i>droya</i>	‘to put’
<i>dw</i>	<i>dwore</i>	‘cattle’
<i>gr</i>	<i>groya</i>	‘to shave’
<i>gw</i>	<i>gwora</i>	‘to get married’
<i>gz</i>	<i>gzoda</i>	‘to cut’
<i>jb</i>	<i>jbowa</i>	‘answer’
<i>jw</i>	<i>jwanqa</i>	‘young man’

<i>jm</i>	<i>jmoda</i>	‘to catch cold’
<i>kl</i>	<i>kloya</i>	‘to stand’
<i>km</i>	<i>kma</i>	‘how much’
<i>kn</i>	<i>knoša</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>kp</i>	<i>kpina</i>	‘hungry’
<i>kr</i>	<i>kroba</i>	‘to get angry’
<i>kt</i>	<i>ktowa</i>	‘to write’
<i>kx</i>	<i>kxoka</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>lh</i>	<i>lhoya</i>	‘to burn’
<i>lṭ</i>	<i>lṭowa</i>	‘to be silent’
<i>mb</i>	<i>mbola</i>	‘to take’
<i>mh</i>	<i>m-hawdax</i>	‘therefore’
<i>mp</i>	<i>mpola</i>	‘to fall’
<i>mr</i>	<i>mročā</i>	‘to press’
<i>ms</i>	<i>msoya</i>	‘to wash (tr.)’
<i>mš</i>	<i>mšixoya</i>	‘christian’
<i>mṭ</i>	<i>mṭoya</i>	‘to arrive’
<i>mx</i>	<i>mxoya</i>	‘to hit’
<i>my</i>	<i>myota</i>	‘to die’
<i>nč</i>	<i>nčoqa</i>	‘to kiss’
<i>nw</i>	<i>nwoxa</i>	‘to bark’
<i>nx</i>	<i>nxopa</i>	‘to be ashamed’
<i>ṭl</i>	<i>ṭloqa</i>	‘to lose’
<i>ṭr</i>	<i>ṭroya</i>	‘to let’
<i>ṭx</i>	<i>ṭxona</i>	‘to grind’
<i>pš</i>	<i>pšola</i>	‘to cook’
<i>pl</i>	<i>ploṭa</i>	‘to go out’
<i>pr</i>	<i>proxa</i>	‘to fly’
<i>pt</i>	<i>ptola</i>	‘to go around’
<i>py</i>	<i>pyoša</i>	‘to become’
<i>qd</i>	<i>qdola</i>	‘neck’
<i>qm</i>	<i>qmoya</i>	‘first’
<i>qṭ</i>	<i>qṭola</i>	‘to kill’
<i>qr</i>	<i>qropa</i>	‘to crack’
<i>sk</i>	<i>skina</i>	‘knife’
<i>sp</i>	<i>spiqa</i>	‘empty’
<i>sr</i>	<i>sroqa</i>	‘to burn’
<i>sw</i>	<i>swiya</i>	‘satisfied’
<i>sx</i>	<i>sxoya</i>	‘to swim’
<i>šl</i>	<i>šloxa</i>	‘to remove clothing’

<i>šm</i>	<i>šmoya</i>	‘to hear’
<i>šr</i>	<i>šrowa</i>	‘electricity’
<i>št</i>	<i>štoya</i>	‘to drink’
<i>šw</i>	<i>šwora</i>	‘to jump’
<i>tm</i>	<i>tmonasar</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>tr</i>	<i>trušoba</i>	‘monday’
<i>tl</i>	<i>tlōqa</i>	‘to lose’
<i>tr</i>	<i>trōya</i>	‘to let’
<i>tx</i>	<i>txona</i>	‘to grind’
<i>xl</i>	<i>xlopa</i>	‘to change’
<i>xm</i>	<i>xmota</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>xp</i>	<i>xpora</i>	‘to dig’
<i>xr</i>	<i>xroya, xrowa</i>	‘last’
<i>zd</i>	<i>zdoya</i>	‘to fear’
<i>zr</i>	<i>zroya</i>	‘to plant’

In two of these cases there has been regressive assimilation of place:

<i>mb</i>	<i>mbola</i>	< <i>nbola</i>	‘to take’
<i>mp</i>	<i>mpola</i>	< <i>npola</i>	‘to fall’

And in three others there has been regressive assimilation of voicing:

<i>kx</i>	<i>kxoka</i>	< <i>gxoka</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>pš</i>	<i>pšola</i>	< <i>bšola</i>	‘to cook’
<i>gz</i>	<i>gzoda</i>	< <i>xzoda</i>	‘to cut’

When an initial cluster consists of *m* or *n* followed by a labial, the *n* or *m* is often lost:

<i>mpalle</i>	~ <i>palle</i>	‘he fell’
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Clusters whose second element is *r* are sometimes broken by *ə*:

<i>grišáwo-le</i>	[gəri'ʃæ:wole]	‘she had pulled it’
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1.9. GEMINATION

The following geminates are attested in Bohtan:

<i>b</i>	<i>labbá</i>	‘heart’
<i>č</i>	<i>ačča</i>	‘she has come’
<i>f</i>	<i>taffak</i>	‘gun’
<i>k</i>	<i>Garakká-lal</i>	‘in the mountains’
<i>l</i>	<i>kulle</i>	‘all of it (m.)’
<i>m</i>	<i>šamma</i>	‘name’

<i>n</i>	<i>hənnə</i>	‘whatchamacallit’
<i>p</i>	<i>čappa</i>	‘left’
<i>q</i>	<i>laqqad</i>	‘cannot’
<i>r</i>	<i>xərre</i>	‘he looked’
<i>ʃ</i>	<i>qəʃʃat</i>	‘story’
<i>š</i>	<i>maššud</i>	‘together’
<i>t</i>	<i>tutte</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>ʈ</i>	<i>aʈʈor</i>	‘so, then’
<i>w</i>	<i>gawwa</i>	‘time’
<i>x</i>	<i>b-axxa</i>	‘here’
<i>z</i>	<i>əzza</i>	‘goat’

Gemination is very common immediately after the stress, and in this position it is usually clearly articulated. For example, *əzza* ‘goat’ is normally pronounced [azza]. However, where geminates occur in other positions, they are usually simplified. Thus, the combination of L-set pronominal endings that indicate a 3pl. subject and first person plural object is *-lan-nan*, as in *šadlan-nan* ‘they took us.’ This is normally pronounced [s^hadlanan], without gemination.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2.1. THE VERB

2.1.1. Historical Origins of the System

The NENA verb system has undergone very substantial changes and has emerged so dramatically transformed, that almost nothing remains of the paradigms so familiar to students of older Semitic languages. The verb has attracted a great deal of attention, both with regard to its current state, and with regard to the causes of its evolution, in which Iranian influence and internal dynamics have both played a part.¹⁰ Without entering into the debate over the causes of this evolution, let us summarize it very briefly.

Biblical Aramaic has a system of verbal paradigms which bears a transparent relation to its closest Semitic relatives, such as Biblical Hebrew and Arabic: each verb has a perfect tense conjugated with suffixes, an imperfect conjugated with prefixes and suffixes, and an imperative with its own set of suffixes, as well as active and passive participles. A fragment of the paradigm of *ktav* ‘to write’ is given below beside the corresponding forms from Arabic and Biblical Hebrew.

		Biblical Aramaic	Biblical Hebrew	Arabic
Perfect	3ms.	<i>ktab</i>	<i>kātab</i>	<i>kataba</i>
	3fs.	<i>kitbat</i>	<i>kātəbā</i>	<i>katabat</i>
Imperfect	3ms.	<i>yiktub</i>	<i>yiktob</i>	<i>yaktubu</i>
	3fs.	<i>tiktub</i>	<i>tiktob</i>	<i>taktubu</i>
Imperative	ms.	<i>kətab</i>	<i>kətab</i>	<i>uktub</i>

¹⁰ An interesting discussion is found in Hopkins (1989).

Active Participle	ms.	<i>kāteḅ</i>	<i>koṭeḅ</i>	<i>kātib</i>
Passive Participle	ms.	<i>kaṭīb</i>	<i>kāṭuḅ</i>	<i>maktūḅ</i>

The Middle Aramaic dialects Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic are close relatives of the unattested ancestor of NENA. They retain the structure of the old verbal system, while at the same time containing the seeds of an entirely new one. In Syriac the Perfect and Imperfect are both still in use, but their place is often taken by participial forms. Alongside the Imperfect, we find the active participle with a clitic pronoun indicating the subject, while beside the Perfect we find the passive participle followed by a preposition and pronominal suffix marking the subject:

<i>kāteḅ-nā</i>	‘I write’
<i>kaṭīb li</i>	‘I have written’

In NENA, including Bohtan, these new forms have entirely replaced the old. The only trace of the Perfect tense is the past marker *-wa*¹¹ which is derived from *hwā* ‘was,’ while the Imperfect is gone without a trace. Only the Imperative has survived and retained its function. The new finite tenses are all formed from the former participles, the Present from the active participle, and the Perfect and Preterite from the passive participle.

<i>katwān</i>	‘I write’
<i>ktiwwān</i>	‘I have written’
<i>ktiili</i>	‘I wrote’

Other important changes have also occurred. In Middle Aramaic and earlier, there are three basic verb classes, each of which has its passive derivative formed by prefixing *et-*:

<i>pʿal</i>	<i>etpʿel</i>
<i>paʿʿel</i>	<i>etpaʿʿal</i>
<i>ʾafʿel</i>	<i>ettafʿal</i>

In NENA the derived passive classes have disappeared, and in most dialects the passive is expressed periphrastically:

<i>pāšle qṭīla</i>	‘he was (lit. became) killed’
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All three active classes survive into NENA, but many verbs have moved from one class to another over time, as will be discussed in §2.1.3.5, below.

¹¹ See §2.1.7.3 below.

The scheme of the remainder of this chapter is as follows: We will begin by introducing the five verb stems. Then we will show how those stems are realized in each of the verb classes and sub-classes. After that, we will introduce the subject markers and show how whole verb forms are created from the stems and affixes.

2.1.2. Stems

Five verbal stems form the basis of the Bohtan conjugations. We will refer to these as

C	Continuous
P	Preterite
Pf	Perfect
J	Jussive
O	Order

The Continuous stem is derived from Middle Aramaic verbal nouns and is used in Bohtan as an infinitive. Unlike many other NENA dialects, Bohtan does not form continuous tenses using this stem. The Preterite is formed from the Middle Aramaic passive participle, and forms the preterite tense. The Perfect is also formed from the Middle Aramaic passive participle, but it is conjugated by means of a different set of affixes and forms the Perfect and Pluperfect tenses. The Jussive is based on the Middle Aramaic active participle, and forms the present, past, and future tenses. The Order stem is the imperative, and it continues, with very little change, the imperative of Middle Aramaic. Our terminology for the stems and affixes of the Bohtan verb is derived ultimately from Hetzron (1969), with adjustments due to the differences between Bohtan and the Urmi dialect that Hetzron described.

2.1.3. Classes

2.1.3.1. Class I

Class I verbs are principally descended from the Middle Aramaic p'al binyan, though they include verbs from other binyanim, as well as borrowings. In the examples below, the Syriac verbs are given in the active participle, and the Bohtan forms are its modern descendent, the J stem.

Syriac	Bohtan	
<i>pāteḥ</i>	<i>potəx</i>	'open'
<i>nāḥēp</i>	<i>noxəp</i>	'be ashamed'

<i>qāṭel</i>	<i>qotəl</i>	‘kill’
<i>tāber</i>	<i>towər</i>	‘break’
<i>ḥāleb</i>	<i>xolu</i>	‘milk’
<i>šātē</i>	<i>šote</i>	‘drink’

The five stems of the sound Class I verb are exemplified by the verb *nxopa* ‘be ashamed’:

C	<i>CCoCa</i>	<i>nxopa</i>
P	<i>CCəC</i>	<i>nxəp</i>
Pf	<i>CCīC</i>	<i>nxīp</i>
J	<i>CoCəC / CaCC-</i>	<i>noxəp</i> (3ms.) <i>naxp-</i> (all other forms)
O	<i>CCuC</i>	<i>nxup</i>

The Bohtan stems are very similar to those of their nearest relative, Hertevin, but differ in several ways. The C stem of Bohtan has undergone the regular change of penultimate *a* to *o*, but Hertevin Class I verbs are like other NENA dialects in having a C stem *CCaCa*.¹² Again, the 3ms. of the J stem of Bohtan has undergone the change *a* > *o*, but Hertevin retains the normal NENA form *CaCeC*.¹³ In the remaining forms of the J stem there is no vowel between the second and third radicals, so the only stem syllable is closed, and the vowel *a* is unchanged. The stems of the Perfect and Preterite tenses in Hertevin both follow the regular rule that *i* > *e* in a closed syllable,¹⁴ so there is no reason to separate them. However, in Bohtan the two behave differently and must be analyzed as separate stems. Every form in the Bohtan perfect paradigm, even the one (the 3ms.) in which the stem syllable is closed, has a long vowel *ī*. However in the Preterite every form in the paradigm has a closed stem syllable, and the stem vowel is short throughout.

	Hertevin	Bohtan	
Perfect	<i>dmeḥ(ḥek)</i>	<i>dmīx</i>	3ms.
	<i>dmīḥen</i>	<i>dmīxən</i>	1ms.
Preterite	<i>dmeḥle</i>	<i>dməxle</i>	3ms.

¹² Jastrow (1988: 79).

¹³ Jastrow (1988: 36).

¹⁴ Jastrow (1988) uses *e* for the equivalent of the Bohtan short vowel which we write with *ə*.

Class I verbs, like the *pə'al* verbs from which they are descended, can be intransitive:

<i>ploṭa</i>	'to go out'
<i>pyoša</i>	'to remain, become'
<i>proxa</i>	'to fly'

or transitive:

<i>qtoya</i>	'to cut, slaughter'
<i>šloxa</i>	'to take off (clothing), to skin'
<i>msoya</i>	'to wash'

2.1.3.2. Class II

Class II verbs are relatively rare in Bohtan, but those that do occur are principally descended from the Middle Aramaic *pa^cel* binyan, though they include verbs from the *p'al* binyan, as well as borrowings. The attested Class II verbs are listed below, along with their meaning and the binyan of the corresponding Middle Aramaic verb or the source of the borrowing.

<i>gabuye</i>	'to choose'	<i>pa^cel</i>
<i>daruše</i>	'to begin (trans.)'	<i>pə'al</i> (Syriac <i>draš</i> 'to tread, prepare')
<i>zabune</i>	'to sell'	<i>pa^cel</i>
<i>ṭawule</i>	'to play (trans.)'	<i>pa^cel</i> (JBA <i>ṭll</i> 'to play' ¹⁵)
<i>ṭašuyē</i>	'to hide (trans.)'	<i>pa^cel</i>
<i>mašuyē</i>	'to wash'	<i>pə'al</i> ¹⁶
<i>mšalwe</i>	'to pray'	<i>pa^cel</i> (Syriac <i>šali</i> 'to pray')
<i>nabule</i>	'to take'	<i>pa^cel</i> (Syriac <i>yabbel</i> 'to bring')
<i>sakure</i>	'to lose'	unknown origin
<i>faxule</i>	'to pardon'	unknown origin
<i>razule</i>	'to despise'	Arabic <i>raḏila</i>
<i>šadure</i>	'to send'	<i>pa^cel</i>
<i>šaquye</i>	'to drop, to leave'	<i>pə'al</i> (Syriac <i>šbaq</i> 'to leave')
<i>šatune</i>	'to dirty'	denominal from <i>šatona</i> 'dirty'
<i>qabule</i>	'to receive'	<i>pa^cel</i>

The five stems of the sound Class II verb are exemplified by the verb *šadure* 'to send':

¹⁵ Sokoloff (505) See Mutzafi (2006) for this etymology

¹⁶ JBA (Sokoloff 712).

C	<i>CaCuCe</i>	<i>šadure</i>
P	<i>CuCəC</i>	<i>šudər</i> ¹⁷
Pf	<i>CuCəC</i>	<i>šudər</i>
J	<i>CoCəC</i> / <i>CaCC-</i>	<i>šodər</i> (3ms.) <i>šadr-</i> (all other forms)
O	<i>CoCəC</i>	<i>šodər</i>

In Hertevin all the Class II finite verb stems have collapsed into one form: *CāCeC*.¹⁸ Bohtan, however has retained two separate forms, one for the J and O stems, and the other for the P and Pf stems. The J and O stems have the change of penultimate *a* > *o*, but otherwise are similar to the forms found elsewhere in NENA. The P and Pf stems are also typical of NENA, and derive from Middle Aramaic forms found in JBA, but not in Syriac.¹⁹ The *pa^cel* active and passive participles of Middle Aramaic had an *m*-prefix which has survived in some NENA dialects but not in others. Bohtan, like Hertevin has only one verb with the prefix, while the more distantly related Qaraqosh dialect has retained the prefix throughout:

Bohtan	<i>šodər</i>	‘he sends’
	<i>mšola</i>	‘he prays’
Hertevin	<i>šader</i> ²⁰	‘he sends’
	<i>mšale</i>	‘he prays’
Qaraqosh	<i>kə-mxallihə</i> ²¹	‘they wash them’

The attested Class II verbs are transitive. They do not bear any systematic relationship to the Class I or Class III verbs. In Middle Aramaic and earlier, many *pa^cel* and *pə^aal* verbs shared root consonants and were related semantically.²² Only one relic of this relationship persists in Bohtan: Class I

¹⁷ One informant has P and Pf stems with *CoCəC* rather than *CuCəC*, and similarly *moCCəC* rather than *muCCəC* in Class III.

¹⁸ Jastrow (1988: 36). Jastrow does not give a form for the infinitive of Class II verbs.

¹⁹ See Fox (2008) for discussion.

²⁰ Jastrow (1988: 41).

²¹ Khan (2002: 300). The *kə-* prefix indicates the present tense in Qaraqosh, and *-hə* is the 3p pl. object marker.

²² A causative or transitivizing relationship, between ground stem verbs and those with a doubled middle radical, exists, of course, in other Semitic languages, as well. In Biblical Hebrew the corresponding binyanim are the *qal* and *pi^cel* as in *lāmaḏ* ‘to learn’ : *limmed* ‘to teach,’ and in Arabic the first and second stems, as in *darasa* ‘to learn’ : *darrasa* ‘to teach’ bear this relationship to each other.

zwona ‘to buy’: Class II *zabone* ‘to sell’ which is descended from Middle Aramaic forms like Syriac *zban* ‘he bought’: *zabben* ‘he sold.’

2.1.3.3. Class III

Class III verbs are quite common in Bohtan and are principally descended from the Middle Aramaic *af^{el}* binyan. There are a number of Class III verbs in Bohtan that are causatives of Class I verbs, just as the Middle Aramaic *af^{el}* was often the causative of the *pə^{al}*. This relation seems to have remained somewhat productive, because there are Class III verbs with no attested *af^{el}* antecedent, and which therefore evidently have developed more recently. This situation is characteristic of NENA as a whole. Other Class III verbs are causatives derived from nouns or adjectives. A few Class III verbs are listed below, along with their meaning and the corresponding Class I verb, noun, or adjective.

<i>maxuke</i>	‘to make laugh’	<i>kxoka</i>	‘to laugh’
<i>mapluṭe</i>	‘to take out’	<i>ploṭa</i>	‘to go out’
<i>maxule</i>	‘to feed’	<i>ixola</i>	‘to eat, food’
<i>malupe</i>	‘to teach’	<i>ilopa</i>	‘to study’
<i>matune</i>	‘to load’	<i>ṭiyona</i>	‘to pick up’
<i>maqume</i>	‘to raise’	<i>qiyoma</i>	‘to get up’
<i>maqruye</i>	‘to teach’	<i>qroya</i>	‘to read, study’
<i>maḡzuwe</i>	‘to show’	<i>ḡzoya</i>	‘to see’
<i>matuye</i>	‘to bring’	<i>itoya</i>	‘to come’
<i>mattuwe</i>	‘to put’	<i>itowa</i>	‘to sit’
<i>marume</i>	‘to raise’	<i>ryoma</i>	‘to rise’
<i>maxuše</i>	‘to gather (tr.)’	<i>xyoša</i>	‘to gather (intr.)’
<i>maluze</i>	‘to hurry, run’	<i>liza</i>	‘fast’ ²³
<i>mamluxe</i>	‘to salt’	<i>məlxə</i>	‘salt’
<i>maquše</i>	‘to clean’	<i>qiša</i>	‘clean’
<i>marwuxe</i>	‘to widen’	<i>rwixa</i>	‘wide’
<i>maspuqe</i>	‘to empty’	<i>spiqə</i>	‘empty’

Still other Class III verbs are not related to any words in the modern language, though they may be related to Middle Aramaic words.

<i>mašquye</i>	‘to water’	Syriac <i>ašqī</i> ‘to water’
<i>maššuye</i>	‘to close’	Syriac <i>šā</i> ‘to compel, resist’

²³ From Kurdish *lez* ‘fast’ (Chyet 351).

<i>mahune</i>	‘to help’	Syriac <i>ahnī</i> ‘to benefit’ ²⁴
<i>maxkuwe</i>	‘to speak’	Arabic <i>ḥakā</i> ‘to speak’

The five stems of the sound Class III verb are exemplified by the verb *maxrupe* ‘to sharpen’:

C	<i>maCCuCe</i>	<i>maxrupe</i>
P	<i>muCCəC</i>	<i>muxrəp</i>
Pf	<i>muCCəC</i>	<i>muxrəp</i>
J	<i>maCCəC</i>	<i>maxrəp</i>
O	<i>maCCuC</i>	<i>maxrup</i>

In Hertevin the Class III present and perfect verb stems both have the form *CaCCeC*, and the imperative is *CaCCūC*.²⁵ Bohtan, however has retained three separate forms, one for the J stem, one for the O stem, and a third for the P and Pf stems. All the Bohtan stems are similar to those found in many other NENA dialects.

One noteworthy development in NENA,²⁶ including Bohtan, is the spread of the *m-* prefix throughout the Class III paradigm. In Middle Aramaic the *afʿel* active and passive participles both began with an *m-*, and so do their descendents in NENA, the J, P, and Pf stems. However, the Middle Aramaic verbal noun and imperative did not have the *m-* prefix, and consequently the C and O stems that continue them would be expected to lack it. However, the *m-* seems to have spread by analogy from the J, P, and Pf stems to the C and O stems, so that now every form of the Class III verb begins with *m-*.²⁷

2.1.3.4. *Quadriliteral*

There are a few attested quadriliteral verbs in Bohtan, and their descent is various.

Two verbs are straightforward descendents of Middle Aramaic quadrilaterals:

²⁴ cf. Also Ar. *ʿāwana*, Zakho *ʿy-n* ‘to help’ (Sabar 2002: 249).

²⁵ Jastrow (1988: 36). Jastrow does not give a form for the infinitive of Class III verbs.

²⁶ With the exception of Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 86), which does not have the *m-* prefix in the infinitive and imperative.

²⁷ This change is all but universal in NENA dialects, the sole exception being Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 85-86).

<i>šaxlupe</i>	‘to change’	Syriac <i>šaxlep</i> ‘to change’
<i>tartume</i>	‘to grumble’	Syriac <i>ṭarṭem</i> ‘to murmur, grumble’

Two verbs are denominals:

<i>taxmune</i>	‘to think’	Arabic <i>taxmīn</i> ‘a guess’
<i>garwuse</i>	‘to grow up’	<i>grusa</i> ‘robust’

One verb is derived from a Kurdish verb through a series of metatheses:

<i>šantule</i>	‘to plunder’	Kurdish <i>šelandin</i> ‘to strip, plunder’
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Two verbs are of obscure origin:

<i>janjure</i>	‘to suffer’ ²⁸
<i>sasgure</i>	‘to prepare’

Five verbs added an additional root consonant to a Middle Aramaic trilateral verb. In four cases an *r* is infix after the first radical. Each verb has also undergone some other changes as well, so that the connections with the assumed original forms are no longer entirely transparent.

<i>tarkuse</i>	‘to beat’	Syriac <i>tkas</i> ‘to strike’
<i>parpule</i>	‘to beg’	cf. Hebrew <i>pillel</i>
<i>čarpule</i>	‘to wrap, embrace’	JBA <i>k-f-l pə‘al</i> ‘to double’
<i>darqule</i>	‘to trip, fall’	Syriac <i>ettqel</i> , <i>ettaqqal</i> ‘to stumble’

Another verb descends from an Arabic trilateral, and has infix *b*:

<i>jalbuṭe</i>	‘to scratch’	Arabic <i>jalāṭa</i> ‘chafe, abrade’
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In one case an *r* was infix, and this was followed by metathesis:

<i>xarbuše</i>	‘to dispute’	< <i>barxuše</i> ²⁹ < Syriac <i>bhaš</i>
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Three verbs are onomatopoeic:

<i>qašquže</i>	‘to yell’
<i>taqtuqe</i>	‘to knock’
<i>čaxčupe</i>	‘to curse’

²⁸ Possibly from Kurdish *cencer* ‘threshing machine’, Chyet 87) where being threshed is metaphorically suffering.

²⁹ Both metathesized and non-metathesized forms are given for Zakho by Sabar (2002: 115).

It is noteworthy that of the sixteen verbs listed above, six have an *r* as the second radical, and three more have another liquid, *n* or *l*, in this position.

The five stems of the sound Quadriliteral verb are exemplified by the verb *parpule* ‘to beg’:

C	<i>CaCCuCe</i>	<i>parpule</i>
P	<i>CuCCəC</i>	<i>purpəl</i>
Pf	<i>CuCCəC</i>	<i>purpəl</i>
J	<i>CaCCəC</i>	<i>parpəl</i>
O	<i>CaCCuC</i>	<i>parpul</i>

The Quadriliteral verb has exactly the same forms as the Class III, the only difference being that the first consonant is part of the root, rather than the *m*- prefix of Class III.

2.1.3.5. Changes from Inherited Class

The verb classes of NENA largely continue the active binyanim of Middle Aramaic, with Class I corresponding to *pəʿal*, Class II corresponding to *paʿel*, and Class III corresponding to *afʿel*. This simple picture is marred in some dialects by the collapse of some basic categories, while in other dialects there are more limited alterations. In Jewish Azerbaijan the former *paʿel* verbs have merged into Class I. The only remnants of the *paʿel* are infinitives of the form *CaCoCe*, alongside others of the typical Class I form *CCaCa*. However, the two types of infinitives are not distributed according to the original class membership of the verbs. Rather, the *CaCoCe* infinitives are used with sound verbs, while weak verbs have *CCaCa* infinitives.³⁰ Other dialects, such as Umra, have simply collapsed Class II into Class I, without retaining any of the original *paʿel* stem variants.³¹

In Bohtan Class I and Class II both remain, and they have retained their distinct sets of stems, but membership in the two classes is not always determined by the historical origins of verbs. We have already noted in §2.1.3.2 that three attested Class II verbs correspond to Middle Aramaic

³⁰ Garbell (1965: 64).

³¹ Hobrack (2000: 52-53).

pəʿal verbs, rather than *paʿʿel*.³² Conversely, two Middle Aramaic *paʿʿel* verbs appear in Bohtan as Class I:

Bohtan		Syriac	
<i>pšola</i>	‘to cook’	<i>baššel</i>	‘to boil’
<i>mbola</i> ³³	‘to take’	<i>yabbel</i>	‘to bring’

pqora ‘to ask’ probably also belongs in this group. Syriac has both *bqar* ‘to ask’ and *baqqar* ‘to examine,’ but other NENA dialects that retain a Class I/Class II distinction have a Class II verb,³⁴ so this is more likely a shift from Class II than a direct development of *bqar*.

The small number of Class II verbs suggests that there may be other verbs which have fallen out of use, and been replaced by other Class I or Class III verbs. For example, two common Class II verbs in Jilu *tommoze* ‘to clean,’ and *kopoše* ‘to gather’ are unknown in Bohtan, but their meanings are expressed by the Class III verbs *maquše* and *maxuše* respectively.

2.1.4. Weak Verbs

2.1.4.1. Final-Weak

The five stems of the final-weak Class I verb are exemplified by the verb *štoya* ‘to drink’:

C	<i>CCoya / CCowa</i>	<i>štoya / štowa</i>
P	<i>CCe</i>	<i>šte</i>
Pf	<i>CCe</i>	<i>šte</i>
J	<i>CoCe / CaCy-</i>	<i>šote</i> (m.) / <i>šaty-</i> (f.)
O	<i>CCi</i>	<i>šti</i>

These forms bear straightforward relations to the final-weak verbs of other NENA dialects. The P/Pf stem, the O stem, and the feminine J stem are identical in form to those found in many other dialects. The masculine J stem has the change of penultimate *a* > *o* (§1.6.1), while the C stem *CCoya*

³² In the case of *šaqūye* < *šbaq*, the change is due to a reanalysis of the middle radical, which had become *w* (according the regular rules of the *bgdkft* §1.2.1), as *u*.

³³ But this verb also appears as the expected Class II *nabule* ‘to take.’

³⁴ Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 714), Jilu (Fox 1997: 127), Jewish Zakho (Sabar 2002: 113).

/ CCowa has developed from the general NENA form CCaya through both penultimate *a* > *o* and the alternation *oya* / *owa* (§1.7.1).

The P stem vowel of final weak verbs changes from *e* to *a* when it is followed by both a subject suffix and an object suffix: *štele* ‘he drank,’ but *štalele* ‘he drank it (m.).’

The O stem of sound verbs has only a singular and a plural form, the latter formed by adding the suffix *-un*: *ptux* ‘open! (s.),’ *ptuxun* ‘open! (pl.).’ Final-weak verbs, however, have a separate form for the feminine, which substitutes *-a*³⁵ for the final *-i* of the masculine: *šti* ‘drink! (m.),’ *šta* ‘drink! (f.),’ *štun* ‘drink! (pl.).’ This distinction is maintained in most NENA dialects, including Umra (Hobrack 2000: 63) and Bospin (Sinha 2000: 112), but not in Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 52).

The five stems of the final-weak Class II verb are exemplified by the verb *gabuye* ‘to choose’:

C	<i>CaCuye</i>	<i>gabuye</i>
P	<i>CuCe</i>	<i>gube</i>
Pf	<i>CuCe</i>	<i>gube</i>
J	<i>CoCe</i> / <i>CaCy</i>	<i>gobe</i> (m.) / <i>gaby-</i> (f.)
O	<i>CoCi</i>	<i>gobi</i>

The imperative has the forms *gobi* (m.), *goba* (f.), and *gabun* (pl.). The stem vowel of the plural suggests that the plural suffix may have been bisyllabic, like the corresponding forms in Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 52), at the time when the penultimate *a* became *o*. In Bohtan, and throughout NENA, the masculine singular ending has become *-i*, rather than the historically expected *-a*, through analogy with Class I.

The five stems of the final-weak Class III verb are exemplified by the verb *maxkuwe* ‘to speak’:

C	<i>maCCuwe</i>	<i>maxkuwe</i>
P	<i>muCCe</i>	<i>muxke</i>
Pf	<i>muCCe</i>	<i>muxke</i>
J	<i>maCCe</i>	<i>maxke</i>
O	<i>maCCi</i>	<i>maxki</i>

The imperative forms are *maxki* (m.), *maxka* (f.), and *maxkun* (pl.).

³⁵ From earlier *-ay*, as in Bospin (Sinha 112).

2.1.4.2. Final *Ayin*

The five stems of the final-*ayin* Class I verb are exemplified by the verb *qtoya* ‘to cut’:

C	CCoya / CCowa	qtoya / qtowa
P	CCə / CCe	qtə / qte
Pf	CCe	qte
J	CoCə / CaC-	qotə (3ms.) / qat- (all other forms)
O	CăCu / CăCi	qătu / qăti

The *ayin*, after becoming a glottal stop, has vanished from Bohtan in all positions. Nevertheless, it has left some traces in verbs where it was the third radical, so that these verbs have not merged entirely into the final-weak class. The P stem has an alternant with a stem vowel ə, like sound verbs, alongside one with e, by analogy with other final weak verbs: *qtəle* / *qtele* ‘he cut.’ This is due to the stem vowel originally having been in a closed syllable (< *qtə^ʔle < *qtə^ʔle), as in normal sound verbs. The vanished ʔ that once closed the second syllable of the J stem also accounts for the ə found there in place of the e which appears in other final weak verbs. The final vowel of the O stem is i or u, rather than ə, the anticipated reflex of Syriac ə. The i variant may be due either to analogy with final weak verbs, or else lengthening of the vowel in an open syllable. The u variant may be due to analogy with the imperative of strong verbs or else a case of the i/y variation which is found in other forms like *yozi/yozi* ‘he goes.’

2.1.4.3. Final *w*

This class of weak verbs arose in NENA when the spirantized *b* became *w* (§1.2.1). Some of the resulting diphthongs have been reduced, leading to new alternations, as exemplified by the verb *xlowa* ‘to milk’:

C	CCowa	xlowa
P	CCu	xlu
Pf	CCu	xlu
J	CoCu / CaCw-	xolu (3ms.) / xalw- (all other forms)
O	CCu	xlu

The J, P and Pf stem forms have arisen through contraction of the diphthongs *īw* and *əw* into *u*: J stem **xaləw* > *xolu*, P stem **xləw* > *xlu*, and Pf stem **xlīw* > *xlu*. Contraction of *əw* into *u* is found in other NENA dialects, such as Jilu, which has *tule* < **təwle* ‘he sat.’ The O stem has simply contracted *uw* to *u*: **xluw* > *xlu*.

2.1.4.4. Middle-Weak

Class I middle-weak verbs are exemplified by *xiyora* ‘to look’:

C	<i>C(i)yoCa</i>	<i>xīyora</i>
P	<i>CəC</i>	<i>xər</i>
Pf	<i>CīC</i>	<i>xīr</i>
J	<i>CoyəC / CowəC</i>	<i>xoyər / xowər</i> (3ms.)
	<i>CaC</i>	<i>xar-</i> (fs.)
	<i>CayC</i>	<i>xayr-</i> (other forms)
O	<i>CuC</i>	<i>xur</i>

In Class I verbs the C stem begins with a consonant cluster, and in middle-weak Class I verbs the second element of this cluster is a *y*. In most cases this cluster is resolved by the insertion of *i*. The P stem is unremarkable. The Pf stem, like that of the sound verb, has a long vowel throughout the paradigm, even in the 3ms., where the stem syllable is closed: *xīr* ‘he has looked.’ The three forms of the middle-weak J stem were treated above in §1.6.2: *CoyəC / CowəC* shows penultimate *a* > *o* and alternation of *oyV / owV*. *CaC-* shows *ay* > *a* without following high or mid vowel, and *CayC* retains the diphthong.

The verb *diyora* ‘to return’ is irregular in the J stem, where it has the form *dora* in the 3ms., and *dar-* in all the other forms: *dara* ‘she returns’ *darən* ‘I (m.) return.’ *ṭiyona* ‘to lift, carry’ also belongs to this sub-class. These two verbs originally had a medial *ʿ*. In the J stem this appears to have metathesized to the last position, while in the remaining stems it was lost.

The five stems of the middle-weak Class III verb are exemplified by the verb *maqume* ‘to raise’:

C	<i>maCuCe</i>	<i>maqume</i>
P	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muqəm</i>
Pf	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muqəm</i>
J	<i>maCəC</i>	<i>maqəm</i>
O	<i>maCuC</i>	<i>maqum</i>

The imperative plural is *maCəCun*. Middle-weak Class III verbs, like sound ones, have *ə* in the second stem syllable of the Pf stem, even though this syllable is open: *muqəm* ‘he has raised,’ *muqəmən* ‘I have raised.’

Most middle-weak verbs were middle-weak in Middle Aramaic as well:

<i>liyoša</i>	‘to knead’	Syriac <i>lāš</i> (impf. <i>nluš</i>)
<i>riyosa</i>	‘to scatter (tr.)’	Syriac <i>ras</i> (impf. <i>nerus</i>)

However, several Bohtan middle-weak verbs had *č* or *ġ* (which later became an *ç*) in Middle Aramaic:

<i>diyota</i>	'to sweat'	Syriac <i>d'et</i>
<i>šyōša</i>	'to shake (intr.)'	Syriac <i>šġaš</i>

Several Class III middle weak verbs are derived from words of Kurdish origin:

<i>mabuje</i>	'to annoy'	<i>biča</i> 'bastard' < K <i>pîç</i>
<i>malube</i>	'to trick'	K <i>lêp</i> 'trick'
<i>maluze</i>	'to run'	K <i>lez</i> 'fast'

2.1.4.5. Initial *y*

Class I initial *y* verbs are exemplified by *qiyoda* 'to burn (intrans.)':

C	$C_2iC_1oC_3a$	<i>qiyoda</i>
P	$C_2əC_3$	<i>qəd</i>
Pf	$C_2īC_3$	<i>qīd</i>
J	$C_1oC_2əC_3$	<i>yoqəd</i> (3ms.)
	$C_1aC_2C_3$	<i>yaqd-</i> (other forms)
O	C_2uC_3	<i>qud</i>

In the C stem of some initial *y* Class I verbs, the first two consonants are reversed, so that the *y* follows the second radical: *yqoda** > *qiyoda*. In other verbs, such as *iloda* 'to give birth (of animals)' the *y* has remained initial and has become *i*, producing a form identical to that of vowel-initial verbs. Metathesis of an initial *y* and the following radical is found in other dialects as well, but may be governed differently, and have a different domain. For example, in Qaraqosh metathesis is lexically determined, but where it occurs, it applies not only to the C stem, but to the P and O stems as well.³⁶

The J stem is formed like that of sound verbs, retaining the *y* in initial position, while in the P, Pf, and O stems, the *y* disappears without a trace.

The five stems of the middle-weak Class III verb are exemplified by the verb *maqude* 'to burn (trans.)':

C	<i>maCuCe</i>	<i>maqude</i>
P	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muqəd</i>
Pf	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muqəd</i>

³⁶ Khan (2002: 103).

J	<i>maCəC</i>	<i>maqəd</i>
O	<i>maCuC</i>	<i>maqud</i>

The imperative plural is *maCCun*. The initial *y* is lost throughout the Class III paradigm. The forms of initial *y* and middle-weak verbs are identical. Each retains only the two sound root consonants, and omits the weak radical. The resulting form is identical to that of sound Class II verbs, and can only be distinguished by the initial *m*-.

2.1.4.6. Vowel-Initial

Class I verbs which began with ʾ and ʿ in Middle Aramaic are vowel-initial in Bohtan, since both of these consonants have disappeared, leaving only two root consonants. An example is *ixola* ‘to eat’:

C	<i>iCoCa</i>	<i>ixola</i>
P	<i>CəC</i>	<i>xəl</i>
Pf	<i>CīC</i>	<i>xīl</i>
J	<i>oCəC</i>	<i>oxəl</i> (3ms.)
	<i>aCC</i>	<i>axl</i> - (other forms)
O	<i>uCəC</i>	<i>uxəl</i>

The C, J, and O stems of vowel-initial Class I verbs have a vowel before the first of the two remaining consonants, while the P and Pf stems have only one syllable. After the loss of the consonant ʾ, we would expect that the C stem would be *CoCa** < ʾ*CaCa**, analogous to the sound verb *CCoCa* < *CCaCa*. In fact, in some dialects, such as Aradhin (Krotkoff 1982: 154) we do find infinitives such as *xa:la* ‘to eat.’ However, in other dialects, such as Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 102), an epenthetic vowel was added to break the initial cluster, giving forms like ʾ*əxála*. Such a form is the ancestor of the Bohtan form, through the change of penultimate *a* > *o*, and change of *ə* to *i* in an open syllable. P, Pf, and J stems *CəC*, *CīC*, and *oCəC* are the regular developments from ʾ*CəC**, ʾ*CīC**, and ʾ*aCəC* after loss of the initial ʾ.

Some NENA dialects have a monosyllabic O stem for vowel-initial verbs: Hertevin *ħol* (Jastrow 1988: 203), Bepin *xul* (Sinha 2000: 226) Jilu ⁺*xul* (Fox 1997: 133), Tkuma *xul* (Jacobi 1973: 109), and Jewish Koy Sanjaq *xol* (Mutzafi 2004b: 88). Others, like Bohtan, have disyllabic forms: Qaraqosh ʾ*ixol* (Khan 2002: 101), Umra *iħəl* (Hobrack 2000: 174), and Tisqopa ʾ*uxəl* (Rubba 1993: 78). Vacillation between mono- and di-syllabic imperatives for historically ʾ-initial verbs can be observed as far back as JBA (Sokoloff 129), though Syriac had a disyllabic imperative ʾ*akūl*.

Modern dialects like Jilu, which have monosyllabic imperatives, form them by analogy with middle-weak and y-initial verbs, all of which have the form CvC:

J	O	
<i>yaləp</i>	<i>lup</i>	‘to study’
⁺ <i>dar</i>	⁺ <i>dur</i>	‘to return’
⁺ <i>axəl</i>	⁺ <i>xul</i>	‘to eat’

Other dialects, like Bohtan, have retained the epenthetic vowel which separated the initial ʾ from the following consonant in the Syriac imperative, even after the ʾ has disappeared. Most likely the Bohtan, Umra, and Tisqopa forms with a rounded vowel in the first syllable arose through umlaut and then un-rounding of the unstressed second syllable: Bohtan ʾ*ixol** > *üxol** > *üxəl** > *uxəl*. The alternations *u* / *ü* and *i* / *ü* result in actual imperative forms *üCəC*, *uCəC*, and *iCəC*.

The five stems of the vowel-initial Class III verb are exemplified by the verb *maxule* ‘to feed’:

C	<i>maCuCe</i>	<i>maxule</i>
P	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muxəl</i>
Pf	<i>muCəC</i>	<i>muxəl</i>
J	<i>maCəC</i>	<i>maxəl</i>
O	<i>maCuC</i>	<i>maxul</i>

The imperative plural is *maCəCun*. The forms are identical to those of y-initial Class II verbs and sound Class II verbs.

2.1.5. Irregular Verbs

Bohtan has a number of irregular verbs. These are among the most common verbs in the language.

2.1.5.1. ‘to want’

Only the P, Pf, and J stems of the verb ‘to want’ are attested:

P	<i>be</i>
Pf	<i>be</i>
J	<i>i-be</i> / <i>ki-be</i> / <i>kay-be</i>

This verb derives from the Middle Aramaic *bʿy*, whose present participle in Syriac is the regular form *bāʿe* ‘he wants.’ The P and Pf stems are the expected *be* < *bʿay*, analogous to *šte*, the P and Pf stems of *štoya*.

The J stem is irregular in two ways. First, it has contracted to a single syllable after the regular loss of the original second radical ‘: *ba‘e > bae > be. Second, it has a prefix marking the present tense. Apart from this one verb, such a prefix is found in Bohtan only on vowel-initial verbs, where it is y-. Despite being consonant-initial, ‘to want’ has such a present-tense marker, which is attested in three variants. One of these variants is *i-*, the preconsonantal variant of y-. The other variant is *kay-*, which has no parallel elsewhere in Bohtan. The third variant is *ki-*, a blend of the other two. Present tense prefixes are widely attested in NENA, and *i-* and *k-* are the two basic forms they take, but normally a dialect has only one or the other of the two. Cognates of *kaybe* are found in Bohtan’s closest relatives, Hertevin *kep’e* and Umra *gbe*, so its presence is to be anticipated. On the other hand, the form *ibe* and the mixing of two different present-tense markers are remarkable.

2.1.5.2. *izola* ‘to go’

The verb *izola* ‘to go’ is unique in that it has six stems:

C	<i>izola</i>		
P	<i>zi</i>	<i>zile</i>	‘he went’
Pf	<i>izu</i> (3ms.)	<i>izu</i>	‘he has gone’
	<i>iz</i> (other forms)	<i>izən</i>	‘I (m.) have gone’
I	<i>zo</i>	<i>ibe zole</i>	‘he wants to go’
J	<i>ozu</i> (3ms.)	<i>yozu</i>	‘he goes’
	<i>oz</i> (other forms)	<i>yozi</i>	‘they go’
O	<i>si</i>		

The C stem is the regular form for vowel-initial verbs, analogous to *ixola* ‘to eat.’ Each of the other forms exhibits some irregularity. The expected P stem would be *zəl-*, a form that is found in a number of other NENA dialects, such as Jilu and Qaraqosh:

<i>zəlle</i>	‘he went’	Jilu
<i>zǎlle</i>	‘he went’	Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 120)

In Bohtan, however, the *l* with which the P stem ended was reinterpreted as part of the L-set suffix, and deleted. This left the stem syllable open, so the vowel was changed from *ə* to *i*. The same form occurs in Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 39), so the development must have occurred in the common ancestor of the two closely related dialects.

The Pf stem would be expected to be *zīl*, on the model of *xīl* ‘he has eaten.’ First, rather than the first syllable of the stem being lost, as happened

with *əxīl > xīl, it received the characteristic ī of the Pf stem through metathesis: *əzīl > *izəl. The final l was then lost throughout the paradigm. In the 3ms. it was vocalized and became u: *izəl > izu. In the remaining forms it was not preceded by a vowel and was lost through cluster simplification, or perhaps through analogy with the 3ms.: *izla > iza.

The final l underwent the same developments in the J stem: *azəl > *azu > ozu (3ms.), and *azla > *aza > oza (3fs.). The simplification of the vowel cluster in the J stem has opened the stem syllable, allowing the change of penultimate a to o, even in the suffixed forms.

The I (Infinitive) stem is unique to this verb. In all other verbs, the J stem is used for the present, future, and jussive. However, with the verb ‘to go’ these functions are split: the J stem, with a y- present tense marker, functioning as the present tense, and the I stem being used as the future and jussive.

‘to eat’		‘to go’	
yo $x\acute{a}l$	‘he eats’	yo zu	‘he goes’
ibe ox $\acute{a}l$	‘he wants to eat’	ibe zo le	‘he wants to go’
b-ox $\acute{a}l$	‘he will eat’	b $\acute{a}d$ -zo le	‘he will go’

The I stem is conjugated with the L-set personal suffixes, except for the 1pl., which has the copular ending:

zo li	1s.
zo lux	2ms.
zo lax	2fs.
zo le	3ms.
zo la	3fs.
zo x / zo xna	1pl.
zo $\acute{a}lexun$	2pl.
zo la	3pl.

The nearest relatives of Bohtan also possess such an irregular stem in the verb ‘to go.’ Qaraqosh (Khan 2002:120) and Umra (Hobrack 2000: 59) have it, and though Jastrow (1988) does not specifically list this paradigm, the form *bzaḥī* ‘let’s go’ (Jastrow 1988:206) betrays its presence. Bohtan is unique in possessing both, and dividing the functions of the J stem between them.

The O stem is *si* ‘go!’ The feminine is *sa*, and the plural is *sun*. When preceded by the negative *la*, the initial consonant is geminated: *lá ssi* ‘don’t

go!’ Cognate forms can be found throughout NENA, and originate in imperative of the Middle Aramaic verb *sgy* ‘to walk, be current’.³⁷

2.1.5.3. *itoya* ‘to come’

The five stems of the verb *itoya* ‘to come’ are:

C	<i>itoya</i>		
P	<i>te</i>	<i>tele</i>	‘he came’
Pf	<i>ite</i> (3ms.)	<i>ite</i>	‘he has come’
	<i>əčč-</i> (fs.)	<i>əčča</i>	‘she has come’
	<i>it-</i> (other forms)	<i>itən</i>	‘I have come’
J	<i>ote</i> (3ms.)	<i>yote</i>	‘he comes’
	<i>ač-</i> (fs.)	<i>ača</i>	‘she comes’
	<i>ot-</i> (other forms)	<i>yotən</i>	‘I come’
O	<i>hayo</i>		

This verb combines the characteristics of vowel-initial verbs such as *ixola* ‘to eat’ and final-weak verbs like *štoya* ‘to drink.’ The Pf stem is irregular; rather than the expected **te* we have *ite* with a stressed initial vowel, similar to the corresponding form *izu* from the verb *izola* ‘to go.’ The other truly irregular form is the O stem *hayo* ‘come!’ whose plural is *hayun*. Cognate forms are common in NENA, including Bohtan’s nearest relatives: Hertevin *he*, Umra *hay*.

2.1.5.4. *hiwoya* ‘to give’

The five stems of the verb *hiwoya* ‘to give’ are:

C	<i>hiwoya</i>		
P	<i>hu</i>	<i>hule</i>	‘he gave’
Pf	<i>hu</i> (3ms.)	<i>hu</i>	‘he has given’
	<i>hiw</i> (other forms)	<i>hiwən</i>	‘I (m.) have given’
J	<i>yowu</i> (3ms.)	<i>yowu</i>	‘he gives’
	<i>yaw</i> (other forms)	<i>yawi</i>	‘they give’
O	<i>hal</i>		

This verb is very irregular in every NENA dialect, but the Bohtan forms exhibit unique characteristics. The Middle Aramaic verb from which the

³⁷ Sokoloff (2002: 787). This etymology was suggested by Hezy Mutzafi (2005: 105-6) and is borne out by the Qaraqosh form *sagi* (Khan 2002: 120).

modern forms descend had the root *yhb*. The Syriac active participle was *yāheb*, passive participle *ihib*. Already in Syriac there was a tendency for the *h* of the root to be lost,³⁸ and the aspirated *b* has become *w* in Bohtan, and NENA in general (See §1.2.1 above). Since this verb was commonly followed by the preposition *l-* ‘to,’ the preposition was reinterpreted as part of the verb itself, leading to forms like Jilu *yawəl* ‘he gives.’ In J stem forms other than the 3ms., a suffix intervened between the verb and the preposition *l-*, so that it never became part of the verb: Jilu *yawa* ‘she gives.’³⁹ In Bohtan, the *l* of the 3ms. form has become *-u*, just as in the verb *izola* ‘to go’:

‘to go’	‘to give’	
<i>yozu</i>	<i>yowu</i>	3ms.
<i>yoza</i>	<i>yawa</i>	3fs.
<i>yozaṯ</i>	<i>yawaṯ</i>	2ms.

The P and Pf stems derive from a form like the Syriac passive participle *ihib* through loss of the initial syllable and contraction of *iw* > *u*: *ihib* > **hib* > *hiw* > *hu*. The only form in Bohtan which retains the suffixed *-l* is the imperative *hal* ‘give,’ plural *hallun*.

2.1.5.5. *imora* ‘to say’

The five stems of the verb *imora* ‘to say’ are:

C	<i>imora</i>	
P	<i>mər</i>	<i>mərre</i> ‘he said’
Pf	<i>mīr</i>	<i>mīr</i> ‘he has said’
J	<i>orə</i> (3ms.)	<i>yorə</i> ‘he says’
	<i>ar</i> (other forms)	<i>yari</i> ‘they say’
O	<i>imər</i>	

imora ‘to say’ is a regular vowel-initial verb like *ixola* ‘to eat,’ with the exception of the J stem. The J stem of this extremely common verb has a long history of irregularity. In JBA there are examples of forms without the final *r* (Sokoloff 2002: 141), and this same deletion of *r* persists in forms

³⁸ Payne Smith (1903: 188).

³⁹ In Jilu the 1p masc. sing. also has the *-l*: *yāwəlna* ‘I give.’ This retention of the *-l* is by analogy with regular verbs, where the 1p masc. sing. is formed from the 3p masc. sing. by suffixing *-na*, while all other forms share an apocopated stem: *i-patəx* ‘he opens,’ *i-pātəxna* ‘I open (m.),’ *i-patxa* ‘she opens,’ and *i-patxi* ‘they open.’

other than the 3ms. of the modern dialects Hertevin,⁴⁰ Umra,⁴¹ and Qaraqosh.⁴² Bohtan has lost the *m* of the J stem, rather than the *r*.⁴³ Where other NENA dialects have simplified the *mr* cluster to *m*, in Bohtan the same cluster was simplified to *r*, also a plausible phonetic change. The 3ms. form *yorə* is more difficult to explain. Cluster simplification is not a possibility because the two consonants were separated by a vowel. The most likely explanation is metathesis of *m* and *r*, followed by penultimate *a* > *o* and then loss of the now-final *m*:

amər > **arəm* > **orəm* > *orə*

Metathesis of *m* and *r* throughout the paradigm is a possibility as well. This could explain why Bohtan simplified the *mr* cluster to *r* when other dialects simplified it to *m*: in Bohtan the cluster was *rm* rather than *mr*, and Bohtan simply retained the first element of its cluster, just as Hertevin did. The evolution of **amra* ‘that she says’ would be:

Hertevin	Bohtan	
* <i>amra</i>	* <i>amra</i>	
— -	* <i>arma</i>	Metathesis
* <i>ama</i>	* <i>ara</i>	Cluster simplification

2.1.5.6. *idoya* ‘to know’

The five stems of the verb *idoya* ‘to know’ are:

C	<i>idoya</i>		
P	<i>də</i>	<i>dəle</i>	‘he knew’
Pf	<i>de</i>	<i>de</i>	‘he has known’
J	<i>yodə</i> (3ms.)	<i>yodə</i>	‘he knows’
	<i>yad</i> (other forms)	<i>yadi</i>	‘they know’
O	<i>ədu</i>		

This verb is both *y*-initial and ^ˈ final. Despite being *y*-initial, it does not have metathesis in the C stem as does *qiyoda* ‘to burn.’

⁴⁰ Jastrow (1988: 204).

⁴¹ Hobrack (2000: 174).

⁴² Khan (2002: 101) In Qaraqosh the deletion of *r* is optional.

⁴³ Jewish Barzani (Mutzafi 2002: 62) also has forms without *m* except in the 3p masc. sing.: (*y*)*kemər* 3ms., (*y*)*kerən* 1ms., (*y*)*keran* 1fs., etc.

2.1.5.7. *mpola* ‘to fall’

The five stems of the verb *mpola* ‘to fall’ are:

C	<i>mpola</i>		
P	<i>(m)pəl</i>	<i>pəlle</i>	‘he fell’
Pf	<i>mpil</i>	<i>mpil</i>	‘he has fallen’
J	<i>nopəl</i> (3ms.)	<i>nopəl</i>	‘he knows’
	<i>napl</i> (other forms)	<i>napli</i>	‘they fall’
O	<i>mpul</i>		

In all forms except the J stem, the first two radicals are in contact, and the *n* assimilates in place to the following *p*. Further, in the P stem the resulting *m* frequently is omitted altogether.⁴⁴

2.1.5.8. *matuye* ‘to bring’

The five stems of the verb *matuye* ‘to bring’ are:

C	<i>matuye</i>		
P	<i>mte</i>	<i>mtele</i>	‘he brought’
Pf	<i>mute</i>	<i>mute</i>	‘he has brought’
J	<i>mete</i> (3ms.)	<i>mete</i>	‘he brings’
	<i>məčč-</i> (fs.)	<i>məčča</i>	‘she brings’
	<i>met-</i> (other forms)	<i>metən</i>	‘I (m.) bring’
O	<i>meti</i>		

This Class III verb is the causative of *itoya* ‘to come.’ It is unique in having *e* in the first syllable of the J stem.

2.1.6. Subject Marking

Bohtan verbs have two sets of pronominal suffixes, which we⁴⁵ will refer to as the A set and the L set.

⁴⁴ The change of *n* to *m* is widely attested in NENA dialects, and the deletion of the first radical is also found in Qaraqosh (Khan 2002: 118) and Umra (Hobrack 2000: 189).

⁴⁵ Following Hetzron (1969).

A set

The A set pronominal endings are descendents of the enclitic pronouns which were added to the active participle in Middle Aramaic dialects. They are added to the J and Pf stems to mark the subject of a verb.

1ms.	-ən / -ena
1fs.	-an / -ona
2ms.	-ət
2fs.	-at
3ms.	∅
3fs.	-a
1pl.	-əx / -əxna
2pl.	-etun / [-itun] ⁴⁶
3pl.	-i

<i>patxən</i>	‘I (m.) open’	<i>ptixən</i>	‘I (m.) have opened’
<i>patxan</i>	‘I (f.) open’	<i>ptixan</i>	‘I (f.) have opened’
<i>patxət</i>	‘you (ms.) open’	<i>ptixət</i>	‘you (ms.) have opened’
<i>patxat</i>	‘you (fs.) open’	<i>ptixat</i>	‘you (fs.) have opened’
<i>patəx</i>	‘he opens’	<i>ptix</i>	‘he has opened’
<i>patxa</i>	‘she opens’	<i>ptixa</i>	‘she has opened’
<i>patxəx</i>	‘we open’	<i>ptixəx</i>	‘we have opened’
<i>patxetun</i>	‘you (pl.) open’	<i>ptixetun</i>	‘you (pl.) have opened’
<i>patxi</i>	‘they open’	<i>ptixi</i>	‘they have opened’

L set

1s.	-li	<i>ptəxli</i>	‘I (m.) opened’
2ms.	-lux	<i>ptəxlux</i>	‘you (ms.) opened’
2fs.	-lax	<i>ptəxlax</i>	‘you (fs.) opened’
3ms.	-le	<i>ptəxle</i>	‘he opened’
3fs.	-la	<i>ptəxla</i>	‘she opened’
1pl.	-lan	<i>ptəxlan</i>	‘we opened’
2pl.	-lexun	<i>ptəxlexun</i>	‘you (pl.) opened’
3pl.	-lā	<i>ptəxlā</i>	‘they opened’

⁴⁶ Perhaps a borrowing from other dialects.

The *l-* of the L set suffixes assimilates to a preceding *r* or *n*, whether it belongs to a verbal stem or one of the affixes which may precede the L set: the first person singular and second person plural A set suffixes, the plural imperative marker, and the 3pl. suffix *-lan-*:

<i>šodərre</i> (< <i>šodər</i> + <i>le</i>)	‘he sent’
<i>xozən-ne</i> (< <i>xozən</i> + <i>le</i>)	‘I see him’
<i>ptuxun-ne</i> (< <i>ptuxun</i> + <i>le</i>)	‘open (pl.) it!’
<i>ptáxlān-ne</i> (< <i>ptáxlān</i> + <i>le</i>)	‘they opened it’

The L set pronominal endings are derived from the Middle Aramaic preposition *l-* ‘to’ with pronominal suffixes: Syriac *lī* ‘to me’ *lēh* ‘to him.’ These prepositional forms were already often used in Middle Aramaic to mark the subject of a passive participle: JBA *ħzy ly* ‘I saw (lit. was seen to me)’ (Sokoloff 2002: 445). This usage is general in NENA, where the L set is used to mark the object of the J stem, which is descended from the Middle Aramaic active participle, but marks the subject of the P stem, which is descended from the Middle Aramaic passive participle:

P stem + L set suffix	<i>xərri</i> (< <i>xər</i> + <i>li</i>)	‘I saw’
J stem + L set suffix	<i>xowər-li</i>	‘He sees me’

In Bohtan, as in some other dialects, including its close relatives Hertevin⁴⁷ and Umra,⁴⁸ a second L set suffix can be added to transitive P stems. In this case the first one indicates the subject, and the second the object:

<i>ptāxli</i>	‘I opened’
<i>ptāxli-le</i>	‘I opened it (m.)’

In Hertevin, when the first and second person L set suffixes are followed by a second L set suffix, they are replaced by special forms which consist of *l* + A set suffixes.⁴⁹ For example:

<i>ħzeli</i>	‘I saw’
<i>ħzélenna</i>	‘I saw her’ (< <i>ħze</i> + <i>l</i> + <i>en</i> + <i>la</i>)
<i>huloḥ</i>	‘you gave’
<i>hulette</i>	‘you gave him’ (< <i>hu</i> + <i>l</i> + <i>et</i> + <i>le</i>)

The same alternation occurs in Umra for the second person only: *qtállatta* rather than **qtálluḥla* ‘you (ms.) killed her’.⁵⁰ Pennachietti (1991)

⁴⁷ Jastrow (1988: 61).

⁴⁸ Hobrack (2000: 88).

⁴⁹ Jastrow (1988: 61).

shows that this phenomenon seems to have existed in some dialects for several hundred years.

In Bohtan, however, the first and second person L set suffixes are unchanged when they are followed by a second L set suffix. On the other hand, the 3fs. and 3pl. L set suffixes do have special forms in that position:

3fs. -*lo*-
3pl. -*lan*-

<i>ptaxla</i>	‘she opened’
<i>ptaxlole</i>	‘she opened it’
<i>ptaxlā</i>	‘they opened’
<i>ptaxlanne</i>	‘they opened it’

The 3fs. form is due to the change of penultimate *a* > *o*. The 3pl. form is illuminated by the Hertevin L set paradigm, which has two alternate forms *-le* and *-lehen*.⁵¹ *-le* corresponds to the normal Bohtan form *-la*. Both descend from an earlier **-lay*, where the diphthong *ay* has become *e* in Hertevin and *ā* in Bohtan. The longer Hertevin form *-lehen* corresponds to the form *-lan-* which Bohtan uses before a second L set suffix. It is not clear, however, why Bohtan should have chosen to limit one of the two suffixes to the final position, and the other to non-final.⁵²

The L set marks the object on the O stem and on the J and Pf stems, where it follows the A set subject markers:

<i>ptux</i>	‘open! (s.)’
<i>ptuxle</i>	‘open (s.) it (m.)!’
<i>patxət</i>	‘you (ms.) open’
<i>patxətle</i>	‘you (ms.) open it (m.)’
<i>ptixət</i>	‘you (ms.) have opened’
<i>ptixətle</i>	‘you (ms.) have opened it (m.)’

⁵⁰ Hobrack (2000: 90).

⁵¹ Jastrow (1988: 50). Both of these forms represent variants which are widely attested in NENA. Hoberman (1988: 565) reconstructs both **ayhˆn* and **ay* as proto-NENA forms of this suffix.

⁵² The *-lā* / *-lan-* alternation in Bohtan is similar to the alternation *-lu* / *-lun-* which is found for the third person plural L-set suffix in the Jewish dialect of Sulemaniyya (Khan 2004: 87).

2.1.7. Tense Formation and Meaning

2.1.7.1. Present

The present tense is formed from the J stem, with subjects marked by the A set suffixes and objects by the L set suffixes. Only the vowel-initial verbs also take a prefix *y-* in the present tense. This tense indicates present or habitual action. It is also frequently used in narration of past events, alternating with the preterite.

xoyaxna ‘we live’

aya xara, abra yote liza liza. ‘She looks, the boy is coming very quickly.’

yozi, yote əllət susa, poləṭ yozi. ‘He goes, he comes to the horse, he leaves, he goes.’

2.1.7.2. Subjunctive

The subjunctive tense is formed from the J stem, with subjects marked by the A set suffixes and objects by the L set suffixes. Only in vowel-initial verbs, where it has no *y-*prefix, is it formally distinguishable from the Present. It is used in subordinate clauses, in conditional clauses, and also to express a wish or desire.

xa masala aran-nexun. ‘Let me (f.) tell you (pl.) a story.’

xa kaboba iwad-le axlan. ‘Make a kebab so that I can eat.’

ima o abra ote, xena tapqán-be. ‘When that boy comes, may I meet him again.’

2.1.7.3. Past

The past tense is formed from the J stem, with subjects marked by the A set suffixes, a suffix *-wa* (*-wo-* if an object suffix follows), and objects marked by the L set suffixes. It is used to indicate past action extending over some time.

kud naqla xazyá-wo-le yowá-wo-le pare. ‘Every time she would see him she would give him money.’

hawdax palxəx-wa gowət kolxuze. ‘In that way we worked in the collective farms.’

le xazyo-wa. ‘She didn’t see.’

2.1.7.4. Future

The past tense is formed from the J stem, preceded by the future particle *bət/bəd* or its short form, the prefix *b-*. The subject is marked by the A set suffixes and the object is marked by the L set suffixes. It is used to indicate future action.

səttiya b-ačča palgəd yoma. ‘The lady will come at noon.’

bət howe toma. ‘It will be there.’

oná-se bəd zoli hawdax b-awdena. ‘I will also go and will do that.’

bólahan b-howe l-ágdode. ‘Their faces will be together.’

2.1.7.5. Preterite

The past tense is formed from the P stem, with subjects and objects both marked by the L set suffixes. It indicates past events viewed as occurring at a point in time, and is the most commonly used tense in past narration.

qurdowe drəšlā qṭola qrəstyane. ‘The Kurds began to kill the Christians.’

rəqlā telā plətlā gowət urusat. ‘They fled, they came, they came out in Russia.’

toma šodərran-nā. ‘There they sent them.’

qreli toma əštá yarxe. ‘I studied there six months.’

xa pəqa mtela, wədlə-le kaboba. ‘She brought a frog, made it into a kebab.’

xəllə-le aw pəqa. ‘She ate that frog.’

2.1.7.6. Perfect

The perfect tense is formed from the Pf stem, with subjects marked by the A set suffixes and objects marked by the L set suffixes. It indicates past events, whether punctual or occurring over a long period, viewed with reference to the present.

awa rīq, üzü. ‘He has fled, he has gone.’

ašra šanne toma plixən. ‘Ten years I have worked there.’

m-aka itetun l-axxa? ‘From where have you come to here?’

2.1.7.7. *Pluperfect*

The pluperfect tense is formed from the Pf stem, with subjects marked by the A set suffixes and objects marked by the L set suffixes, followed by the past marker *-wa*. It is used to indicate past events, whether punctual or occurring over a long period, viewed with reference to a later point in the past.

lada m-aka itá-wa. ‘They didn’t know where they had come from.’

xa xmota siwo-wa izo-wa b-šanne-ləl. ‘A mother-in-law had gotten old. She had had aged (lit. gone into years).’

пакет *zanjiró-ləl grišáwo-le.* ‘She had pulled a package into the chain.’

2.1.7.8. *Perfect (2)*

Occasionally one encounters a second perfect tense that is formed from the P stem with subjects marked by the copula.

2.1.8. *Negation*

Bohtan possesses two negative particles, *la* and *le*.

2.1.8.1. *Negation with la:*

2.1.8.1.1. *Preterite*

la tele əlleni basima. ‘Things were not good for us. (lit. It didn’t come to us well).’

tu mändi ona la xzili. ‘I didn’t see anything.’

šwa lá-dəla brotət karačuké-la. ‘They didn’t even know she was a Gypsy girl.’

2.1.8.1.2. *Perfect*

xa abra u xa brota la ita l-axxa? ‘Have a boy and a girl not come here?’

2.1.8.1.3. Subjunctive

la, la hawya. ‘No, it must not be.’

nəmmun la hawyan rozi? ‘Why should I (f.) not agree?’

botar tlota yomota xene la otutun. la zaxtun, la otutun. ‘For three more days you (pl.) must not come. You must not go, you must not come.’

2.1.8.1.4. Conditionals

aw dona la otət, la otət. ‘If (lit. when) you (ms.) don’t come, you don’t come.’

la awdat b-xabri, kudyum əbbəv b-taypən-nax ‘If you (f.) don’t do what I say, every day I will beat you with it.’

2.1.8.2. Negation with *le*

The negator *le* has an allomorph *li*, appearing chiefly before verbs beginning with *y*⁵³:

2.1.8.2.1. Present

le maxke əmmaw. ‘He doesn’t speak with her.’

susta le palxa. ‘The mare doesn’t go (lit. work).’

aya le maxkiya hawdax. ‘She doesn’t speak that way.’

*ona didi le marjena*⁵⁴ *maxkən əmmaw.* ‘I don’t dare to speak with mine (my wife).’

ixola randa li yoxəl. ‘He doesn’t eat food well.’

li yadena. ‘I don’t know.’

yxe owa to məndi li yowəd. ‘He already doesn’t do anything.’

li yote xoš didi. ‘I don’t like it (lit. my good doesn’t come).’

⁵³ Jilu also has such a variant (Fox 1997: 33).

⁵⁴ *marjuye* ‘to dare’ < Arabic *rajā* ‘to beg’ cf. *r-j-y* ‘to beg, supplicate’ (Sabar 287).

2.1.8.2.2. Future

ona xena go danya le gawrena. ‘I will marry no other in the world.’

at abra xena tu duka le zole. ‘This boy will never go anywhere.’

In the negative future the particle *bət* / *b-* is deleted, as in other NENA dialects:

le ote aryona. ‘It will not rain (lit. the rain will not come).’

2.1.8.2.3. Past

kolxuze li yowi-wo-lan pare. ‘The collective farms didn’t give us money.’

This pattern of negation agrees with that found in most other NENA dialects, and specifically, with that of Bohtan’s nearest relatives, Hertevin, Umra, and Bespin.

In Hertevin the preterite is negated by *la*: *la hzelele Yosep* ‘he did not see Joseph’.⁵⁵ Negation of tenses derived from the J stem is divided, depending on usage: subjunctive, optative, and conditional verbs take *la*, while ordinary present and future take *le*.

<i>la ’aten ’ana</i>	‘if I don’t come’
<i>le ’oda peda</i>	‘It doesn’t do any good’ ⁵⁶

In Umra also, the present is negated with *le*, and the preterite with *la*.⁵⁷ In Bespin, negation is expressed only by *la*, but when the following word begins with a vowel (including the present tense marker *y-*), the *la* has allomorphs ranging from [la] through [lɛ] to [le].⁵⁸

2.1.9. Special Negative Forms

Several verbs in Bohtan have special negative forms for the Present tense, in which the negative particle has fused into the verb and become part of the stem.

⁵⁵ Jastrow (1988: 57).

⁵⁶ Jastrow (1988: 55).

⁵⁷ Hobrack (2000: 77, 80).

⁵⁸ Sinha (2000: 161).

'to know'	'to want'	'to give'	
<i>laydān / lāydēna</i>	<i>laybān</i>	<i>laywān</i>	1ms.
<i>ladān / lādōna</i>	<i>labān</i>	<i>lawān / lawōna</i>	1fs.
<i>laydāt</i>	<i>laybāt</i>	<i>laywāt</i>	2ms.
<i>ladāt</i>	<i>labāt</i>	<i>lawāt</i>	2fs.
<i>layde</i>	<i>laybe</i>	<i>laywe</i>	3ms.
<i>lada</i>	<i>laba</i>	<i>lawā</i>	3fs.
<i>laydāx</i>	<i>laybāx</i>	<i>laywāx</i>	1pl.
<i>lāydetun</i>	<i>lāybetun</i>	<i>lāywetun</i>	2pl.
<i>lada</i>	<i>laba</i>	<i>lawā</i>	3pl.

Shortened negative forms are not a general NENA feature, but are also found in Bohtan's close relatives: in Hertevin (Jastrow 1988:56) and in Umra (Hobrack 2000: 63, 65) for 'to know' and 'to want,' and in Bepin (Sinha 2000: 65) for 'to know.'

2.1.10. Object Marking

It is noteworthy that the L set pronominal suffixes are the only object markers in Bohtan, used even in those tenses where the subject is also marked by the same suffixes.

2.1.11. Summary of Subject and Object Marking

The table below summarizes the ways in which the verbal stems and affixes of Bohtan combine to form the various tenses. This table descends ultimately from those in Hetzron (1969), and can be readily compared with similar tables in Hoberman (1989:30), Fox (1997: 32), Mutzafi (2000: 310), and Mutzafi (2004a: 254). Plain A and L indicate subject markers, while italicized L indicates the object marker.⁵⁹

Present	J + A + L (y + J + A + L in vowel-initial verbs)
Subjunctive	J + A + L
Past	J + A + wa / J + A + wo + L
Future	bāt + J + A + L
Preterite	P + L + L
Past Preterite	P + wo + L + L
Perfect	Pf + A + L

⁵⁹ Essentially the same table appears in Fox (2002).

Pluperfect	Pf + A + <i>wa</i> / Pf + A + <i>wo</i> + <i>L</i>
Perfect (2)	P + copula
Imperative	O + <i>L</i>

It is noteworthy that no tense is formed from the C stem, which is used only as an infinitive.

Several verbs having to do with bodily functions take a semantically empty feminine singular object suffix: *rəṭli-la* 'I farted audibly,' *pəšli-la* 'I farted silently,' *tənni-la* 'I urinated.'

2.1.12. Copula

2.1.12.1. Independent

The non-deictic copula is most often enclitic, but independent forms are found. The attested examples follow words that either end in a consonant or have only one syllable.

<i>ina</i>	1ms.
<i>ina</i>	1fs.
<i>iwət</i>	2ms.
<i>iwat</i>	2fs.
<i>ile</i>	3ms.
<i>ila</i>	3fs.
<i>əxna</i>	1pl.
<i>əxtun</i>	2pl.
<i>ilā</i>	3pl.

hawdax ile. 'Thus it (m.) is.'

kēf didux ile. 'It's up to you (lit. it (m.) is your pleasure) .'

qanyonəd man ilā? 'Whose sheep are these?'

owət bobáw iwət. 'You (m.) are his father.'

ən d-iwat rozi 'if you (fs.) are willing'

kulla xa-yle 'anyhow (lit. it is all one)'

əxtun man əxtun 'Who are you (pl.)?'

2.1.12.2. Enclitic

In the enclitic form of the copula the initial vowel of the independent forms has merged into the preceding *-a*. The result is *e* where the next vowel is *e* or *ə* and *a* otherwise. Adding the enclitic copula moves the stress from the penultimate syllable of the independent word to the penultimate syllable of the composite: *tówa* ‘good’ but *ʔowé-le* ‘is good.’

Here is the paradigm of the enclitic copula added to the noun *bata* ‘house,’ which has the meaning ‘at home’ when the copula is added.⁶⁰

<i>batá-na</i>	1ms.
<i>batá-na</i>	1fs.
<i>baté-wət</i>	2ms.
<i>batá-wat</i>	2fs.
<i>baté-le</i>	3ms.
<i>batá-la</i>	3fs.
<i>batá-xna</i>	1pl.
<i>batá-xtun</i>	2pl.
<i>batá-lā</i>	3pl.

awa ʔowé-le. ‘This (m.) is good.’

t-ayni oǵá-lā? ‘Which chief do they belong to? (lit. of which chief are they?)’

owət xəlyé-wət gowəd ləbbi. ‘You (ms.) are sweet in my heart.’

2.1.12.3. Deictic

The deictic copula conveys the present tense together with an emphatic, immediate sense. Its meaning is similar to Russian *вот* and it has no exact English equivalent. It is formed by adding the enclitic copula to the particle *hawla* ‘behold’ which is also used independently.

<i>hawłana</i>	1s.
<i>hawłewət</i>	2ms.
<i>hawlawat</i>	2fs.
<i>hawlele</i>	3ms.

⁶⁰ This construction is probably a calque on Russian *Я дома* ‘I am at home,’ which uses the genitive case but no preposition.

<i>hawlala</i>	3fs.
<i>hawlewəx</i>	1pl.
<i>hawletun</i>	2pl.
<i>hawlala</i>	3pl.

duwəd d-aw oga hawlala dməxta. ‘The mother of the Agha (behold) is sleeping.’

jambali hatxa xowər, hawla yota. ‘Jambali looks like this, here (lit. behold) they are coming.’

Closely related paradigms are found in Hertevin,⁶¹ Umra,⁶² and Bepin.⁶³ Similar forms founded on different bases also exist in more distantly related dialects, including Jilu⁶⁴ and Aradhin.⁶⁵

2.1.12.4. Negative

The third person forms of the negative copula follow two different patterns in the various NENA dialects.

In certain dialects the third person is transparently derived from the corresponding form of the positive copula. For example, in Jilu the positive copula ‘he is’ is *ile*, and the negative ‘he is not’ is *lele*.⁶⁶ Other dialects following this pattern include Umra, Bepin, and Qaraqosh.

Another set of dialects, among them Bohtan, have leveled the paradigm, extending the *w* of the first and second persons to the third person as well. For example, in Hertevin, the closest relative of Bohtan, the positive copula ‘he is’ is *-ile*, but the negative ‘he is not’ is *lāwe*, parallel to *lāwen* ‘I (m.) am not’ and all the other forms of the paradigm.⁶⁷ Among the other dialects which follow this pattern are Jewish Amedia and Jewish Koy Sanjaq.

<i>lewən</i>	1ms.
<i>lawan</i>	1fs.
<i>lewət</i>	2ms.

⁶¹ Jastrow (1988: 27).

⁶² Hobrack (2000: 43).

⁶³ Sinha (2000: 145).

⁶⁴ Fox (1997: 41).

⁶⁵ Krotkoff (1982: 37).

⁶⁶ Fox (1997: 40-41).

⁶⁷ Jastrow (1988: 29).

<i>lawat</i>	2fs.
<i>lewe</i>	3ms.
<i>lawa</i>	3fs.
<i>lewəx</i>	1pl.
<i>léwetun</i>	2pl.
<i>lawa</i>	3pl.

Note that this paradigm is identical to the negative J stem paradigm of the verb ‘to give.’

2.1.12.5. Past

<i>batá-nwa</i>	1s.
<i>batá-twa</i>	2s.
<i>batá-wa</i>	3s.
<i>batá-xwa</i>	1pl.
<i>batá-xtunwa</i>	2pl.
<i>batá-wa</i>	3pl.

The past copula, makes no gender distinctions. It normally appears as an enclitic. The only attested independent past copula is the 3s. *iwa*.

ona rozí-nwa mǎnnət xmoti. ‘I was pleased with my mother-in-law.’

tra xurwotá-wa. ‘There were two friends.’

mud iwa randa! ‘How beautiful she was!’

2.1.12.6. Negative Past

This paradigm is formed by adding *-wa* to the negative copula. The accent is on the first syllable throughout.

<i>léwən-wa</i>	1ms.
<i>láwan-wa</i>	1fs.
<i>léwət-wa</i>	2ms.
<i>láwat-wa</i>	2fs.
<i>léwe-wa</i>	3ms.
<i>láwa-wa</i>	3fs.
<i>léwəx-wa</i>	1pl.
<i>léwetun-wa</i>	2pl.
<i>láwa-wa</i>	3pl.

2.1.12.7. Jussive

The Jussive of ‘to be’ is conjugated as a regular vowel-final verb. With the prefix *b(ət)-* it serves as the future copula. With a *y-*prefix taking the place of the *h* of the stem it has an inchoative sense: *yowe* ‘he becomes.’

<i>howən</i>	1ms.
<i>hawyan</i>	1fs.
<i>howət</i>	2ms.
<i>hawyat</i>	2fs.
<i>howe</i>	3ms.
<i>hawya</i>	3fs.
<i>howəx</i>	1pl.
<i>howetun</i>	2pl.
<i>howa</i>	3pl.

постоянно *bət howe toma*. ‘It will always be there.’

at kaltunta gāla(k) hawya bōš. ‘That little bride was always good.’⁶⁸

la, la hawya. ‘No, that cannot be.’

hawya rozi, dika it, otət əmmayni. ‘Should she be agreeable, there is space, you can come with us.’

nəmmun la hawyan rozi? ‘Why would I (f.) not be agreeable?’

o kaboba yowe-wa pəqa. ‘That kabab would become a frog.’

2.1.12.8. Preterite and Perfect

The preterite and perfect of ‘to be’ are also used with an inchoative sense, and can mean ‘to be born.’ The initial cluster *hw* is very unstable, and is realized as [hw], [wh], or simply [h]. In the latter case, the lost *w* may be reflected in rounding of the following *e*: *hwele* [høle] ‘he/it became, began.’

hwele pəqa. ‘It became a frog.’

duwi bobi wha gowət osmallu. ‘My father (and) mother were born in the Ottoman Empire.’

šetət arbasar hele šar. ‘In the year 14 the war started.’

⁶⁸ In this case the Jussive copula seems to express the historical present, like the other J stem verbs around it in the text.

ona rūli whela-li əsrí u tra šanne. ‘I grew and came to be 22 years old.’

arbí yome whena b-командаировка. ‘I was on a mission for 40 days.’

šetət əčči ʔlota xatikuna whele xarba. ‘(In the) year 93 it became a little bad.’

hela батраки-d lamsowé. ‘They became workers of the Germans.’

whela harra harr didaw. ‘Her whinny came.’

2.1.12.9. Modal *qəd* / *laqqad*

The auxiliary ‘can’ is expressed by the invariant form *qəd* or *qud*, the negative of which is *laqqad*. This seems to be a reduced form of the verb *qadər* ‘to be able,’ borrowed from Arabic, and also found in Umra⁶⁹

xena laqqad zilan telan ləd-əgdode. ‘We could not go and come to each other any more.’

hūlan-nan ktowa kə-d qəd zalexun l-bata. ‘They gave use a paper (lit. ‘writing’) that ‘you can go home.’

kud dax qəd. ‘Each as (he) can.’

ona qəd zoli. ‘I can go.’

axni laqqad zaxna. ‘We cannot go.’

2.1.12.10. Existence and Possession

Bohtan, like other NENA dialects, continues to use the Middle Aramaic expressions for existence and possession. The basic forms are *ət/it* ‘there is’,⁷⁰ and its negative *lət/lit* ‘there is not.’ Both take the past marker *-wa*: *ətwa/itwa* ‘there was,’ *lətwa/litwa* ‘there was not.’ Note that in place of *ə*, we often find the long vowel *ī*, even though the syllable is closed.

yaliida boxe, duwa lit. ‘The boy is crying, the mother is gone (lit. ‘absent’).’

⁶⁹ Hobrack (2000: 192).

⁷⁰ *itən*, with the *-ən* suffix, is also attested.

Possession is indicated by suffixing the L set pronouns. Stress in the resulting forms is always on the first syllable, even when that syllable is not the penultimate. Possessive forms with *i* are attested alongside forms with *a*. As in the verbal paradigms, when the past suffix *-wa* is the penultimate syllable it becomes *-wo-*.

Present	Past	
<i>ətli</i>	<i>átwoli</i>	1s.
<i>ətlux</i>	<i>átwolux</i>	2ms.
<i>ətlax</i>	<i>átwolax</i>	2fs.
<i>ətle</i>	<i>átwole</i>	3ms.
<i>ətla</i>	<i>átwola</i>	3fs.
<i>ətlan</i>	<i>átwolan</i>	1pl.
<i>ətlexun</i>	<i>átwalexun</i>	2pl.
<i>ətlā</i>	<i>átwolā</i>	3pl.

tra kəflaté átwoli. ‘I had two children.’

gowət gardaban átwoli xota. ‘I had a sister in Gardabani.’

xa yaluda, xa abrá-se ətli. ‘A child, actually a son, I have.’

itlux əlli moy-t arət bət awdan b-xabrux. ‘I promise (lit. ‘you have on me’) (that) what you say I will do according to your word.’

2.1.13. Verbal Paradigms

2.1.13.1. Strong Verbs

Class I: ptoxa ‘to open’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>ptæxli</i>	<i>ptixæn</i>	<i>patxæn</i>	1ms.
	<i>ptixan</i>	<i>patxan</i>	1fs.
<i>ptæxlux</i>	<i>ptixæt</i>	<i>patxæt</i>	2ms.
<i>ptæxlax</i>	<i>ptixat</i>	<i>patxat</i>	2fs.
<i>ptæxle</i>	<i>ptix</i>	<i>potæx</i>	3ms.
<i>ptæxla</i>	<i>ptixa</i>	<i>patxa</i>	3fs.
<i>ptæxlan</i>	<i>ptixæx</i>	<i>patxæx</i>	1pl.
<i>ptæxlexun</i>	<i>ptixetun</i>	<i>patxetun</i>	2pl.
<i>ptæxlā</i>	<i>ptixi</i>	<i>patxi</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>ptux</i>	sing.		
<i>ptuxun</i>	pl.		

Class II: zabune ‘to sell’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>zubbanni</i>	<i>zubbæn</i>	<i>zabnæn</i>	1ms.
	<i>zubbnan</i>	<i>zabnan</i>	1fs.
<i>zubbannux</i>	<i>zubbæt</i>	<i>zabnæt</i>	2ms.
<i>zubbannax</i>	<i>zubbnat</i>	<i>zabnat</i>	2fs.
<i>zubbanne</i>	<i>zubbæn</i>	<i>zobæn</i>	3ms.
<i>zubbanna</i>	<i>zubbna</i>	<i>zabna</i>	3fs.
<i>zubbannan</i>	<i>zubbæx</i>	<i>zabnæx</i>	1pl.
<i>zurbannexun</i>	<i>zubbnetun</i>	<i>zabnetun</i>	2pl.
<i>zubbannā</i>	<i>zubbni</i>	<i>zabni</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>zobun</i>	sing.		
<i>zābnun</i>	pl.		

Class III: maxrupe ‘to sharpen’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>muxrəpli</i>	<i>muxrəpən</i>	<i>maxrəpən</i>	1ms.
	<i>muxrəpan</i>	<i>maxrəpan</i>	1fs.
<i>muxrəplux</i>	<i>muxrəpət</i>	<i>maxrəpət</i>	2ms.
<i>muxrəplax</i>	<i>muxrəpat</i>	<i>maxrəpat</i>	2fs.
<i>muxrəple</i>	<i>muxrəp</i>	<i>maxrəp</i>	3ms.
<i>muxrəpla</i>	<i>muxrəpa</i>	<i>maxrəpa</i>	3fs.
<i>muxrəplan</i>	<i>muxrəpəx</i>	<i>maxrəpəx</i>	1pl.
<i>muxrəplexun</i>	<i>muxrəpetun</i>	<i>maxrəpetun</i>	2pl.
<i>muxrəplā</i>	<i>muxrəpi</i>	<i>maxrəpi</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>maxrup</i>	sing.		
<i>máxrəpun</i>	pl.		

2.1.13.2. Final-Weak Verbs*Class I: štoya ‘to drink’:*

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>šteli</i>	<i>štiyən/štən</i>	<i>šotən</i>	1ms.
	<i>štiyan</i>	<i>šatyan</i>	1fs.
<i>štelux</i>	<i>štiyət/štēt</i>	<i>šotət</i>	2ms.
<i>štelax</i>	<i>štiyat</i>	<i>šatyat</i>	2fs.
<i>štele</i>	<i>šte</i>	<i>šote</i>	3ms.
<i>štela</i>	<i>štiya</i>	<i>šatya</i>	3fs.
<i>štelan</i>	<i>štiyəx</i>	<i>šotəx</i>	1pl.
<i>štélexun</i>	<i>štetun</i>	<i>šotetun</i>	2pl.
<i>štelā</i>	<i>štiyi</i>	<i>šota</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>šti</i>	ms.		
<i>šta</i>	fs.		
<i>štun</i>	pl.		

Class II: gabuŷe ‘to choose’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>gubeli</i>	<i>gubiyən / gubən</i> <i>gubiyən</i>	<i>gobən</i> <i>gabyən</i>	1ms. 1fs.
<i>gubelux</i>	<i>gubiyət / gubət</i>	<i>gobət</i>	2ms.
<i>gubelax</i>	<i>gubiyat</i>	<i>gabyat</i>	2fs.
<i>gubele</i>	<i>gube</i>	<i>gobe</i>	3ms.
<i>gubela</i>	<i>gubiya</i>	<i>gabya</i>	3fs.
<i>gubelan</i>	<i>gubiyəx / gubəx</i>	<i>gobəx</i>	1pl.
<i>gubélexun</i>	<i>gubetun</i>	<i>gobetun</i>	2pl.
<i>gubelā</i>	<i>gubiyi</i>	<i>goba</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>gobi</i>	ms.		
<i>goba</i>	fs.		
<i>gabun</i>	pl.		

Class III: mašquye ‘to water’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>mušqeli</i>	<i>mušqiyən / mušqən</i> <i>mušqiyən</i>	<i>mašqiyən / mašqən</i> <i>mašqiyən</i>	1ms. 1fs.
<i>mušqelux</i>	<i>mušqiyət / mušqət</i>	<i>mašqiyət / mašqət</i>	2ms.
<i>mušqelax</i>	<i>mušqiyat</i>	<i>mašqiyat</i>	2fs.
<i>mušqe</i>	<i>mušqe</i>	<i>mašqe</i>	3ms.
<i>mušqela</i>	<i>mušqiya</i>	<i>mašqiya</i>	3fs.
<i>mušqelan</i>	<i>mušqiyəx</i>	<i>mašqiyəx / mašqəx</i>	1pl.
<i>mušqélexun</i>	<i>mušqiyetun</i>	<i>mašqiyetun / mašqetun</i>	2pl.
<i>mušqelā</i>	<i>mušqiyi</i>	<i>mašqiyi</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>mašqi</i>	ms.		
<i>mašqa</i>	fs.		
<i>mašqun</i>	pl.		

2.1.13.3. Final Ayin

Class I: *q̄towa* ‘to cut’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>q̄t̄ali</i>	<i>q̄t̄iȳən</i>	<i>q̄aṭən</i>	1ms.
	<i>q̄t̄iȳan</i>	<i>q̄aṭan</i>	1fs.
<i>q̄t̄əlux</i>	<i>q̄t̄iȳət</i>	<i>q̄aṭət</i>	2ms.
<i>q̄t̄əlax</i>	<i>q̄t̄iȳat</i>	<i>q̄aṭat</i>	2fs.
<i>q̄t̄əle</i>	<i>q̄t̄e</i>	<i>q̄oṭa</i>	3ms.
<i>q̄t̄əla</i>	<i>q̄t̄iya</i>	<i>q̄aṭa</i>	3fs.
<i>q̄t̄əlan</i>	<i>q̄t̄iȳəx</i>	<i>q̄aṭəx</i>	1pl.
<i>q̄t̄əlexun</i>	<i>q̄t̄iȳetun</i>	<i>q̄aṭetun</i>	2pl.
<i>q̄t̄əlā</i>	<i>q̄ṭa</i>	<i>q̄aṭi</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>q̄aṭi/q̄ṭi</i>	sing.		
<i>q̄aṭun</i>	pl.		

2.1.13.4. Middle-Weak Verbs

Class I: *q̄iyoma* ‘to stand up’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>q̄əmi</i>	<i>q̄im̄ən</i>	<i>q̄aym̄ən</i>	1ms.
	<i>q̄iman</i>	<i>q̄aman</i>	1fs.
<i>q̄əmlux</i>	<i>q̄im̄ət</i>	<i>q̄aym̄ət</i>	2ms.
<i>q̄əmlax</i>	<i>q̄imat</i>	<i>q̄amat</i>	2fs.
<i>q̄əml̄e</i>	<i>q̄im̄</i>	<i>q̄oȳəm</i>	3ms.
<i>q̄əml̄a</i>	<i>q̄ima</i>	<i>q̄ama</i>	3fs.
<i>q̄əml̄an</i>	<i>q̄im̄əx</i>	<i>q̄aym̄əx</i>	1pl.
<i>q̄əml̄exun</i>	<i>q̄imetun</i>	<i>q̄aymetun</i>	2pl.
<i>q̄əml̄ā</i>	<i>q̄imi</i>	<i>q̄aymi</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>q̄ulux / q̄i</i>	sing.		
<i>q̄il̄exun / q̄ulxun</i>	pl.		

Class II: ʔawule ‘to play’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>ʔawəlli</i>	<i>ʔawələn</i>	<i>ʔalən</i>	1ms.
	<i>ʔawəlan</i>	<i>ʔalan</i>	1fs.
<i>ʔawəllux</i>	<i>ʔawələt</i>	<i>ʔalət</i>	2ms.
<i>ʔawəllax</i>	<i>ʔawəlat</i>	<i>ʔalat</i>	2fs.
<i>ʔawəlle</i>	<i>ʔawəl</i>	<i>ʔola</i>	3ms.
<i>ʔawəlla</i>	<i>ʔawəla</i>	<i>ʔala</i>	3fs.
<i>ʔawəllan</i>	<i>ʔawələx</i>	<i>ʔaləx</i>	1pl.
<i>ʔawəlləxun</i>	<i>ʔawələtun</i>	<i>ʔaletun</i>	2pl.
<i>ʔawəllā</i>	<i>ʔawəli</i>	<i>ʔali</i>	3pl.

Imperative

<i>ʔawul</i>	sing.
<i>ʔalun</i>	pl.

Class III: maqume ‘to raise’:

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>maqəmlī</i>	<i>maqəmən</i>	<i>maqəmən</i>	1ms.
	<i>maqəman</i>	<i>maqəman</i>	1fs.
<i>maqəmlux</i>	<i>maqəmət</i>	<i>maqəmət</i>	2ms.
<i>maqəmlax</i>	<i>maqəmat</i>	<i>maqəmat</i>	2fs.
<i>maqəmlē</i>	<i>maqəmə</i>	<i>maqəmə</i>	3ms.
<i>maqəmla</i>	<i>maqəma</i>	<i>maqəma</i>	3fs.
<i>maqəmlan</i>	<i>maqəməx</i>	<i>maqəməx</i>	1pl.
<i>maqəmləxun</i>	<i>maqəmətun</i>	<i>maqəmətun</i>	2pl.
<i>maqəmlā</i>	<i>maqəməi</i>	<i>maqəməi</i>	3pl.

Imperative

<i>maqum</i>	sing.
<i>maqəmun</i>	pl.

2.1.13.5. Vowel-Initial Verbs

Class I: *ixola* 'to eat':

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>xəlli</i>	<i>xilən</i>	<i>axlən</i>	1ms.
	<i>xilan</i>	<i>axlan</i>	1fs.
<i>xəllux</i>	<i>xilət</i>	<i>axlət</i>	2ms.
<i>xəllax</i>	<i>xilat</i>	<i>axlat</i>	2fs.
<i>xəlle</i>	<i>xil</i>	<i>oxəl</i>	3ms.
<i>xəlla</i>	<i>xila</i>	<i>axla</i>	3fs.
<i>xəllan</i>	<i>xiləx</i>	<i>axləx</i>	1pl.
<i>xəlləxun</i>	<i>xiletun</i>	<i>axletun</i>	2pl.
<i>xəllā</i>	<i>xili</i>	<i>axli</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>uxəl</i>	sing.		
<i>uxlun</i>	pl.		

Class III: *maxule* 'to feed':

Preterite	Perfect	Present	
<i>muxəlli</i>	<i>muxlən</i>	<i>maxlən</i>	1ms.
	<i>muxlan</i>	<i>maxlan</i>	1fs.
<i>muxəllux</i>	<i>muxlət</i>	<i>maxlət</i>	2ms.
<i>muxəllax</i>	<i>muxlat</i>	<i>maxlat</i>	2fs.
<i>muxəlle</i>	<i>muxəl</i>	<i>maxəl</i>	3ms.
<i>muxəlla</i>	<i>muxla</i>	<i>maxla</i>	3fs.
<i>muxəllan</i>	<i>muxləx</i>	<i>maxləx</i>	1pl.
<i>muxəlləxun</i>	<i>muxletun</i>	<i>maxletun</i>	2pl.
<i>muxəllā</i>	<i>muxli</i>	<i>maxli</i>	3pl.
Imperative			
<i>maxul</i>	sing.		
<i>maxlun</i>	pl.		

2.2. PRONOUNS

2.2.1. Independent

<i>ona</i>	1s.
<i>owət / oyət</i>	2ms.
<i>owat /oyat</i>	2fs.
<i>oyün/ohən</i>	3s.
<i>axni, axnən</i>	1pl.
<i>axtun</i>	2pl.
<i>oni/anhan</i>	3pl.

ona widan b-rešet xmota hatxa šilone. ‘I did such things (lit. works) to (lit. on the head of) (my) mother-in-law.’

axni moxəšlan kulle jəlleni. ‘We gathered all our clothes.’

olaha şlawataw qbəlle-la, oyun-se mətla. ‘God received her prayers, she too died.’

owət bobəw iwət. ‘You are his father.’

owat hawyat rozi, b-nabən-nax. ‘(If) you (fs.) agree, I will take you.’

mu kaybitun? axtün mud šülexün ile? ‘What do you want? You (pl.) how is it your business?’

axtün man itun, m-aka itetun l-axxa? ‘Who are you (pl.)? From where have you come here?’

oni zili, zili. ‘(If) they have gone, they have gone.’

anhan yozi-wa laqreni, yoti-wa, yozi-wa. ‘They would to our homes, they would come, they would go.’

All independent personal pronouns except the first and second persons plural begin with a penultimate stressed open syllable. In other dialects of NENA the vowel in these forms is *a*, but in Bohtan the vowel has become *o* in accordance with the regular rule.

Bohtan has separate forms for the masculine and feminine second person singular. These were not present in proto-NENA (Hoberman 1990:83) but are found in many modern dialects, including Umra,⁷¹ but not Hertevin.

2.2.2. Pronominal Suffixes

<i>-i</i>	1s.
<i>-ux</i>	2ms.
<i>-ax</i>	2fs.
<i>-əw</i>	3ms.
<i>-aw</i>	3fs.
<i>-ayni /-eni</i>	1pl.
<i>-exun</i>	2pl.
<i>-ahan</i>	3pl.
<i>bobi duwi</i>	‘my parents (lit. my mother my father)’
<i>jəllux</i>	‘your (ms.) clothing’
<i>rešax</i>	‘your (fs.) head’
<i>idəw</i>	‘his hand’
<i>axəstaw</i>	‘her ring’
<i>abreni</i>	‘our son’
<i>rešexun</i>	‘your (pl.) head’
<i>bratahan</i>	‘their daughter’

The pronominal suffixes are used to indicate possession, and are also suffixed to prepositions. When attached to nouns they take the place of any word-final vowel: *ida* ‘hand,’ and *idəw* ‘his hand.’ Many nouns form their plural by substituting final *-e* for *-a*: *šoma* ‘candle,’ *šome* ‘candles,’ and the number of such nouns is indistinguishable when a pronominal suffix is added: *šomi* ‘my candle’ / ‘my candles.’

The plural pronominal suffixes are bisyllabic, and therefore cause a stress shift: *reša* ‘head’ *rešəxun* ‘your (pl.) head(s)’

The first and second person singular and second person plural forms of the pronominal suffix are typical of NENA; however, the remaining forms are worthy of comment.

⁷¹ Hobrack (2000: 37). Separate masculine and feminine forms do not exist in Bepin itself, but are found in some closely related dialects (Sinha 2000: 69).

a) The final *-w* of the third person singular forms is an archaic feature preserved in a few widely scattered dialects.⁷² The Bohtan forms are very close to Hoberman's (1988: 563) reconstructed Proto-NENA **ayhu* (m.) and **ahu* (f.).

The actual pronunciation of the third person singular forms varies widely. The masculine form is heard as *-əw*, *-əv*, or *-ö*. The feminine may be realized as *-aw*, *-o*, or *-ov*.

b) The first person plural suffix *-ayni/-eni* is usually realized as *-eni*, but has a fairly common alternant *-ayni*.⁷³ Hoberman (1988: 562) reconstructs two distinct Proto-NENA forms for this suffix: *-ayni* and *-an*. Some dialects have only a reflex of *-an*, while others, like Jilu⁷⁴ and Bepin⁷⁵ have descendants of both proto-forms. Bohtan is unique in reflecting only *-ayni*.

c) Hoberman (1988: 565) reconstructs two proto-NENA forms of the 3pl. nominal suffix: **ayhən* and **ay*, each of which is reflected in many dialects. Bohtan has only one form of this suffix, *-ahan*, a reflex of *-ayhən*. On the other hand, both **ayhən* and **ay* are preserved in the L-Set verbal suffixes, where *-lâ* < **lay* is used in word-final position, and *-lan-* < **layhən* is used before suffixes.⁷⁶

2.2.3. Independent Possessive Pronouns

<i>didî</i>	1s.
<i>didúx</i>	2ms.
<i>didáx</i>	2fs.
<i>didów</i>	3ms.
<i>didáw</i>	3fs.
<i>didán</i>	1pl.

⁷² Similar forms are found in Baz (Mutzafi 2000: 303), Jewish Koy Sanjaq (Mutzafi 2004: 60), Jewish Azerbaijan (Garbell 1965: 59), and the closely related Hertevin and Umra (Hobrack 2000: 38). It is noteworthy that with the exception of Baz, which occupied a central position among the dialects of Hakkari, these are all peripheral dialects, not yet affected by some of the waves of change radiating from the center of the NENA area.

⁷³ Since the diphthong *ay* is often reduced to *e* in Bohtan, this suffix could simply be transcribed as *-ayni*. I have chosen to give both of the alternants since the reduced one is particularly common.

⁷⁴ Fox (1997: 44).

⁷⁵ Sinha (2000: 71).

⁷⁶ See §2.1.6 above.

<i>dixun</i>	2pl.
<i>dihán</i>	3pl.

<i>kuna didán</i>	‘our tent’
<i>kēf didáw</i>	‘his happiness’
<i>suse didáw</i>	‘his horses’
<i>axəsta didáw</i>	‘her ring’
<i>didí</i>	‘mine’
<i>kərmalle didán</i>	‘our belongings’

The independent possessive pronouns of Bohtan are formed on the base *did-*, except for the second and third person plurals, which also have more common shorter variants formed on *di-*.

In some cases it is unclear why the independent possessive was used rather than the possessive suffix, but most examples fall into the following categories:

a) In place of an understood noun

ona didi le marjena maxkən əmmaw. ‘I, mine (my wife), I don’t dare to speak with her.’

b) Where several nouns in sequence have the same possessor

an xutət idəw xolome didəw hənna didəw. ‘those under his hand, his servants, his whatchamacallits.’

c) Following nouns which do not accept pronominal suffixes

kēf didəw twira. ‘He was depressed (lit. his happiness was broken).’

2.2.4. Reflexive

<i>ruxi</i>	1s.
<i>ruxux</i>	2ms.
<i>ruxax</i>	2fs.
<i>ruxəw</i>	3ms.
<i>ruxaw</i>	3fs.
<i>ruxayni</i>	1pl.
<i>ruxexun</i>	2pl.
<i>ruxahan</i>	3pl.

mete b-rešəw ruxəw. ‘He may kill himself (lit. bring on his own head).’

b-layle qəmla ruxahan susgərra. ‘They arose in the night (and) prepared themselves.’

yadən-wo-le šuli šulət ruxi. ‘I knew my work, my own work.’

The reflexive pronouns of Bohtan are formed on the base *rux-*. The various NENA dialects use one of four different bases for reflexive pronouns: *noš-* (the easternmost Jewish dialects), *rux-* (Hertevin and Bohtan), *rox-* (Qaraqosh), and *gyan-* (all the remainder).⁷⁷ Țuroyo, spoken not far South-West of Bohtan, also uses *ruḥ-*,⁷⁸ and this may reflect some type of contact between the languages.

2.2.5. Reciprocal

The reciprocal pronoun ‘each other’ is *áǵdode*, which is preceded by the prepositions *l-* ‘to,’ *m-* ‘from, with,’ or *b-* ‘in, with.’

porpəslan-na m-áǵdode. ‘They scattered them apart (lit. from each other).’

yožəx-wa l-áǵdode. ‘We would go to each other.’

xoşahan madərre l-áǵdode. ‘He turned their backs to each other.’

nčəqla l-áǵdode, čorpəlla b-áǵdode. ‘They kissed each other, they embraced each other.’

In one attested example *-d-* intervenes between the preposition and the pronoun.

xena laqqad zilan telan l-d-áǵdode. ‘We could not go and come to each other any more.’

2.2.6. Demonstratives

<i>awa, aw, o</i>	‘this (m.)’
<i>aya, aha, ay, e</i>	‘this (f.)’
<i>ani, anni</i>	‘these’

⁷⁷ Fox (1994: 158), Khan (2002: 84).

⁷⁸ Jastrow (1985: 216).

<i>aw, o</i>	‘that, the (m.)’
<i>ay, e</i>	‘that, the (f.)’
<i>owa</i>	‘that (m.)’
<i>oya</i>	‘that (f.)’
<i>at</i>	‘that’
<i>an</i>	‘those’

awa, *aya*, and *ani* are used independently, and never as noun determiners. Their meaning is essentially ‘this,’ or ‘these’ but they are often used in place of the independent pronouns:

awa hatxa xərre. ‘He looked this way.’

awa dərre tele əl batəw. ‘He returned, (and) came home.’

aya значит *riqa*. ‘She, I mean, has run away.’

aya xara, abra yote liza liza. ‘She looks, (and) a boy is coming very fast.’

ani qaymi axəsyatahan xalpi-la. ‘They get up (and) switch their rings.’

The forms *aw* (often contracted to *o*), *ay*, and *an* are used as noun determiners. They can usually be translated as ‘that,’ but often seem to function as no more than a definite article. Some speakers use *aw* regardless of the gender of the noun.

muta hiwi-li l-aw oga. ‘They brought (me) and gave me to that agha.’

уже *paltı-wa m-aw duka*. ‘They had already left that place.’

aw oga abbət susta qmata yote. ‘The agha on a mare comes first.’

an xene d-batrəw, batrəw yota. ‘The others that are after him come after him.’

dəle aya o brotá-la gze-la p-xalməw. ‘He knew (that) this is the girl (that) he saw in his dream.’

A special use is *aw dona* ‘when, then (lit. that time), if’:

aw dona qanyone xalwáx-la ‘when we milk the sheep’

susta o dona gzálo-la jwaniya didaw ‘when the mare saw her foal’

pəlla ləbbəw ay brota-se aw dona-se gzálo-le əllət abra. ‘He fell in love. The girl then also saw the boy.’

at is used only before a noun, and usually can be translated as ‘that.’

at brota halliún-na loli, gawrón-na. ‘Give that girl to me (I want to) marry her.’

at brotá-se qama, xa sækka maxya gowæt madra. ‘That girl also got up, she stuck a peg in the ground.’

aṭtora ote at pola maxəlwó-la susa. ‘Then let that servant (who) fed the horse come.’

at abra xena tu duka le zole. ‘That boy won’t go anywhere any more.’

xa dula hatxa ətwa, wərra l-at dula. ‘There was a valley like that, (and) they went into that valley.’

In some cases, however, *at* cannot be translated as ‘that’

abri, ona oğa, at šəmma hatxa hənna ətli ‘My son, I am an agha, I have such a reputation.’

at can also be used before a proper name:

*at jambali axəsta maplót-le.*⁷⁹ ‘That Jambali dropped the ring.’

an can be used both independently and before a noun, and can be translated as ‘those’

šud an pare lola. ‘Take the money for you(rself) (f).’

an t-ila tiwe toma hawla paspəsi m-ágdode. ‘Those who were sitting there were whispering with each other.’

2.2.7. Interrogatives

<i>aka</i>	‘where’
<i>ayni</i>	‘which’
<i>dax</i>	‘how’
<i>ima</i>	‘when’
<i>kma</i>	‘how many, how much’
<i>man</i>	‘who’
<i>moy / moyən / m-</i>	‘what’

⁷⁹ For the gender of *axəsta*, see §2.3.3 below.

<i>nəmmun / ləmmun / ləm-</i>	‘why’
<i>mud / mū</i>	‘how, how much’
<i>mud jurra / mū jūra</i>	‘how’
<i>mud qadrət / mu qarət</i>	‘how many’

qanyonəd man ilā ‘Whose sheep are they?’ (lit. ‘the sheep of whom are they?’)

man-iwa rozi mənənət xmotaw? ‘Who was pleased with her mother-in-law?’

t-ayni oğá-lā? ‘Which agha do they belong to?’ (lit. ‘of which agha are they?’)

moy awdax? ‘What shall we do?’

ona moy yodən-wa gowət mota? ‘What would I do in the village?’

m-ile, mará-iwət, yan moy? ‘What is it? are you sick, or what?’

nəmmun qtəle rešaw? ‘Why did he cut (off) his head?’

axnən dax отказ b-awdax? ‘How could (lit. will) we refuse?’

de, umar dax itwa rozi mənənət xmotax? ‘Please, say how you were pleased with your mother-in-law?’

axtün man əxtun, m-aka itetun l-axxa? ‘Who are you? where did you come here from?’

abri, owət brota m-aka gəzət? ‘My son, from where have you seen a girl?’

The interrogative *moy* ‘what’ has a free alternant *moyən* and a special short form *m-* which is used before the copula: *m-ile* ‘what is it?’ *m-* is also attested in Alqosh,⁸⁰ but *moy* is unique in NENA, though closely related forms exist in Bohtan’s closest relatives:

Hertevin ⁸¹	<i>mahi</i>
Umra ⁸²	<i>mā, mah</i>
Bespin ⁸³	<i>ma, māhi</i>

⁸⁰ Mutzafi, (p.c.).

⁸¹ Jastrow (1988: 193).

⁸² Hobrack (2000: 51).

Qaraqosh⁸⁴ *ma, may, ma-hi, ma-nə*

The form *may* has clearly arisen from *mahi* via the change of penultimate *a* to *o* and then loss of the intervocalic *h*.

nəmmun / ləmmun ‘why’ has a special short form *ləm-* which is used before the copula: *ləm-ile* ‘why is it?’

2.3. THE NOUN

2.3.1. General

In Middle Aramaic the nominal ending *-ā* (f. *-tā/-tā*) indicated the emphatic state, which had served as the definite article in earlier periods of the language. However, by the time of Classical Syriac and JBA the emphatic state had lost its force and was the normal form of nouns. In NENA *-a/-ta* is the normal termination of nouns, and is found not only in the inherited nominal vocabulary, but also in most borrowings. There are, however, a handful of inherited Aramaic nouns which do not end in *-a* or *-tā/-tā*, and some borrowings which have resisted the suffix.

Nouns in Bohtan, then, can be divided into four major categories on the basis of their shapes and origins:

- a) Native and nativized nouns which end in *-a* or *-ta*
- b) Native nouns which do not end in *-a* or *-ta*
- c) Unassimilated loans
- d) Nouns that end in one of a small number of recognizable suffixes. These are discussed below in §2.3.4.

As we have seen in §2.1.3 above, Bohtan verbs fall into major classes, which have their origins in the Middle Aramaic system of binyanim. Class III verbs are frequently causatives of Class I verbs which share the same root consonants, and this continues the earlier relationship between *p^cal* and *af^cel* verbs.⁸⁵ Bohtan nouns have no such regular relation between meaning and

⁸³ Sinha (2000: 163).

⁸⁴ Khan (2002: 83).

⁸⁵ In older forms of Aramaic we can identify a number of additional relations between binyanim, which no longer operate in Bohtan, due to the loss of the earlier passive binyanim and the impoverishment of Class II, which largely is descended from the older *pa^cel* binyan.

form. In the following sections we will catalogue the common noun patterns, but we will be unable to associate a given pattern with a coherent meaning. This situation is typical of NENA dialects, in contrast with what we find in some other Semitic languages, where some noun formations are typically, if not invariably, associated with predictable meanings.⁸⁶

2.3.2. Common Noun Patterns

2.3.2.1. Native and Assimilated Nouns Ending in *-a*

(C)aCa	<i>bata</i>	‘house’
	<i>qata</i>	‘summer’
	<i>ana</i>	‘well’
CeCa	<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’
	<i>reša</i>	‘head’
	<i>meša</i>	‘forest’
(C)iCa	<i>ida</i>	‘hand’
(C)oCa	<i>koka</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>qola</i>	‘voice’
	<i>ola</i>	‘God’
CuCa	<i>duka</i>	‘place’
	<i>kuba</i>	‘thorn’
CCoCa	<i>ktowa</i>	‘book’
	<i>xmoṭa</i>	‘needle’
CCiCa	<i>skina</i>	‘knife’
(C)aCCa	<i>aqla</i>	‘foot, leg’

⁸⁶ For example, Cowell (1964: 152-54) gives typical meanings for the Syrian Arabic patterns *fa^cāl* (occupational), *fa^cāle* (instrumental), *maf^cal*, *maf^cale*, and *maf^cel* (locative, hypostatic, or instrumental). Similarly, Leslau (1995: 221-24) says that in Amharic, nouns of the form *qəttali* denote a portion or a segment which results from the action expressed by a related verb, and *qətlāt* forms abstracts.

	<i>danwa</i>	‘tail’
	<i>garma</i>	‘bone’
<i>CəCCa</i>	<i>dəbba</i>	‘bear’
	<i>šəm̄ma</i>	‘name’
	<i>dəqna</i>	‘beard’
<i>CoCCa</i>	<i>dorma</i>	‘tree’
<i>CuCCa</i>	<i>dunya</i>	‘world’
<i>CCaCCa</i>	<i>jwanqa</i>	‘young man’
<i>CVCVCa</i>	<i>baroza</i>	‘pig’
	<i>guhina</i>	‘eyebrow’
	<i>kureka</i>	‘pocket’
	<i>masāla</i>	‘story’
	<i>naxira</i>	‘nose’
	<i>qopina</i>	‘forehead’
	<i>šabāta</i>	‘finger’
<i>CVCCVCa</i>	<i>barmoḡa</i>	‘stem’
	<i>gulliya</i>	‘hair’
	<i>panjāra</i>	‘window’
	<i>pelowa</i>	‘shoe’
	<i>tarwoda</i>	‘spoon’
	<i>tammora</i>	‘eyebrow’
	<i>sambela</i>	‘moustache’
<i>(C)aCCuCCa</i>	<i>armulla</i>	‘widower’

2.3.2.2. Native and Assimilated Nouns Ending in *-ta*

<i>Cota</i>	<i>xota</i>	‘sister’
	<i>mota</i>	‘village’
<i>(C)eta</i>	<i>eta</i>	‘church’
	<i>beta</i>	‘egg’
<i>CaCta</i>	<i>šabta</i>	‘week’

	<i>baxta</i>	‘woman’
	<i>kalta</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>CəCta</i>	<i>šənta</i>	‘sleep’
<i>CuCta</i>	<i>nunta</i>	‘fish’
	<i>šuxta</i>	‘shirt’
<i>CCota</i>	<i>brota</i>	‘daughter’
	<i>xmota</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>CCita</i>	<i>brita</i>	‘world’
	<i>xṭita</i>	‘sin’
<i>CCaCta</i>	<i>škafta</i>	‘cave’
	<i>xlašta</i>	‘end’
<i>CCəCta</i>	<i>skənta</i>	‘knife’
<i>(C)aCCuCta</i>	<i>dargušta</i>	‘cradle’
	<i>armulta</i>	‘widow’
<i>CaCəCta</i>	<i>šapərta</i>	‘bird’
	<i>tawərta</i>	‘cow’
<i>CaCaCta</i>	<i>darašta</i>	‘beginning’

2.3.2.3. Nouns Not Ending in *-a* or *-ta*

There are a very small number of inherited Aramaic nouns which do not end in *-a* or *-ta*:

<i>arxe</i>	‘mill’
<i>gore</i>	‘roof’
<i>layle</i>	‘night’
<i>mənne</i>	‘some, a group of’
<i>xuwwe</i>	‘snake’

<i>məndi</i>	‘thing’
<i>qoṭu</i>	‘cat’
<i>xolu</i>	‘maternal uncle’ ⁸⁷
<i>amtu</i>	‘paternal aunt’

A somewhat larger number of borrowed words do not end in *-a* or *-ta*:

<i>hakowat</i>	‘story’
<i>ənsón</i>	‘human being’
<i>božar</i>	‘city’
<i>farrokšu</i>	‘rag’
<i>kalakušək</i>	‘lizard’
<i>kəflat</i>	‘family, children’
<i>məllat</i>	‘nation’
<i>momu</i>	‘paternal uncle’
<i>pār</i>	‘steam’
<i>pîre</i>	‘old woman’
<i>sahat</i>	‘hour’
<i>žežžu</i>	‘hedgehog’
<i>čokuč</i>	‘hammer’
<i>taffak</i>	‘rifle’
<i>tuz</i>	‘dust’
<i>zərar</i>	‘harm’

2.3.3. Gender

Nouns which end in *-ta* or *-ət* are generally feminine, and the remainder are masculine. The only class of exceptions is nouns referring to women:

<i>səttiya</i>	‘lady’
<i>duwa</i>	‘mother’
<i>kačče</i>	‘girl’
<i>amtu</i>	‘maternal aunt’

Other words which tend to be feminine in other dialects of NENA, such as paired body parts and celestial bodies, are all masculine in Bohtan:

<i>ida</i>	‘hand’
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⁸⁷ This word descends from Middle Aramaic *ḥālā*, but may also have been influenced by the Arabic *xāl*. The termination seems to be the Kurdish vocative suffix, also seen below on *momu* ‘paternal uncle.’

<i>aqla</i>	‘foot’
<i>ana</i>	‘well’
<i>koka</i>	‘tooth’
<i>nota</i>	‘ear’
<i>ṭapra</i>	‘fingernail’
<i>gawza</i>	‘nut’
<i>bəṣla</i>	‘onion’
<i>kəxwa</i>	‘star’
<i>səhra</i>	‘moon’
<i>šəmša</i>	‘sun’
<i>pawxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>nura</i>	‘light’
<i>talga</i>	‘snow’
<i>warxa</i>	‘way’
<i>qoṭu</i>	‘cat’
<i>arxe</i>	‘mill’
<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’
<i>məlxā</i>	‘salt’

One noun which ends in *-ta* is masculine:

<i>axəsta</i>	‘ring’ ⁸⁸
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2.3.4. Derivational Suffixes

Several noun suffixes are attested in Bohtan.

2.3.4.1. *-ona* (f. *-anta*)

This inherited Aramaic suffix has no identifiable meaning.

<i>qanyona</i>	‘sheep’
<i>mašpiyona</i>	‘strainer’
<i>aryona</i>	‘rain’
<i>xamyona</i>	‘father-in-law’

⁸⁸ The word *axəsta* is descended from a Middle Aramaic form similar to JBA *‘izqtā* ‘seal ring.’ One of the examples of *‘izqtā* cited in Sokoloff (2002: 853) seems already to take masculine concord.

2.3.4.2. *-una* (f. *-unta*)

-una is an Aramaic diminutive ending which is optionally added to the noun *xatika* ‘a little bit’⁸⁹:

xatika, xatikuna ‘a little bit’

-unta is a feminine diminutive suffix which is found on one word:

kaltunta ‘little bride’

One speaker also commonly adds this suffix to the adverb *axxa* ‘here’ and even the pronoun *awa* ‘this,’ evidently for stylistic reasons:

b-axxunta (< *b-axxa*) ‘here’

l-axxunta (< *l-axxa*) ‘to here’

m-axxunta (< *m-axxa*) ‘from here’

awunta (< *awa*) ‘this’

2.3.4.3. *-uta*

This ending forms abstracts, and can be used freely in new formations:

čatunuta (< *čatun* ‘difficult’) ‘difficulty’

kəpnuta (< *kəpna* ‘hungry’) ‘famine’

tuquta (< *tiqa* ‘old’) ‘the old days’

traktaristuta (< тракторист) ‘tractor driving’

2.3.4.4. *-oya* / *-owa* (f. *-ata*)

This is the *nisba* ending, which forms nouns based on ethnic affiliation:

mšixoya ‘Christian’

suroya ‘Assyrian’

qurdoya / *qurdowa* ‘Kurd’

lamsowa ‘German’

bohtoya ‘Of Bohtan’

2.3.5. Plural Formation

As is typical of NENA dialects, Bohtan has a number of different plural suffixes. Many nouns are attested with more than one plural. None of the attested plural patterns are unique to Bohtan, but in some cases the change of

⁸⁹ *xatika* and *xatikuna* can also be used as adverbs.

penultimate *a* to *o* has affected their form: where other dialects have plurals in *-ata*, the cognates in Bohtan have *-ota*. Where adding the plural suffix moves a stem syllable from penultimate position or closes it, stem vowel alternations can also result: *loma* ‘cheek,’ *lamota* ‘cheeks,’ *xota* ‘sister,’ *xatwota* ‘sisters.’

2.3.5.1. Final *-a* is Replaced by *-e*

This is easily the most common pattern. A subgroup is nouns with the masculine *nisba* ending *-oya* / *-owa*.⁹⁰

<i>boba</i>	<i>bobe</i>	‘father’
<i>garma</i>	<i>garme</i>	‘bone’
<i>kepa</i>	<i>kepe</i>	‘stone’
<i>naqla</i>	<i>naqle</i>	‘time (instance)’
<i>pelowa</i>	<i>pelowe</i>	‘shoe’
<i>qanyona</i>	<i>qanyone</i>	‘sheep’
<i>panjāra</i>	<i>panjāre</i>	‘window’
<i>čaqqa</i>	<i>čaqqe</i>	‘branch’
<i>dorma</i>	<i>dorme</i>	‘tree’
<i>armulla</i>	<i>armulle</i>	‘widower’
<i>yoma</i>	<i>yome</i>	‘day’
<i>ṭapra</i>	<i>ṭapre</i>	‘fingernail’
<i>bohtowa</i>	<i>bohtowe</i>	‘Bohtan man’
<i>qurdowa</i>	<i>qurdowe</i>	‘Kurd, Muslim’

2.3.5.2. Final *-ta* is Replaced by *-e*

This is found in three cases:

<i>şapṛta</i>	<i>şapre</i>	‘bird’
<i>nunta</i>	<i>nune</i>	‘fish’
<i>ramunta</i>	<i>ramune</i>	‘pomegranate’

2.3.5.3. Final *-a* is replaced by *-one*

<i>duka</i>	<i>dukone</i>	‘place’
<i>ruša</i>	<i>rušone</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>šula</i>	<i>šulone</i>	‘work’

⁹⁰ See §2.3.4 above.

<i>tara</i>	<i>tarone</i>	‘door’
<i>yoma</i>	<i>yomone</i>	‘day’
<i>zopa</i>	<i>zapone</i>	‘hair’

2.3.5.4. Final *-a* is Replaced by *-ota*

<i>guma</i>	<i>gumota</i>	‘stable’
<i>yoma</i>	<i>yomota</i>	‘day’
<i>ṭapra</i>	<i>ṭaprotā</i>	‘fingernail’
<i>aqla</i>	<i>aqlota</i>	‘leg’
<i>ida</i>	<i>idota</i>	‘hands’
<i>loma</i>	<i>lamota</i>	‘cheek’
<i>warxa</i>	<i>warxota</i>	‘road’
<i>duwa</i>	<i>duwota</i>	‘mother’
<i>ana</i>	<i>anota</i>	‘eye, spring’

2.3.5.5. Final *-a* is Replaced by *-wota*:

<i>noša</i>	<i>našwota</i>	‘person (plural: kinsmen)’
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2.3.5.6. Final *-ta* is Replaced by *-twota*

<i>mota</i>	<i>matwota</i>	‘village’
<i>nota</i>	<i>natwota</i>	‘ear’
<i>xmota</i>	<i>xmatwota</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>xota</i>	<i>xatwota</i>	‘sister’
<i>eta</i>	<i>etwota</i>	‘church’
<i>bata</i>	<i>batwota</i>	‘house’

2.3.5.7. Final *-ta* is Replaced by *-wota*

<i>kalta</i>	<i>kalwota</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
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2.3.5.8. Final *-ta* is Replaced by *-yota*

<i>čanta</i>	<i>čanyota</i>	‘bag’
<i>armulta</i>	<i>armulyota</i>	‘widow’
<i>šuxta</i>	<i>šuxyota</i>	‘shirt’
<i>ktata</i>	<i>ktayota</i>	‘chicken’
<i>tawərta</i>	<i>tawəryota</i>	‘cow’
<i>kaləbta</i>	<i>kaləbyota</i>	‘bitch’
<i>jwanəqta</i>	<i>jwanəqyota</i>	‘young woman’

2.3.5.9. Words Not Ending in *-a* or *-ta*

Nouns not ending in *-a* or *-ta* generally take the plural ending *-e*. This group of nouns consists mainly of unassimilated borrowings. It includes a group of nouns with singulars which end in *-at*, an ending which has its origin in the Arabic feminine marker, and which has come to Bohtan via Kurdish:

<i>çokuç</i>	<i>çokuçe</i>	'hammer'
<i>barroni</i>	<i>barroniye</i>	'pear'
<i>qoṭu</i>	<i>qoṭuwe</i>	'cat'
<i>taffak</i>	<i>taffake</i>	'gun'
<i>sahat</i>	<i>sahate</i>	'hour'
<i>hakowat</i>	<i>hakowate</i>	'tale'
<i>qəşşat</i>	<i>qəşşate</i>	'story'
<i>kəflat</i>	<i>kəflate</i>	'family, children'

One noun which ends in *-i* adds *-yone*:

<i>məndi</i>	<i>məndiyone</i>	'thing'
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One noun which ends in *-e* takes *-ota*:

<i>arxe</i>	<i>arxota</i>	'mill'
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Two nouns which end in *-u*, derived from the Kurdish vocative ending, change the *u* to *w*, and add *-ota*:

<i>xolu</i>	<i>xalwota</i>	'maternal uncle'
<i>amtu</i>	<i>amtwota</i>	'paternal aunt'

2.3.5.10. Irregular Plurals

<i>bata</i>	<i>bote</i>	'house'
<i>beta</i>	<i>biye</i>	'egg'
<i>abra</i>	<i>abne</i>	'son'
<i>brotā</i>	<i>bnote</i>	'daughter, girl'
<i>nota</i>	<i>nakyota</i>	'ear'
<i>şeta</i>	<i>şanne</i>	'year'
<i>xuwwe</i>	<i>xuwowe</i>	'snake'
<i>pəqa</i>	<i>pəqoqe</i>	'frog'
<i>xawra</i>	<i>xurone</i>	'friend'
<i>gore</i>	<i>garwota</i>	'roof'

There are several pluralia tantum:

<i>axre</i>	‘feces’
<i>xowe</i>	‘life’
<i>pare</i>	‘money’
<i>kərmalle / kəlmalle</i>	‘belongings’
<i>mowe / moye</i>	‘water’
<i>ruqe</i>	‘saliva’

2.3.6. *Idafa* Formation

The term *idafa* is applied to the special form which nouns take when they are followed by another noun which bears a genitive relation to it. In old Aramaic, such nouns were in the construct state, but in Middle Aramaic the use of the construct state had largely been replaced by periphrastic constructions with the particle *d-* ‘of’.⁹¹ In NENA the particle *d-* has become a suffix, and the vowel preceding it is reduced to *a*. When the following word begins with a voiceless consonant, the *-d* sometimes assimilates to it in voicing, and occasionally there is complete assimilation. There are also a number of examples in which the *idafa* relationship is unmarked, and the noun remains in its normal form. Unmarked *idafa* may be the result of complete assimilation followed by simplification of the resulting geminate cluster: **tarəd gumota* > **tarəg gumota* > *tara gumota*.

When the word that follows the construct ending is a demonstrative pronoun, the particle *d-* ‘of’ is prefixed to the pronoun.

a) voiced

<i>palgəd yoma</i>	‘noon’ (lit. ‘half of the day’)
<i>duwəd d-aw oğa</i>	‘the mother of the agha’
<i>kalankád⁹² lamsowé</i>	‘a colony of Germans’

b) unvoiced

<i>brətət karačukta</i>	‘the daughter of a gypsy’
<i>šəmmət d-aha hakowət</i>	‘the name of that story’
<i>motət Grünfeld</i>	‘the village of Grünfeld’

c) complete assimilation

<i>motəl lamsowé</i>	‘the village of the Germans’
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⁹¹ Muraoka (1997: 61).

⁹² A misuse of колонка ‘column’ for колония ‘colony.’

d) unmarked *iḏafa*

<i>xa qəṭa šekar</i>	‘a piece of sugar’
<i>kuna karačūke</i>	‘a tent of Gypsies’
<i>tara gumota</i>	‘the door of the stables’
<i>mənne riye</i>	‘a group of shepherds’
<i>an mare qanyone</i>	‘these herders of sheep’

2.4. THE ADJECTIVE**2.4.1. General**

Adjectives fall into three categories, depending on their agreement patterns.

Most adjectives follow the agreement pattern inherited from Middle Aramaic. They have distinct masculine singular, feminine singular, and common plural forms with endings *-a* (m.), *-ta* (f.), *-e* (pl.). This class includes words of both native and borrowed origin.

A small number of adjectives, mostly borrowed from Kurdish, have only two forms: one for masculine, ending in *-a*, and another for both feminine singular and plural, ending in *-e*.

A third group, also mostly borrowed from Kurdish, is invariable.

Adjectives with normal agreement include the following:

<i>kuma</i>	<i>kumta</i>	<i>kume</i>	‘black’
<i>mara</i>	<i>marata</i>	<i>mare</i>	‘sick’
<i>roba</i>	<i>rabta</i>	<i>robe</i>	‘large’
<i>xota</i>	<i>xatta</i>	<i>xote</i>	‘new’
<i>qiša</i>	<i>qəšta</i>	<i>qiše</i>	‘clean’
<i>rixa</i>	<i>rəxta</i>	<i>rixe</i>	‘long, tall’
<i>roma</i>	<i>ramta</i>	<i>rome</i>	‘tall’
<i>smuqa</i>	<i>smuqta</i>	<i>smuqe</i>	‘red’
<i>sowa</i>	<i>sawta</i>	<i>sowe</i>	‘old (of people)’
<i>spiqqa</i>	<i>spəqta</i>	<i>spiqe</i>	‘empty’
<i>talila</i>	<i>talalta</i>	<i>talile</i>	‘wet’
<i>tiqa</i>	<i>təqta</i>	<i>tiqe</i>	‘old (of things)’
<i>ṭowa</i>	<i>ṭawta</i>	<i>ṭowe</i>	‘good’
<i>wiša</i>	<i>wəšta</i>	<i>wiše</i>	‘dry’
<i>zura</i>	<i>zurta</i>	<i>zure</i>	‘small’

Several of these adjectives have lost initial unstressed syllables which are present in their cognates in other dialects:

Bohtan	Qaraqosh	
<i>rixa</i>	<i>yarixa</i>	‘long’
<i>tiqa</i>	<i>’atiqa</i>	‘old’
<i>wiša</i>	<i>ywiša</i>	‘dry’

Adjectives ending in *-ya* form their feminines in *-ətta*:

<i>karya</i>	<i>krətta</i>	<i>karye</i>	‘short’
<i>malya</i>	<i>mlətta</i>	<i>malye</i>	‘full’
<i>xalya</i>	<i>xlətta</i>	<i>xalye</i>	‘sweet’
<i>swiya</i>	<i>swətta</i>	<i>swiye</i>	‘satisfied’

Adjectives ending in *-ona* have feminines in *-anita*:

<i>hawnona</i>	<i>hawnanita</i>	<i>hawnone</i>	‘smart’
<i>xalona</i>	<i>xalanita</i>	<i>xalone</i>	‘strong’
<i>pandona</i>	<i>pandanita</i>	<i>pandone</i>	‘clever’
<i>şattona</i>	<i>şattanita</i>	<i>şattone</i>	‘dirty’
<i>şəntona</i>	<i>şəntanita</i>	<i>şəntone</i>	‘sleepy’

Some adjectives have the *nisba* ending, which is also used to form gentilic nouns:⁹³

<i>xrowa</i>	<i>xrata</i>	<i>xrowe</i>	‘last’
<i>qmowa</i>	<i>qmata</i>	<i>qmowe</i>	‘first’

2.4.2. Adjectives with Limited Agreement

A small group of adjectives of Kurdish origin have a separate agreement pattern, in which both the feminine and the plural replace the *-a* of the masculine singular with *-e*. The use of this ending in the feminine singular may originate in the Kurdish feminine singular nominal oblique suffix *-ê*.⁹⁴ Attested adjectives of this type include:

<i>karra</i>	<i>kərre</i>	<i>kərre</i>	‘deaf’
<i>kura</i>	<i>kure</i>	<i>kure</i>	‘blind’

⁹³ See above in §2.3.4.

⁹⁴ This suggestion is made in Jastrow (1988: 97). For the Kurdish nominal endings, see Blau (1975: 36), and MacKenzie (1961: 153).

<i>lola</i>	<i>lole</i>	<i>lole</i>	‘dumb’
<i>rutta</i>	<i>rutte</i>	<i>rutte</i>	‘naked’
<i>randa</i>	<i>rande</i>	<i>rande</i>	‘good’

2.4.3 Invariable adjectives

There is a small group of invariable adjectives, all but one (*xərba* ‘bad’) of foreign origin:

<i>rozi</i>	‘satisfied, in agreement’
<i>sək</i>	‘bad’
<i>gunna</i>	‘poor’
<i>bōš</i>	‘good’
<i>taza</i>	‘fresh’
<i>bewač</i>	‘weak, underfed’
<i>xərba</i>	‘bad’

2.4.4. Comparison

The comparative is formed by adding the particle *to* before the adjective:

ay brota to qaryanita-la mənnət d-aw abra. ‘This girl is shorter than that boy.’

2.5. ADVERBS

There are a number of attested adverbs and adverbial expressions. Adjectives can be used as adverbs without any formal alteration.

2.5.1. Adverbs of Time

<i>diyu</i>	‘today’
<i>itmal</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>háyuna</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>dorá yoma</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>qomá yoma</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>əšqa</i>	‘last year’
<i>hala</i>	‘already’
<i>hawda</i>	‘now’
<i>xrowa</i>	‘finally, late’
<i>qmata</i>	‘first’
<i>xəš</i>	‘already, yet’

<i>haya</i>	‘early’
<i>taza</i>	‘just now’

2.5.2. Adverbs of Direction

<i>čappa</i>	‘left’
<i>rusta</i>	‘right’
<i>l-axxa</i>	‘to here’
<i>qudma</i>	‘forward’
<i>rakuna</i>	‘down’
<i>dora</i>	‘back’

2.5.3. Adverbs of Place

<i>b-axxa</i>	‘here’
<i>čora</i>	‘close by’
<i>toma</i>	‘there’
<i>mālāl</i>	‘upstairs’
<i>maltax</i>	‘downstairs’

2.5.4. Adverbs of Manner

<i>liza</i>	‘quickly’
<i>hedi</i>	‘slowly’
<i>qalula</i>	‘easy’
<i>randa</i>	‘well’
<i>xərba</i>	‘badly’

2.5.5. Adverbs of Quantity

<i>gälak</i>	‘very’
<i>xábər̄ra</i>	‘a lot’
<i>xatika, xatikuna</i>	‘a little’

2.5.6. Others

<i>balkət</i>	‘maybe’
<i>hala</i>	‘still, yet’
<i>hatxa</i>	‘such’
<i>hawdax</i>	‘thus’
<i>maššud</i>	‘together’

2.6. PRE- AND POSTPOSITIONS

2.6.1. Prepositions

Prepositions can be divided into four categories: **prefixed prepositions**, which are attached to the following word and cannot appear as independent words; **simple prepositions**, which are separate words; **extended prepositions**, which have the *ı̄dafa* suffix⁹⁵; and **compound prepositions** formed by adding a prefixed preposition to an extended preposition.

Most of extended prepositions are formed from simple prepositions. The conditions which govern the choice of an simple preposition or its extended variant are not clear, but extended prepositions are more frequent in Bohtan than in many other NENA dialects, and the extended version of a given preposition is used more often than its simple counterpart.

2.6.1.1. Prefixed Prepositions

<i>b-</i>	‘in’
<i>m-</i>	‘from’
<i>l-</i>	‘to’

m-aka itetun l-axxa? ‘From where have you come to here?’

rəqlā m-toma. ‘They fled from there.’

ani b-layle qaymi. ‘They rose in the night.’

b- becomes *p-* before a voiceless consonant:

p-tüqüta ‘in the old days’

2.6.1.2. Simple Prepositions

<i>botar</i>	‘after’
<i>bəl</i>	‘between’
<i>əl</i>	‘to, for’
<i>go</i>	‘in’
<i>hal</i>	‘until’
<i>ləw</i>	‘at, with’

⁹⁵ The origins of this type of preposition are discussed in Mengozzi (2005).

<i>pe</i>	‘towards’
<i>qam</i>	‘before, in front of’
<i>lal</i>	‘to, for’
<i>mən</i>	‘from, with’
<i>xən</i>	‘as, like’

botar tlotá yomota ‘after three days’

xa tapəkka dəmma pəlle bəl tərwan. ‘A drop of blood fell between the two of them.’

susa lit go guma. ‘There is no horse in the stable.’

hal šetət tloti u arba ‘until 1934’ (lit. ‘the year of thirty and four’)

qam bira ‘in front of the well’

pləxla lal lamsowé. ‘They worked for the Germans.’

šodarra-li əl kursət əl traktoríste. ‘They sent me to a course for tractor drivers.’

yozi-wa əl şada. ‘He would go (to) hunting.’

pliṭax mən toma. ‘We have gone out (from) there.’

xən барраки-d dihan ‘as their farm workers’

háyuna xən qim-wa ‘in the morning, when he had gotten up’

2.6.1.3. Extended Prepositions

<i>čorət</i>	‘close to’
<i>əbbət</i>	‘with, by means of, at’
<i>əllət</i>	‘to, towards, on’
<i>əmmət</i>	‘with’
<i>gowət</i>	‘in’
<i>laqrət, raqrət</i>	‘at the house of, chez’
<i>mənnət</i>	‘from, with’
<i>pət</i>	‘towards’
<i>rešət</i>	‘above’
<i>xutət</i>	‘under’

aw oğa əbbət susta qmata yote. ‘That agha is coming first on a mare.’

xa səkka maxya gowəd madra. ‘She struck a stake in the ground.’

mənnət karačüike ‘from the Gypsies’

xə qəta šekar mutwa əllá(k) ktowa. ‘A piece of sugar was put on the letter.’

pêd jwaniya ‘towards the foal’

rešəd ana ‘above the well’

xutət sadüita ‘under the pillow’

When simple or extended prepositions are followed by a demonstrative pronoun, the *ıdafa* marker is repeated before the pronoun:

čorəd d-at bata ‘close to this house’

əbbət d-at qasa bət tarkəsən-nax. ‘I will beat you with this stick.’

ay brota to qaryanita-la mənnət d-aw abra. ‘This girl is shorter than that boy.’

ləw d-an karačüike ‘by those Gypsies’

xən d-at qəta-t šekar ‘like this piece of sugar’

2.6.1.4. Compound Prepositions

b-rešət ‘on’

m-gowət ‘from within’

mete b-rešəw ruxəw. ‘He may bring on himself.’

plətlan m-gowət xanlár. ‘We went out from (within) Khanlar.’

Some prepositions can take pronominal suffixes.⁹⁶ The attendant movement of stress, the opening and closing of syllables, and changes in vocalic environment can cause changes in the stem of the preposition itself.

qmata ‘before’

qmaytəw ‘before him’

əmmət ‘with’

əmmahan ‘with them’

əmmayni ‘with us’

⁹⁶ These suffixes are described above in §2.2.2.

<i>botar</i>	‘after’
<i>batraw</i>	‘after her’
<i>čorət</i>	‘close to’
<i>čorux</i>	‘close to you (ms.)’
<i>čoraw</i>	‘close to her’
<i>čarhan</i>	‘close to them’
<i>əl</i>	‘to, towards’
<i>əllaw</i>	‘towards her’
<i>laqrət</i>	‘at the house of’
<i>laqrəw</i>	‘at his house’
<i>laqreni</i>	‘at our house’
<i>laqrahan</i>	‘at their house’
<i>lal</i>	‘to, for’
<i>loli</i>	‘to me’
<i>lolux</i>	‘to you (ms.)’
<i>lolax</i>	‘to you (fs.)’
<i>loləw</i>	‘to him’
<i>lolaw</i>	‘to her’
<i>laleni</i>	‘to us’
<i>lalexun</i>	‘to you (pl.)’
<i>lalhan</i>	‘to them’
<i>mən</i>	‘from, with’
<i>mənnaw</i>	‘with her’
<i>xən</i>	‘as, like’
<i>xənxwoti</i>	‘like me’
<i>xənxwotəw</i>	‘like him’

2.6.2. Postposition *-lal*

One preposition, *lal*, often appears as an enclitic, and can be attached both to verbs and to nouns.⁹⁷ When attached to a verb, it stands directly before the noun that it governs, but phonologically forms part of the verb:

brota axəstaw yawó-lal jambali. ‘The girl gave her ring to Jambali.’

noxəp orá-lal bobəw. ‘He is ashamed to speak to his father.’

hilo-lal xmotaw. ‘She gave (it) to her mother-in-law.’

When enclitic, *-lal* is often reduced to *-ləl*:

yorá-ləl owət xowər-la suse didəw. ‘He speaks to him who watches his horses.’

-ləl is also attached to nouns

iizü-wa matwotá-ləl. ‘He had gone to the villages.’

-ləl can be combined with a preposition:

izó-wa b-šənnə-ləl. ‘She had become old’ (lit. ‘gone into years’).

tləbtux b-axxa gawra əbbət xlulá-ləl. ‘Your fiancée is getting married here in a wedding.’

In one case, it is attached to a preposition with a pronominal suffix:

o batrəw-ləl xa moxe. ‘He struck backwards once (lit. He towards behind him one struck).’

The verbal enclitic *-lal* is comparable to the Kurmanji *-e* or *-a*, also a verbal enclitic, meaning ‘to’:

çone mala wa ‘Ils allèrent chez eux.’⁹⁸

čôn-a čyây ‘We went to the mountains.’⁹⁹

Kurmanji also has postpositions that are sometimes used by themselves and sometimes appear together with prepositions. In these examples the

⁹⁷ This phenomenon is discussed briefly in Fox (2007: 74-5).

⁹⁸ Blau (1975: 53).

⁹⁹ MacKenzie (1961: 198).

postposition *-ve* ‘in’ appears with the preposition *d* and by itself (Blau 1975:54):

d xanîve ‘dans la maison’

ço xanîk’ê xove. ‘Elle rentra dans sa maison.’

2.7. CONJUNCTIONS

<i>u</i>	‘and’
<i>aṭṭor, aṭṭora</i>	‘at that time, then’
<i>nax, naxwo</i>	‘otherwise, after all, but’
<i>yan</i>	‘or’
<i>ən</i>	‘if’

hatxa xowər u hawla xa ana ṣtwola toma. ‘He looked and saw that there was a well there (lit. He is looking like that, and there was a well there).’

oni pləṭla zila u ani tela əl toma. ‘Those left and went (away), and these came there.’

aṭṭora ote at pola maxəlwo-la susa. ‘Then that worker comes, he would feed the horse.’

aṭṭora, xa mənhan donəd gwərre, xa mo qasa muttú-wa xutət sadiita. ‘Then, when one of them got married, he put a kind of stick under the pillow.’

m-ile, mará-iwət, yan moy? ‘What is it? Are you sick, or what?’

ən la otət, b-otəx mota šantaləx-le. ‘If you don’t come, we will come (and) plunder the village.’

Bohtan is very sparing in its use of conjunctions. Narratives commonly string clauses together with only occasional use of equivalents to English ‘and,’ or ‘but.’ Most common is *aṭṭor* ‘at that time, then.’ Much less frequent are *u* ‘and,’ and *nax* ‘otherwise, after all, but,’

A series of noun phrases or adverbs is connected with *u*, descended from Middle Aramaic prefixed *w-*:

<i>m-axxa u hawda</i>	‘from here and now’
<i>b-axxa u toma</i>	‘here and there’
<i>xa abra u xa brota</i>	‘a boy and a girl’

The same element, appearing as an enclitic, connects the elements of compound numbers¹⁰⁰:

alpá-w əčča əmma-w əşri-w šawa ‘one thousand nine hundred twenty seven’

Noun phrases can also be joined by the focus enclitic *-se*, which follows the second element, with a meaning similar to ‘also’:

2.8. NUMBERS

<i>xa</i>	one
<i>tra</i>	two
<i>tlota</i>	three
<i>arba</i>	four
<i>xamša</i>	five
<i>əšta</i>	six
<i>šawa</i>	seven
<i>tmanyá</i>	eight
<i>əčča</i>	nine
<i>əşra</i>	ten
<i>gdissar</i>	eleven
<i>trissar</i>	twelve
<i>iltassar</i>	thirteen
<i>arbassar</i>	fourteen
<i>xamšassar</i>	fifteen
<i>əštassar</i>	sixteen
<i>šawassar</i>	seventeen
<i>tmonassar</i>	eighteen
<i>əččassar</i>	nineteen
<i>əşri</i>	twenty
<i>tloti</i>	thirty
<i>arbi</i>	forty
<i>xamši</i>	fifty
<i>əšti</i>	sixty
<i>šawwi</i>	seventy
<i>tmoni</i>	eighty

¹⁰⁰ See §2.8 below. Also compare Mutzafi (2004b: 167), and Sinha (2000: 167).

<i>əčči</i>	ninety
<i>əmma</i>	one hundred
<i>alpa</i>	one thousand

Many NENA dialects have separate masculine and feminine numbers. Among Bohtan's close relatives, Bospin (Sinha 2000: 165) distinguishes masculine and feminine up to ten, and Umra (Hobrack 2000: 121) has separate numbers one and two. Bohtan, however, like Hertevin (Jastrow 1988: 99), has only a single set of numbers, and no gender agreement.

3. SYNTAX

3.1. CLAUSES

3.1.1. Copular Clause Elements and Sequence

The copula usually follows the predicate:

m-ile, mará-iwət? ‘What is it? Are you sick?’

axxa duka man ile? ‘Whose place is this?’

axəsta didaw ila. ‘It is her ring.’

ḡlibí-le ite batri. ‘It is my fiancé (who has) come after me.’

didí hatxa bōš ila. ‘Mine is so good.’

awa m-ile, gawra? ‘What is this, husband?’

Where the clause is immediately preceded by the relative *d* ‘that,’ either as an independent word or as the termination of another word, the copula precedes the predicate:

kud ila rozi ‘anyone that is satisfied’

moy d-ile duz, duz. ‘What is right (is) right.’

yaxló-li b-ixola mud ila xərba, mud ila sək. ‘She feeds me with food that is so bad, that is so disgusting.’

Examples of the past copula:

mud iwa rande! ‘How beautiful she was!’

at brota toma anotaw varxá-wa. ‘That girl was there (with) her eyes (on) the road.’

Examples of the emphatic copula:

duwəd d-aw oḡa hawlala dməxta. ‘The agha’s mother was asleep.’

qam iwora əl ʔara, noʃe maʃmé-la ki sətte zine hawlala go čangəd mamiolam. ‘Before going in the door he told people that Sitte Zine was in the arms of Mamiolam.’

3.1.2. *it* Clause

The particle *it*, and its negative, *lit*, indicate presence or absence. The corresponding past forms are *ətwa* and *lətwa*. When the emphasis is on the person or thing rather than its existence or absence, the noun phrase precedes the particle:

xa jwanqa it go fəllan mota. ‘There is a young man in such and such a village.’

moy it, moy lit? ‘What’s happening? (lit. What is there, what isn’t there?)’

xa it, musu ile šəmməw. ‘There is someone whose name is Musu.’

zərar lit. ‘There is no harm.’

When the fact of existence or absence is emphasized, the particle comes first:

it ktiwa ktowa. ‘There is a letter written.’

lit jambali. ‘Jambali is gone (lit. There is no Jambali).’

In this case, the speaker vacillated, and so the particle both precedes and follows the noun phrase:

ətwa xena xa oğa xena ətwa. ‘There was an agha.’

In the following example, the fact of Jambali’s absence is emphasized in the first clause, but in the second clause, the focus is on the horse, rather than its absence.

háyuna qaymi, xayri, lit jambali. yozi xayri guma, susá-se lit. ‘In the morning they got up, looked and there was no Jambali. They went and looked in the stables and there was also no horse.’

3.1.3. Possession

The particle *ət-* with L-set suffixes is used to express possession. The negative is *lət-*, and the past forms are *ətwa-* and *lətwa-*. The particle normally follows the possessed noun phrase:

daxla qalax ətwola. ‘They had little grain.’

la škula ətwalahan. ‘They had no school.’

bnota ətlan mən matwatəni kulle. ‘We have girls from all our villages.’

at šəmma hatxa hənna ətli. ‘I have such a name.’

hawla axutta bnota ətlan. ‘We have a lot of girls.’

xa abra ətlan. ‘We have one son.’

In one case the possessed noun phrase follows the particle:

xa sawtuwa itwola xa əzza. ‘An old lady had a goat.’

In this example the particle is part of the idiom *ətlux əlli* ‘I promise,’ literally, ‘you have on me.’

ətlux əlli tuttur ləšoni la maqqán-ne. ‘I promise I will never put out my tongue.’

3.1.4. Verbal Clause Constituents

In a verbal clause the subject normally precedes the verb, but the position of the object varies. The object can follow the verb, but most often precedes it, so the most common order of constituents is SOV. While word order in NENA tends to be very free, the usual unmarked order is SVO. Whether the object precedes the verb or follows it, if it is definite, the verb also takes an agreeing pronominal suffix. The unusual Bohtan sequence seems to be due to the influence of the coterritorial dialects of Kurdish, which are verb-final (Haig 2004: 83). While Kurdish dialects are normally predicate-final,¹⁰¹ and most NENA dialects are heavily influenced by Kurdish, in the case of Bohtan the syntactic influence is particularly strong.

Following are examples of sentences with both subject and object noun phrases, where the object precedes the verb:

at jambali axəstəw maqlət-le. ‘Jambali took out his ring.’

danwi nəmmun qətəlx-le? ‘Why did you cut off my tail?’

¹⁰¹ (Haig 2004: 219).

These sentences have both subject and object, and the object follows the verb:

abreni kebé-la bratexun. ‘Our son loves your daughter.’

baxta xən qama xara xa qasa xutət sadita šwita. ‘The woman, when she rose, saw a stick under the bed’s pillow.’

Following are sentences with pronominal subject where the object precedes the verb:

xa tawərtə šawá naqlə gnüle-la zubanne-la. ‘He stole and sold a cow seven times’.

tawərtət xa lamsowa gnüle-la. ‘He stole the cow of a German.’

háyuna xena taffakəw tónne-le xena. ‘In the morning again he took his gun.’

kuna didán mutwəxla b-axunta. ‘They put their tents here.’

ixola randa li yoxəl. ‘He is not eating food well.’

ayni brota kebat yawí-la lolux. ‘They will give you whichever girl you want.’

Sentences with pronominal subject where the object follows the verb:

hawla gźále-la brota. ‘He saw the girl.’

In imperative clauses the object usually precedes the verb:

naxirux máquš-le. ‘Wipe (lit. clean) your nose.’

xuronax máxuš-la. ‘Gather your friends.’

dargušta mápluṭ-la m-bata. ‘Take the cradle from the house.’

xa xaloma didux nubəl əmmux. ‘Take one of your servants with you.’

But the object of an imperative can follow the verb:

mápluṭ-le mamiolam m-zəndona. ‘Release Mamiolam from prison.’

gzi-la ṭləbtux. ‘Find (lit. see) your fiancée.’

An indirect object normally follows the verb:

ṭušəwó-le xutəd jəllé-ləl. ‘He hid it under his clothing.’

aw oğa maxkewa əmməd musu. ‘The agha was talking with Musu.’

xurtita hiwi-li loləw. ‘They gave me to him by force.’

at brota hallún-na loli, gawrən-na. ‘Give me this girl, that I may marry her.’

oyün jambalı-se axəstəw yowü-le lolaw. ‘Jambali also gave his ring to her.’

3.1.5. Interrogatives

Interrogatives normally begin the clause:

moy awdəx? dax awdəx? ‘What should we do? How should we do?’

nammun le marjət maxkət əmmaw? ‘Why don’t you dare to talk with her?’

dax hawda xena xozən-na? ‘How can I see her again?’

man-iwa rozi mənnət xmotaw? ‘Who was pleased with her mother-in-law?’

m-aka yotət? ‘Where have you come from?’

m-ile patlət? ‘What is it you are looking for?’

The interrogative may follow a preposed subject:

awa m-ile, gawra? ‘What is this, man?’

When the interrogative represents the direct object, it may follow the verb:

xoze moy? ‘What does he see?’

When the interrogative forms part of an *iḍafa* or is preceded by *d-* ‘of,’ then it does not move to the beginning of the clause:

axxa duka man ile? ‘Whose place is this?’

qanyonəd man ilā? ‘Whose sheep are these?’

d-ayni oğá ile? ‘Which agha’s is it?’

3.2. CLAUSE SEQUENCES

Clauses in narrative usually succeed each other without any overt linking elements. *u* ‘and’ is used between coordinated noun phrases or verbs, but rarely links whole clauses. When speakers do feel the need to link clauses they sometimes resort to Russian *i* ‘and’.

The particle *nax* precedes some clauses, and seems to emphasize that the content of the following clause is unexpected, so it can sometimes be translated as ‘but.’

The commonest linking element is *attora*, *attor* ‘then,’ which frequently introduces clauses in narratives.

3.3. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

3.3.1. Relative Clauses

As is the case with most kinds of subordinate clauses, relative clauses are normally expressed by a sequence of clauses without any overt marking:

xa jwanqa it go fəllan mota garak qorəx-le l-axunta. ‘There is a young man in such-and-such a village (whom) we must call here.’

xa it, musu ile šəmməw, qorəx-le l-axxa qaqləx-le. ‘There is someone, (whose) name is Musu, (whom) we are calling here to kill him.’

yowé-le b-idəd l-awunta tatala gəfəndi-wa. ‘He gave it to someone named Tatala Effendi (lit. He gave it in the hand of him (that) was Tatala Effendi).’

tofəq mənne riye toma, mará-wa qənyone. ‘He met a group of shepherds there (who) were herding sheep.’

dəle aya aw brotá-la gze-la p-xəlməw. ‘He knew that is the girl (whom) he saw in his dream.’

tlibi-le ite batri, nobəl-li. ‘It is my fiancé (who) has come for me, to take me.’

There is one attested syndetic relative clause, introduced by *-d* ‘that’¹⁰²:

yorá-lál owa-t xowər-la suse didəw. ‘He spoke to the who watched his horses.’

3.3.2. Conditionals

The prodisis of a conditional may be marked by *ən*, but is frequently simply left unmarked. This is particularly clear from cases where there are two prodises, only one of them preceded by *ən*. The apodosis never has any overt marking.

ən d-ile hawdax, hozər nabləx brateni, yax-la l-aw oğa plitəx mən toma. ‘If it is that way, let’s take our daughter (and) give her to that agha that we left from there.’

ən telux batri, xa ktowa muttúwo-le, xa qəta šekar mutwa əllá(k) ktowa. ‘If you come after me, a letter is placed, a piece of sugar is placed on the letter.’

hawya rozi, diika it, otət əmmayni. ən la, la. ‘(If) she is agreeable, there is space, (then) you can come with us. If not, (you can) not.’

ən d-iwat rozi, ote šud əmmayni mahənnan. ‘If you are agreeable, let him come with us (and) help us.’

ən wədlax b-xabri, li mapləxən-ne. la awdat b-xabri, kudyum əbbəv b-ṭaypən-nax. ‘If you do as I say, I will not use it. (If) you do not do as I say, I will beat you with it every day.’

yari ən ašloyé-wa ibá-wa l-ágdode, bólahan b-howe l-ágdode. ‘They say (that) if (they) were true, (if) they loved each other, they would face each other (lit. their faces would be together).’

Notice in particular:

kebe-la kebe-la. ‘If he loves her, he loves her.’

otət otət. ‘If you come, you come.’

¹⁰² In Jewish Sulemaniyya, relative pronouns generally only introduce a relative clause after a pronoun (Khan 2004: 418), as in our only such example in Bohtan.

3.3.3. Complements

Sentential complements are usually unmarked.

dəle aya o brotá-la ġze-la p-xalməw. ‘He knew (that) this is the girl (that) he saw in his dream.’

abri bowər taxmən poləṭ zole batraw. ‘My son may be thinking (that he may) go out (and) go after her.’

háyuna qaymi, yozı xayrı: jwaniya lit, susa lit go guma. ‘In the morning they rose, went and saw (that) the foal was gone (and) the horse was not in the stable.’

Rarely, a sentential complement is introduced with *ki, kən* ‘that’:

qam iwora əl ɾara, noše mašmé-la ki sətte zine hawlala go čangəd mamiolam. ‘Before going in the door he told people that Sitte Zine was in the arms of Mamiolam.’

3.4. NOUN PHRASES

3.4.1. Definiteness

The presence or absence of various determiners defines four basic degrees of definiteness, along a continuum from new to old or given information:

<i>xa noša</i>	a certain man
<i>noša</i>	a man / the man
<i>aw noša</i>	the man / that man
<i>at noša</i>	that man

3.4.1.1. *xa*

Noun phrases determined by *xa* are used to introduce a person or thing which the speaker does not expect the listener to be familiar with. Such noun phrases are especially common at the beginning of stories, where the speaker sets the stage for his listeners.

xa mamiolam iwa. ‘There was a man named Mamiolam (lit. there was a Mamiolam).’

xa sawtuwa itwola xa əzza. ‘An old lady had a goat.’

3.4.1.2. No Determiner

Noun phrases with no determiner can be used for common generic nouns:

palle əl warxa. ‘He set out (lit. He fell on the road).’

tele əl bata ‘He came home (lit. to the house).’

nammun lewetún-na doluga? ‘Why don’t you (pl.) pay (lit. give) tax?’

jamowat ruzəllux-la. ‘You have mistreated the people.’

Most commonly noun phrases with no determiner are used for people or things which the speaker expects the listener to be aware of, but which have not just been pointed out. For example, in a story where the existence of a village is implied, but not asserted, we find:

otət, otət. ən la otət b-otəx mota šantəláx-le. ‘(If) you come, you come. If you don’t come, we will come (and) plunder the village.’

3.4.1.3. Determined by *aw* or *at*

Noun phrases with a definite determiner usually indicate people or things which have already been mentioned. *at* gives a greater degree of emphasis to the determined noun phrase than *aw*. It can be used as a deictic:

m-aka mutət at zəngaluta? ‘From where did you bring that bell?’

at qasa mutwán-ne постоянно *bət howe toma.* ‘I have set this stick, (and) it will always be there.’

at is sometimes used where one character assumes the focus of the narration. In the following example the focus turns from the husband and his interaction with the wife to the wife and her actions:

qoyəm tøyán-ne o qasa, tøyán-ne m-toma. moy d-ile duz, duz. at kal-tunta gálak hawya bōš. сразу *qama, bata maqəşó-le, ixola başló-le.* ‘He got up, took the stick, (and) took it from there. What is right (is) right. That little bride became very good. She got up right away, cleaned that house, (and) cooked food.’

at can be used in this function before a proper name:

at jambali axəstəw maplót-le. ‘Jambali took out his ring.’

aw is used when a noun phrase has already been mentioned, but is not a special focus of the narration. In the following example the agha and the hero are both mentioned, but the story does not focus on either one, but rather on their interaction, so they are both determined with *aw*, rather than *at*:

aṭṭor xa baxta átwola xa abra u xa brota. abraw gurwəsle, abraw hwele jwanqa randa hawdax. hawdax jwanqa randa kēm ətwa. aṭṭor aw oğa tele xena yora, ‘nammun lewetun-na doluga, nammun lewetun-na daxla, nammun lewetun-ne.’ aw abra yora-le. ‘Then a woman had a son and a daughter. Her son grew up. Her son became such a handsome young man. There were few such handsome men. Then the agha came and said, ‘why haven’t you given (me) tax, why haven’t you given me flour, why haven’t you given it?’ The boy said ...’

3.4.2. Numbers

Numbers precede the nouns they modify. There are no separate masculine and feminine numbers. Nouns modified by numbers other than *xa* ‘one’ are in the plural.

xa tawərta šawá naqle gniile-la zubanne-la. ‘He stole and sold a cow seven times.’

tra xurwotá-wa. ‘There were two friends.’

tmanyá abne ‘eight sons’

xa preceding another number gives the sense ‘approximately’

xa xamša kune ‘five or so tents’

4. TEXTS

4.1. JAMBALI

Krymsk 11 March 2004 (Emil Danilov)

(1) *ətwa xa oğa, šəmməw bahrám oğá-wa. oyün iwa baxtəw (u) abrəw.*¹⁰³ *xuda xa abra átwole. (2) abrəw kudyum qowəm-wa, la škula átwalahan, lətwə qmata p-tüqüta. (3) abrəw qowəm-wa xa taffak tónáwo-le, yozüi-wa əl şada. yozüi-wa əl čül (əl) şada, tıroné-lal, garakkó-lal. (4) xa naqla abra yozüi xowər, hatxa xowər u hawla xa ana átwole toma. (5) xowər hawla xa brota əčča reşəd ana*¹⁰⁴ *nabla mowe. (6) l-aw čorá-se xa xamša kune ətwa toma mutwe. (7) awa hatxa xərre hawla gźále-la brota, mud iwa rande, šôš hwele pəlla ləbbəw.*¹⁰⁵ (8) *ay brota-se aw dona-se gźálo-le əllət abra. (9) hawda bállo-le hamo kliya hatxa, xara əbbət abra, abra hawla yozüi hatxa dona dora əl batrəw hatxa xowər. (10) xowər hawla brota-se kliya xara. (11) awa zile. zile əl şada, nəmmun qəd owəd şada, mud taxmən hənna yowəd? (12) ‘oya mud brota hawdax rande gźeli! dax hawda xena xozán-na?’ (13) awa dərre tele əl batəw, brotá-se yje iza toma əl naşotaw, kuné dihán. (14) xena pəşle hal háyuna. háyuna xena taffakəw tónnele xena, zile əl toma. (15) at brota toma anotaw varxá-wa ‘ima o abra ote, xena tapqán-be.’ (16) aya xara, abra yote. liza liza, wədre tənó-la, yača reşəd anəd mowe.*

¹⁰³ Lit. ‘He it was his wife his son.’ This is an example of possession expressed on the model of Kurdish.

¹⁰⁴ Lit. ‘She had come above the spring.’

¹⁰⁵ Lit. ‘She fell his heart.’

(1) There¹⁰⁶ was an agha whose name was Bahram Agha. He had a wife and a son. He had only one son. (2) His son would get up every day, they had no school, there was none before, in the old days. (3) His son would get up, would take a gun and would go hunting. He would go to the wilderness to hunt, in the mountains, in the hills. (4) One time the son went looking, looking like that, and there was a spring there. (5) He looked and there was a girl who had come to the spring to get water. (6) By the spring there were five or so tents pitched. (7) He looked and saw how beautiful she was and he was overcome. He fell in love with that girl, (8) and she saw him at the same time. (9) Now she liked him as she was just standing there looking at the boy. The boy went on for a while and turned behind him looking. (10) He was looking and the girl was also standing looking. (11) He went. He went hunting, but how could he hunt when he was thinking so much of the girl? (12) ‘What a beautiful girl I have just seen! How can I see her again?’ (13) He returned home and the girl went back to her people, to their tents. (14) He remained until the morning. In the morning he took his gun again and went there. (15) The girl’s eyes were on the road. ‘When the boy comes I will meet him again.’ (16) She saw the boy coming. She quickly took the bucket and come to the spring.

¹⁰⁶ The text is particularly difficult to translate because the conjunctions and subordinators that are so important in holding together English discourse are used sparingly. On the other hand, fillers such as *xena* ‘other’ and *hanna* ‘whatchamacallit’ appear liberally, and these can usually not be translated. In addition, Bohtan tense usage has more to do with foregrounding than with indicating temporal sequence. As a result of these factors, the translation has to depart significantly from a literal rendering. At the same time, the need to keep it fairly close to the original has led to its being unavoidably infelicitous at some points.

(17) aya ačča rešəd anəd mowe, aw abra yote, yota hatxa, yozii qudma čoraw. (18) yora, ‘xa кружка-d mowe hal, oná-se šotena.’ (19) aya yawo-la xa кружка-d mowe šote, aṭṭor hawla boqár-ra, ‘axtiin man əxtun, m-aka itetun l-axxa?’ (20) aṭṭor hawla yawdo-la qəšsat, yara, ‘axnən xomáx-wa ləw xa oğa toma, xa oğa xena. (21) aw oğa, baxtəw mətla, aṭṭor kebe, ite yorá-lal bobi duwi, bar našoti, (22) ‘at brota hallún-na loli, gawrán-na.’ (23) anni-se yari, ‘lávəx-la.’ (24) oyüin yora, ‘láywetun-na, oná-se hatxa b-awdən b-rešəxun, kaydán-nəxun.’ (25) laydən moy, laydən moy. (26) ani qəmla b-layle, qəmla moxəšla, rəqla m-toma, rəqla, itex l-axunta. (27) itəx b-axxa, itəx kuna didán mutwəx-la b-axunta. hawla xoməx b-axxa.’ (28) aṭṭor yora, ‘yadən moy. nax ona gälak kebán-nax. pilat ləbbi.’ (29) yara, ‘oná-se kebán-nux.’ (30) ani qaymi axəsyatahan xalpi-la. brota axəstaw yawó-lal jambali (abra jambalí-wa šəmməw) oyüin jambalí-se axəstaw yowü-le lolaw. (31) awa xena yozüi əl şada. dora yote əl bata. (32) bata yowe hatxa xriwa. kəf didáw twira. (33) hənna, ixola randa li yoxəl, taxmən. (34) noxəp orá-lal bobəw. dona-d ona xa brota gziyena, brota karačüké-la. (35) aṭṭor duwa yaró-lal gawraw, ‘bahram oğa’ yara, ‘bahram’ yara, ‘abreni gälak taxmən, ixola li yoxəl. (36) ladan mará-ile. ladan moy kebe. bowər kebe gowər. (37) owət bobáw iwət. aka bqúr-re. borət kebe gowər.’ (38) bobəw aṭṭor yóra-le, yora, ‘jambali, nəmmun hatxa kəf didúx hatxa twira, hatxa hənna?’ (39) yora, ‘m-ile, mará-iwət, yan moy? kebət gawrət?’ (40) yora, ‘he, kebən gawrena’ (41) yora, ‘de hawda ümər, ‘kebən gawrena.’ (42) hawda bnota mú-qarət arət, bnota ətlan mən matwatəni kulle hənna, ayni brota kebət yawí-la lolux.’ (43) yora, ‘ona gžən-ni.’¹⁰⁷ (44) yora, ‘abri, owət brota m-aka gžət?’ (45) yora, ‘mənnət karačüke, mənnət kuna karačüke. (46) ita mutwi rešəd ana l-aw čora. ita toma, tiwi toma, bratahan yača əl rešəd ana nabra mowe. biyán-na, kebən-na.’ (47) yora, ‘abri, ona oğa, at šəmma hatxa hənna ətli. mú-jüra owət brotət karačükta kebət?’

¹⁰⁷ Lit. ‘I have found me’ that is, ‘I have found for myself.’

(17) She came to the spring, the boy came, he went close to her. (18) He said, 'Give me a cup of water to drink.' (19) She gave him a cup of water to drink, and then he asked her, 'Who are you? Where did you come from?' (20) Then she told the story, saying 'We used to live by another agha elsewhere. (21) That agha's wife died, and then he wanted, he came and said to my mother and father, my family, (22) 'Give this girl to me to marry.' (23) They said, 'We won't give her.' (24) He said, 'If you don't give her, I will hurt you. I will harm you.' (25) I don't know, I don't know. (26) They got up in the night, they got up and got their things together and fled from there. They fled and we came here. (27) We came here, we came and pitched our tents here. We are living here.' (28) Then he said, 'I know, I like you very much. I love you.' (29) She said, 'I like you, too.' (30) They exchanged rings. The girl gave her ring to Jambali (Jambali was his name) and Jambali gave his ring to her. (31) He went hunting again and returned home. (32) He went home destroyed. He was sad. (33) He wasn't eating well, he was brooding. (34) He was ashamed to tell his father, 'I have found a girl, and she is a Gypsy.' (35) Then his mother said to her husband, 'Bahram Agha,' she said, 'Bahram, our son is brooding very much and isn't eating. (36) I don't know if he is sick. I don't know what he wants. Maybe he wants to get married. (37) You're his father. Ask him. Maybe he wants to get married.' (38) His father then said to him, he said, 'Jambali, why are you so sad like this?' (39) He said, 'What is it, are you sick, or what? Do you want to get married?' (40) He said, yes, I want to get married.' (41) He said, 'Now say, 'I want to get married.' (42) Now as many girls as you say, we have girls from all our villages, whatever girl you want they will give to you.' (43) He said, 'I have found (a girl) for myself.' (44) He said, 'My son, from where have you found a girl?' (45) He said, 'From the Gypsies, from the Gypsies' tent. (46) They have come and camped over the spring over there. They have come there, and settled there. There daughter to the spring to get water. I liked her, I want her.' (47) He said, 'My son, I am an agha, I have a reputation. How can you want a Gypsy girl?'

(48) yora, 'hawla axutta bnota atlan hanna.' (49) yora, 'la, la hawya. oya, ona xena go danya le gawrena.' (50) aṭtor xa yoma, tra, tlotā, aṭtor baxtəd oğá-se yaró-le, yara, 'bahram oğa, moy awdax? dax awdax? (51) xa abra atlan, xa hanna mete b-rešəw ruxəw.¹⁰⁸ (52) zərar lit. kebé-la kebé-la. si iimər-ra, zax tərbáx-la loləw.' (53) awa qowəm yote əl süsa, bahram oğa yote əl toma, ləw d-an karačiuke, d-an kune. (54) ani palṭi qmaytəw, şaydi hafsorət süsa. (55) 'oğa, p-šana telux,' laydən moy. noxət toma, (56) 'm-ile? xēr howe.' (57) yora, 'xera hatxa ile: abreni kebé-la bratexun.' (58) yari, 'axnən karačiuke, owət oğa. owa mī xabra ile?¹⁰⁹ axnən dax otkaz b-awdax? (59) конечно yax-lal abruх. если yora так, hawdax ile, hawdax ile. (60) nax zakon didán hatxa ile: de si botar tlotá yomota xene otət tərbát-la.' (61) ani maləbí-le , xena. (62) awa dora yote əl bata, yorá-lal baxtəw, (63) yora 'zili muxkeli əmmahan. (64) yari, 'botar tlotā yomota xene la otutun. la zaxtun, la otutun.' закон dihán hawdax ile.' (65) oğa dora yote əl bata, ani-se qaymi, hawla maxkiyi, yari, 'ən d-ile hawdax, hozər¹¹⁰ nabləx brateni, yax-la l-aw oğa plitəx mən toma. dukeni, našateni toma. madareni toma. hozər nabləx, zax, yax-la loləw. ' (66) ani b-layle qaymi, yozi, at brotá-se qama, xa səkka maxya gowət madra. (67) xa zanjira hatxa darya. (68) b-at hatxa darya, bola yawdó-le hatxa. (69) it ktiwa ktowa: 'jambali, duwi bobi muləblan-ne əl bobux. (70) yari batar tlotā yomota ani laba yawí-li lolux. (71) nabli yawí-li l-aw oğa, aw oğa toma. (72) ən telux batri, xa ktowa muttúwo-le, xa qəta šekar mutwa əllá(k) ktowa. (73) ima-d otət, xən d-at qəta-t šekar, owət xəlyé-wət gowəd ləbbi, ona kebán-nux. aw dona la otət, la otət. kēf didux ile.' (74) awa ktowa qoré-le hawda tōwən qoré-le. (75) yote əl bata kēf didəw twira, xammona, boxe. hanna yowəd.

¹⁰⁸ Lit. 'He may bring in his own head.'

¹⁰⁹ Lit. 'What word is there?'

¹¹⁰ cf. Kurdish hāzir kirin 'prepare, bring' (Chyet 267).

(48) He said, 'We have lots of girls.' (49) He said, 'No, it cannot be. I won't marry anyone else in the world.' (50) Then one, two, three days, then the agha's wife said to him, she said, 'Bahram Agha, what should we do? How should we act?' (51) We have one son, he may hurt himself. (52) There's no harm. If he loves her, he loves her. Go say to them, let's go ask for her for him.' (53) He got up, came on the horse, Bahram Agha came there, by the Gypsies, the tents. (54) They came out before him, they took the bridle of the horse. (55) 'Welcome, Agha' or whatever. He got down there, (56) 'What is it? May it be good.' (57) He said, 'The matter is like this: our son wants your daughter.' (58) They said, 'We are Gypsies, you are an agha. What can we say? How can we refuse?' (59) Of course we will give (her) to your son. If he says so, if that's the way it is, then that's the way it is. (60) But our rule is like this: go, and after three days come back again and ask for her.' (61) They tricked him. (62) He went back home, and said to his wife, (63) he said, 'I went and talked with them. (64) They said, 'For three more days don't come. If you don't go, you can't come.' Their law is like that.' (65) The agha came back home and they got up and talked and said, 'If that's the way it is, let's take our daughter and go and give her to him (the other agha). Our place and our people are there. Our land is there. Let's get ready, go, and give her to him' (66) They got up in the night and went. The girl got up too, stuck a stake in the ground, (67) and put a chain like that. (68) She put it on it like that, she faced it like that. (69) There was a letter written: 'Jambali, my mother and father tricked your father, (70) saying, 'After three days.' They don't want to give me to you. (71) They are taking me to give me to that agha, that agha there. (72) If you come after me,' she put a letter, with a piece of surgar put on the letter. (73) 'When you come, you are like that piece of surgar. You are sweet in my heart, and I love you. If you don't come, you don't come. It's up to you.' (74) He read the letter, now he took it and read it. (75) He came home sad, feverish, and crying. That's what he did.

(76) *bobəw yora, ‘ləm-ile hawdax? jambali, ləm-ile hátxe-wət?’* (77) *yora, ‘lit, izi.’* (78) *awa yora, ‘izi, izi. aṭṭor dax? hawla bnote gālak ila. ayni kebət mettəx.’* (79) *‘la,’ yora, ‘la hawya. ona xena gwora le gawrən. tuttur.’* (80) *hawda kēf didəw twira hənna, yozi, yote.* (81) *aṭṭor baxtát bahram oğá-se yaró-le, ‘bahram oğá, si. dax awdəxna, moy awdəxna?’* (82) *hawla yorá-ləl, hənna yorá-ləl owət xowər-la suse didəw.* (83) *pola hənna xowər b-an dükone yóra-le, ‘yadət moy?’ yora, ‘gumota, susa, hal-la, gəlla məndi hənna. tara maşşiyət-le, tara guma.* (84) *abri bowər taxmən polət zole batraw.’* (85) *aṭṭor awunta pola maxəlwo-le susa yowádwo-la, tarone maşşíwo-la an dükone kulle xowərwo-be.* (86) *wərre xa šeta b-aw gawwa.* (87) *xa šeta botar wərre d-aw, yari ‘уже oni zili, zili. at abra xena tu duka le zole.’* (88) *xa момент xowər abra hawla tara gumota ptixa.* (89) *b-layle qowəm, towən xanjar lowəš jəlle. yozi, yote əllət susa, polət yozü.* (90) *háyuna qaymi, xayri, lit jambali. yozi xayri guma, susá-se lit.* (91) *значит awa riq, üzü.* (92) *l-aka zálahan batrəw? miy-aka zálahan batrəw? lada m-aka itá-wa.* (93) *awa yozü nopəl warxa¹¹¹ b-aw duka, b-aw направление, yadət paket zanjiró-ləl grišáwo-le.* (94) *hawda yozu, yozu, yozu.* (95) *tofəq mənne riye toma, mará-wa qanyone.* (96) *yozi əl čarhan, dore šloma, ‘anni qanyone d-man ila? t-ayni oğá-lá?’ ‘hənna mahmád oğá.’ laydən moy, laydən moy.* (97) *la, lewe awunta. ‘naxwod m-ile? m-aka yotət? m-ile patlət?’* (98) *‘oná-se pilən čül patlena, li yadena.’* (99) *toma wərre zile.* (100) *aṭṭor xena toma xena, itwa riye. zile əl čarhán-se, pqárre-la.* (101) *hawla yóra-la, ‘axxa duka man ile? qənyonəd man ilá, d-ayni oğá ile.’*

¹¹¹ Lit. ‘he fell road’ cf. Kurdish *rê k’etin* (Chyet 512).

(76) His father said, 'Why is it like that? Jambali, why is it that you are like that?' (77) He said, 'They're gone.' (78) He said, 'If they've gone, they've gone. So what? There are lot's of girls. We'll give you whichever you want.' (79) 'No,' he said, 'That cannot be. I will not marry any other. Never.' (80) Now he was so sad, he went and came. (81) Then the wife of Bahram Agha said to him, 'Bahram Agha, go. How should we act? What should we do?' (82) He spoke to the one who watched his horses. (83) He said to the servant who watched those places, 'You know what?' He said, 'Take the stables, the horses, the grass and whatever. Close the door, the door of the stables. (84) My son may be thinking of going out after her.' (85) Then that servant would come and feed the horse, he would do it, he would close the doors and he would watch all those places. (86) A year passed from that time. (87) A year passed after that, and they said, 'They're already gone. The boy won't go anywhere.' (88) Immediately the boy saw that the door of the stables was open. (89) He got up at night, took his dagger and put on clothes. He went, he got on the horse and went out. (90) In the morning they got up, they looked, and Jambali was gone. They went and looked in the stable, and the horse was gone too. (91) That meant he had run away, he had gone. (92) Where should they go after him? From where should they go after him? They didn't know where they had come from. (93) He went and hit the road in the place, in the direction, you know, she had pulled the envelope on the chain. (94) Now he went and went and went. (95) He met a group of shepherds there who were herding sheep. (96) He went up to them, greeted them, 'Whose sheep are these? Which agha do they belong to?' 'Mahmad Agha.' I don't know what, I don't know what. (97) No, it wasn't him. 'But what is it? From where did he come? What was he looking for?' (98) 'I have come into the wilderness to search. I don't know.' (99) He went on there. (100) Then in another place there were shepherds. He went up to them, too, (101) and asked them, 'Whose place is this, here? Whose sheep are these? Which agha's is it?'

(102) *tomá-se mǝrrán-ne lewe aw oǵa. xena zile wǝrre əl xa ana. (103) yari, 'm-axxa u hawda. xa oǵa it. bowǝr d-oni itla palxona. baxtéw-se brotəd karačuké-la. (104) 'значит hawla oyün ile.' (105) yozüi toma xowǝr mǝnne hawla mara qanyone toma. (106) yozüi dorá-la šloma. maxki əmmahan. 'axxa d-ayni oǵá ile? mán-ile?' (107) 'fəllan oǵa ile, baxtéw-se brotá karačuké-la. b-axxa u toma, naχ owət mán-iwət?' (108) yora, 'oná-se pilǝn čül, palxona patlǝn, и bařila-na kebǝn xa palxona xozǝn-ni, oná-se xomena, ən it palxona.' (109) yari, 'palǵəd yoma səttiya b-ača, xena, baxtəd oǵa. səttiya b-ača palǵəd yoma əbbət kawdǝnne, spoqe mǝča b-ača batrát xalwa. (110) palǵəd yoma aw dona qanyone xalwǝx-la xalwa nabló-le yača nabló-le. (111) ača b-arǝx-la. hawya rozi, duka it, otət əmmayni. ən la, la. xena kǝf didaw ila.' (112) hawla mahǝn-na an mare qanyone hal palǵəd yoma. (113) palǵəd yoma qanyone mtálan-na dukád xalwí-la. hǝnna, qanyone. (114) səttiya tela, hawla yári-la, 'səttiya, xa jwanqa ite, palxoná kebe. axnǝn-se lozǝm-ile noša,' (115) yari. 'ən d-iwat rozi, ote šud əmmayni mahǝnna.' (116) yara, 'aw dona-t ote, šud ote. nəmmun la hawyan rozi? xalwán-na qanyone, ote əmmi. (117) zaχna jǝllǝw šaxlǝp-la, xowǝx, jǝllǝw šaxlǝp-la, ote moťé-lexun.' (118) ani darǝši qanyone xlowa, oyün-se xolii qanyone. (119) oyün xolii qanyone, xa yaludá-se vedro aw dona mole xalwa, nóbəl-le, yowəl-le b-idǝw, oyün daryó-le, mašpiyó-le gowət spoqe. (120) at jambali axǝstǝw maplǝt-le, axǝsta didaw ila xǝn xlípe-wa, axǝsta maplǝt, šoqé-le gowət vedro. (121) aw abra d-nobál-le aw dona daryáwo-le xoyǝr axǝsta pǝlle gowət hǝnna марля. xǝrra awa axǝstǝw ile. (122) 'значит jambali ile, řibi ile ite batri.' (123) aya liza liza axǝsta řana řašyó-le xena. laqqad kalya. (124) hawla yáro-la, 'liza aw dona xlísu-la qanyone, liza xálun-na donəd zoli əl bata.*

(102) There they also told him it wasn't that agha. He went on and came to a spring. (103) They said, 'From here and now. There is an agha. Maybe they have work. His wife is the daughter of a Gypsy.' (104) That meant it was him. (105) He went there and saw a group herding sheep there. (106) He went and greeted them. He spoke with them. 'What agha does it belong to here? Who is he?' (107) 'He is such and such an agha, and his wife is a Gypsy. Here and there, but who are you?' (108) He said, 'I have come to the wilderness to look for work. And I'm free and want to find myself some work. I'd like to live (here) too, if there is work.' (109) They said, 'At noon the lady will come, the wife of the agha. The lady will come at noon with the mules. She has brought the vessels, and she will come for the milk. (110) At noon, when we milk the sheep, she will take the milk, she will come and take the milk. (111) When she comes we will tell her. If she agrees, there is space, and you can come with us. If not, no. It's up to her.' (112) Now he helped the shepherds until noon. (113) At noon they brought the sheep to the place where they milked them. The sheep. (114) The lady came and they said to her, 'Lady, a young man has come and wants work. We need a man,' (115) they said. 'If you agree, let him come with us to help us.' (116) She said, 'if he has come, let him come. Why wouldn't I agree? I will milk the sheep, and let him come with me.' (117) 'Let's go change his clothes. We'll stay, he will change his clothes, and he will come and join you.' (118) They started milking the sheep, and he was milking sheep, too. (119) He was milking sheep, and a boy took a bucket that he had filled with milk, he gave it to him, he put it, he poured it in the vessels. (120) Jambali took out his ring, it was her ring that they had exchanged, he took out the ring and dropped it in the bucket. (121) When the boy who took it poured it he saw the ring fall in the cheesecloth. She saw it was her ring. (122) 'That means it is Jambali, it is my betrothed who has come after me.' (123) She very quickly took the ring and hid it. She couldn't wait. (124) She said to them, 'Quickly, finish the sheep. Milk them quickly so I can go home.'

(125) *it noša bata d-zoli yanna ixola mändi hənna. xátika liza üüin.*
 (126) *ani fānan liza liza d-awəd-la, tela yari l-awunta, (127) yari, 'si əmmát səttiya, si jəllux šaxləpət-la, otət. (128) awun taza hatxa rešəw kipa, dəqnəw ite hatxa hənna, yote əmmaw, čoraw, le maxke əmmaw, xena hawdax yote čoraw, to mändi oni la yari. (129) tela maššud, zila xábərri zila. yxe to mändi b-an dukona lətwa. (130) xa dula hatxa ətwa, wərri l-at dula, şadla, nčəqla l-ágdode, čorpəlla b-ágdode. (131) ayün taza hawla baxya yara, 'jambali, xrowa widət-le itət. (132) muta hiwí-li l-aw oga. xa yaluda, xa abrá-se ətli, šəmməw mutwán-ne jambali.'* (133) *yora, 'mü xrowa, mü mändi, mü hənna. (134) xa abra? la, əşra abná-se howa-lax, kulla xa-yle ona, owat hawyat rozi, b-nabón-nax.'* (135) *yara, 'ona rozí-na.'* (136) *yora, 'kulla xa-yle b-nabón-nax.'* (137) *tela əl bata, hənna wədle dəqnəw grále-le hənna wədle-le. (138) 'aṭtor moy awdax? dax awdax?' (139) oğá-se plətle üzü-wa matwotá-ləl xowərwo-ba matwota, hənna xena. (140) awa tü əllát süsta, iüzü-wa. (141) aṭtor sustá-se tra jwaniye átwola gowət guma şire. (142) ayün taza yara, 'nax ʔowé-le. kak paz owün lewe b-axunta, iüzü matwota potəl. b-layle palṭəx yarqəxna.'* (143) *ani kola hal b-layle, b-layle qəmla ruxahán susgərri, jəlle dihan lwəşlan-na, susgərri xanjar, mändi hənna. (144) duwəd d-aw oga hawlala dməxta. yaluda, duwa hawla dmixe, (145) xa baxtá-se palxó-wa toma, jəlle dihan masyó-wa, diikone dihan maqişó-wa, oya rəşlo-la. (146) yará-wa, 'm-ila hatxa?' (147) yaró-la, 'yadat moy? ṭlibí-le ite batri, nobəl-li.'* (148) *húlo-la pare, axutta pare. (149) yara, 'şud an pare lolax. sa reşax máttu-le, dmux. (150) ümər, 'tu mändi ona la xziyan, ladan. dmixó-na.'* (151) *aya yoza damxa. hal xroye yaluda boxe. (152) hənna tuttəw qama, duwət oga qama, xara. yaliida boxe, duwa lit. (153) awa m-ila? (154) awa hatxa boxe hal háyuna, háyuna qaymi, yozi xayri: jwaniya lit, susa lit go guma.*

(125) There is someone at home that I have to give some food. Do it a little quickly.' (126) Right away they did it quickly, they said to him, (127) they said, go with the lady, go change your clothes, come. (128) He had just covered his head, his beard had grown, he came with her, close to her, he didn't speak with her, he came closer to her, they didn't say anything. (129) They came together. They went a long way. There was no-one in those places. (130) There was a sort of valley. They went into that valley and grabbed and kissed each other, and embraced each other. (131) She just started to cry, saying, 'Jambali, you have come too late. (132) They brought and gave me to that agha. I have a child, a boy, that I named Jambali.' (133) He said, 'What do you mean it's too late? (134) One son? No, if you had even ten sons, in any case, if you agreed, I would take you.' (135) She said, 'I agree.' (136) He said, 'In any case, I will take you.' (137) They came home, he shaved his beard. (138) 'Then what shall we do? How shall we act?' (139) The agha went out. He would go out around the villages, he would look at the villages. (140) He mounted his mare and would go. (141) Then the mare had two foals tied up in the stable. (142) She said right away, that's good. He is just not here, he has gone to go around the villages. At night we will leave and run away. (143) They waited until the night. At night they got up, prepared themselves, put on their clothes, and got the dagger ready. (144) The agha's mother was sleeping. The child and the (gha's) mother were sleeping. (145) A woman worked there, she would wash their clothes, would clean their places, she woke up. (146) She said, what is that? (147) She said, 'You know what? It is my betrothed who has come after me to take me.' (148) She gave her money, a lot of money. (149) She said, 'Take this money for yourself. Go put your head down and sleep. (150) Say, 'I didn't see anything, I don't know. I was asleep.' (151) She went to sleep. Until finally the child was crying. (152) His grandmother got up, the agha's mother got up and looked. The boy was crying and his mother was gone. (153) What is this? (154) He cried like that until morning. In the morning they got up and looked: the foal was gone, there was no horse in the stable.

(155) ‘*awa mü mändí-le? m-ile?* (156) *aya* значит *riqa*, *ita marəqí-la.*’
 (157) *m-ile? mamťí-la xabra lal oğa, hisəb*, ‘*baxtux lit. jwaníya-se susá-se lawa go guma, baxtúx-se lit.*’ (158) *oyün toma, dora yote xowər.* (159) значит *aya ita marəqí-la.* (160) *awa qowəm mənne hənna didəw-se. an xutát idəw*¹¹² *xolome didəw hənna didəw.* (161) *qowəm yorá-la, əbbət susa qaymi, napli batrahán.*¹¹³
 (162) *yozü b-axxa, baqri toma aţtorə ən hawda ən zila* уже *palťí-wa m-aw duka.* (163) *xa hənna toma xa dũka čowe* столовой *həpná-wa, yaxlí-wa ixola*, столовой. (164) *zila toma yorá-la, захна čowe šatəxna, xəš захна.* (165) *yara, ‘p-hayu palťəx m-axunta, захна, naxwo birdán ota batreni b-şaydí-lan b-axunta.’* (166) *yora, ‘lá-zadu xena man b-ota, laydən moy.’* (167) *anna yozí yatwi toma, čowe šotá-wa.* (168) *anni xara hawla hatxa m-at čora, m-owa xayri-ba.* (169) *an t-ıla tiwe toma hawla paspəsi m-áğdode. aqlət jambali mrəčlo-le, yara, ‘qü palťəx m-axunta* уже *yadı-li anni*’ (170) *qəmla, pləţla, zila.* (171) *oni pləţla zila u ani tela əl toma.* (172) *yari, ‘xa abra u xa brota la ita l-axxa?’* (172) *yari, ‘hawda m-axxa pləţla zila. ştela čowe pləţla zila.’* (173) *tela batrahan xábərta zila, jambali hatxa xowər, hawla yota.* (174) *oyün hawla qmata yote, aw oğa əbbət susta qmata yote, an xene d-batrəw, batrəw yota.* (175) *at jambalı-se yora, ‘la zadu, şud ota, şud ota.’* (176) *yora, ‘susta le palxa, susta laqqad hənna owəd şar əmmi, əbbət susta.’* (177) *susta at dona aça, xazyó-la jwaniya didaw, bəd-dara batrəd yawó-le-se mamuşe xena, le palxa.* (178) *yora, ‘hawda d-oyün anni hawla klela, oni m-aw čora tela, oyün qmata yote, aw oğa.* (179) *susta o dona ġzálo-la jwaniya didaw, whela harra harr didaw.*¹¹⁴ (180) *tela ruxaw, dərra hatxa pəd jwaniya əllaw xena.*

¹¹² Lit. ‘Those under his hand’

¹¹³ Lit. ‘They fell after them’ cf. Kurdish –bi dũ fk-ê k’etin (Chyet 312).

¹¹⁴ Lit. ‘It became her *harra har* (whinny).’

(155) 'What kind of thing is this? What is it? (156) It means she has run away, they have come to steal her away. (157) What is it?' They brought word to the agha, 'Your wife is gone. The foal and the horse are not in the stable, and your wife is gone, too.' (158) He was there, he came back to look. (159) So they came to steal her away. (160) He got up with a group of his (men), those he controlled, his servants. (161) He got up and spoke to them, they got on their horses and chased after them. (162) He went here, they asked there, then if they had just gone, if they had already left that place. (163) There was a tea shop, a dining-room where they would eat, a dining-room. (164) They went there and he said to her, 'Let's go drink tea, then we'll go right away.' (165) She said, 'We should leave here quickly, we should go, otherwise right away they will come after us and will catch us here.' (166) He said, 'Don't be afraid who will come, I don't know what.' (167) They went and sat there and were drinking tea. (168) She saw from this direction and that that they were looking at them. (169) Those that were sitting there were whispering with each other. She pressed Jambali's foot and said, 'Get up and let's leave here. These people already know me.' (170) They got up, left, and went. (171) They left and went and they (the pursuers) came there. (172) They said, 'Have a boy and a girl not come here?' They said, 'They just now left here and went. They drank tea, left and went.' (173) They came after them, went a long way. Jambali was looking and they were coming. (174) He came first, the agha on the mare came first, and the others that were after him came after. (175) Jambali said, 'Don't be afraid. Let them come, let them come.' (176) He said, 'The mare won't work, the mare, he can't do battle with me on the mare.' (177) When the mare came, she saw her foal and would turn back to give him suck. She wouldn't work. (178) He said, 'Now that he, they have stopped,' they came close to him, the agha came first. (179) When the mare saw her foal she whinnied. (180) Her breath came. She turned toward the foal, to her.

(181) owa kŭ ma-d kebe hænna owəd, 'la' . (182) o batráw-ləl xa moxe, qoťəl-le, l-aw oğa. qoťəl-le l-aw oğa, (183) at brotá-se qama, hawla qašqazó-ba l-an xurute. (184) yari, 'mu kabitun? axtiin mud šülexün ile? xurtita gwərri, xurtita hiwi-li loləw. ona tlibi ite batri hatxa yarqan batrəw. lalexun moy?' (185) aťtor mánne-se yari, 'a jahənnam əlləw, mü kebáx-le?'¹¹⁵ šud zola batrəd tlibaw, laleni moy?' (186) hatxa hawda xurbəšla b-áğdode. (187) abra murəqlə, mtále-la bata. (188) bobəw yote xowər hawla. 'aya m-ile?' (189) yora hamman, 'ayá-la kebánwo-la. itən mutón-na.' (190) xena šwa lá-dala brotət karačuké-la, mán-ila. xmela maššud.

¹¹⁵ Lit. 'Oh hell on him. How do we like him?'

(181) Whatever he wanted to do, 'no.' (182) He struck behind him once and killed the agha. He killed the agha, (183) and the girl got up and yelled at his friends. (184) They said, 'What do you want? What is your business? I was married by force, they gave me to him by force. My betrothed came after me and I am fleeing after him. What is it to you?' (185) The group said, 'To hell with him. What do we care about him? Let her go after her betrothed. What's it to us?' (186) Now they argued with each other. (187) The boy made (her) run away, and he brought her home. (188) His father came to look. 'What is this?' (189) He said right away, 'This is the one that I wanted. I have come and brought her.' (190) They didn't even know that she was the daughter of a Gypsy or who she was. They lived together.

4.2. ANECDOTE: THE BRIDES

Krymsk March 2004 (Frangisa Danilova)

(1) *xən xa kalta*, (2) *tiwi sabroni yawdi*. зал *malya baxtota*, *kulle kalwota*, *kulle*. (3) *yari*, ‘*aka, man-iwa rozi mənnət xmotaw?*’ (4) *aṭtor*, *kulle tiwi*, *kliyi*, ‘*moy awdax?*’ (5) *xa idaw marmó-le*, *yari*, *kud ila rozi*, *ida marmí-le.*’ (6) *ketta ida la marəm*, *xayri*, *xayri*. (7) *xa m-aw dəpna*, *idaw hatxa marmó-le*. (8) *yari*, ‘*de, umar dax iwatwa rozi mənnət xmotax?*’ (9) *yara*, ‘*moyən arona?*’ (10) *yara*, *óyiin-wa rozi*, ‘*hamu diyu hwele xlula*, *yoma xena xmoti mətla*. (11) *mənnət hawdax ona rozí-nwa mənnət xmoti.*’ (12) *nax an xene kulle tiwí-wa lṭiyí-wa*, *láda-wa moy amrí-wa*.

(1) When a bride, (2) they sat down and made a meeting, a hall full of women, all of them brides, all of them. (3) Now, they said, 'Who is happy with her mother-in-law?' (4) Then they all sat and waited, 'What should we do?' (5) One raised her hand. They said, 'All those who are happy should raise their hand.' (6) No one raised her hand. They looked and looked. (7) One from the side raised her hand. (8) They said, 'Please, tell how you were happy with your mother-in-law.' (9) She said, 'What should I say?' (10) She said, the one who was happy, 'Just today was the wedding, the next day my mother-in-law died. (11) For that reason I was happy with my mother-in-law.' (12) But the others were sitting, were quiet, they didn't know what to say.

4.3. ANECDOTE: THE GROOMS

(13) *tra xurwotá-wa, tǎrwahan gwǎrra.* (14) *awa gwǎrre, owa.* (15) *aṭṭora, xa mǎnhan donǎd gwǎrre, xa mo qasa muttú-wa xutǎt sadiíta,* (16) *xǎn muttúwo-le xutǎt sadiíta, dmixí-wa.* (17) *háyuṇa xǎn qǐm-wa šwita ṭanó-le, xara xa qasa xutǎt hǎnna,* (18) *yaró-le, ‘awa mo qasé-le xutǎt sadiíta?’* (19) *yora, ‘at qasa mutwǎn-ne postojanno bǎt howe toma.* (20) *ǎn wǎdlax b-xabri,¹¹⁶ li maplǎxǎn-ne. la awdat b-xabri, kudyum ǎbbǎw b-ṭaypǎn-nax.’* (21) *ayá-se parpǎló-be, yara, ‘ǎtlux ǎlli¹¹⁷ tuttur lǎšoni la mapqǎn-ne. mohi-t arǎt-li o šula b-awdǎn-ne.’* (22) *qoyǎm ṭoyǎn-ne o qasa, ṭoyǎn-ne m-toma.* (23) *moy d-ile duz, duz.* (24) *at kaltunta gǎlak hawya bǎš. srazu qama, bata maqǎšó-le, ixola bašló-le.* (25) *donǎd yota xiúrota ǎmmǎw, hawdax liza liza stola matwa, ixola yawdó-le.* (26) *gǎlak yowe rozi mǎnnaw.* (27) *ǎn xiúronǎw-se gǎlak yowa rozi mǎnnaw.* (28) *it naprimer xiúrota baxtatahan nablí-la ǎl bata ṭarṭǎmi b-réšǎt gǐranahan, ‘m-ile mutǎt-la? gežúitahan lǎm-ile loli?’¹¹⁸* (29) *aya le maxkiya hawdax.* (30) *anna priwetstvuet randa prinimaet yawdó-la.* (31) *aṭṭora xa naqla awa yorǎ-le xawrwǎw, ‘oyǎt dax baxtux hatxa bǎš-ila?’* (32) *mǎla maššud gawrǎxna.* (33) *ona didi le marjena maxkǎn ǎmmaw.’* (34) *yora, ‘nammun le marjǎt maxkǎt ǎmmaw?’* (35) *yora, ‘maxlóli b-ixola mud ila xǎrba, mud ila sǎk.* (36) *to mǎndi xozǎt yotǎt laqreni, to mǎndi le matwa čorux, yarǎn-na yawda qola ǎmmi.¹¹⁹* (37) *laydǎn moy awdǎn mǎnnaw.’* (38) *yora, ‘yadǎt ona moy widena. didi hatxa bǎš ila.’* (39) *yora, ‘botar xlula gwǎrran,’ yora, ‘at qasa xozǎt-le xur ṭinǎn mutwǎn-ne toma lewe lozǎm.* (40) *at qasa mutwǎnwo-le xutǎt sadita.* (41) *oyiṇ háyuṇa qǎmla, šwita ṭanǎwo-le, yara, ‘awa mu qasé-le b-axxa?’*

¹¹⁶ Lit. ‘If you did in my word.’

¹¹⁷ Lit. ‘You have on me.’

¹¹⁸ Lit. ‘Why is their dizziness to me?’

¹¹⁹ Lit. ‘She makes voice with me.’

(13) There were two friends, the two of them got married. (14) This one got married, and that one. (15) Then one of them, when he got married, put a kind of stick under the pillow. (16) When he put it under the pillow, they went to sleep. (17) In the morning when he got up, she made the bed. she saw a stick under the whatchamacallit. (18) She said to him, 'What kind of stick is this under the pillow?' (19) He said, 'I put that stick. It will always be there. (20) If you do what I say, I won't use it. If you don't do what I say, I'll beat you with it every day.' (21) She begged him, she said, 'You have on me (I promise) I won't talk back.¹²⁰ What you tell me I will do. (22) He got up and took that stick, he took it from there. (23) What's right is right. (24) That little bride was very good. Right away she got up and cleaned the house and cooked food. (25) When his friends were with him she quickly set the table and made food. (26) He was very pleased with her. (27) His friends were also very pleased with her. (28) The wives of some of his friends, when they would take them home would complain to their husbands, 'Where did you bring her from? What do I need their dizziness for?' (29) She didn't talk that way. (30) She would greet them well, would take and do for them. (31) Then one time his friend said to him, 'How is your wife so good? (32) Weren't we married at the same time? (33) I don't dare speak with mine.' (34) He said, 'Why don't you dare speak with her?' (35) He said, 'She feeds me food that's bad, that's awful. (36) You don't see anything when you come to our house. She doesn't put anything by you (she doesn't serve you anything), if I speak to her she raises her voice at me. (37) I don't know what to do with her.' (38) He said, 'You know what I did. Mine is so good.' (39) He said, 'After the wedding when we were married, this stick you see, look, I took and put it there, it wasn't needed. (40) I put this stick under the pillow. (41) In the morning when she got up and made the bed she said, 'What's this stick here?'

¹²⁰ Lit. 'Put out my tongue.'

(42) *yora*, ‘qasa mutwən-ne, aw donət la xarat xabri, kudyum əbbət d-at qasa bət tarkəsən-nax.’ (43) *yara*, ‘pərpəlóm-bux, tün-ne at qasa m-axxa. itlux əlli moy-t arət bət awdan b-xabrux.’ (44) *awa qoyəm tøyən-ne*, ‘mutwən-ne toma. lewe lozəm loli.’ (45) *at xawrəw yora*, ‘oná-se bəd zoli hawdax b-awdena.’ (46) *awa yote əl bata, barmoše tøyən xa qasa hawdax mattu xutət saditəw, damxi* . (47) *baxta xən qama xara xa qasa xutət sadita šwita*. (48) *xən tano-le* ‘awa m-ile, gawra?’ (49) *yora*, ‘awa mutwən-ne toma. (50) *xən la xarat xabri*,¹²¹ *kud yoma əbbəw bət tarkəsən-nax.*’ (51) *yara*, ‘уже xrowé-le, уже kokux kulle mənniyan-na. (52) *yadan mənnət m-ila kokux.*’ уже owa to məndi li owəd. (53) *qəmle tətuka, moyən owəd?* (54) *šoqále-le l-aw qasa ɪ xena hamman hwela hawdax xərba ɪ hawdax papuka pəšle go d-aw həl.*

¹²¹ Lit. ‘you don’t see my word’

(42) He said, 'I put the stick (there). If you don't see my word (obey me) I'll beat you with that stick every day.' (43) She said, 'I beg you, take that stick from here. You have on me (I promise) whatever you say, I will do as you say.' (44) He got up and took it, 'I put it there. I didn't need it.' (45) His friend said, 'I'll go do that too.' (46) He came home. In the evening he took a stick and put it under his pillow, and they went to sleep. (47) When the woman got up she saw a stick under the pillow of the bed. (48) When she took it, 'What's this, husband?' (49) He said, 'I put it there. (50) If you don't see me word (obey me) I'll beat you with it every day.' (51) She said, 'It's already too late. I've already counted all your teeth. (52) I know what your teeth are made of. He already didn't do anything. (53) The poor guy got up, what could he do? (54) He dropped the stick, and right away it became bad like that, and the poor guy remained in that condition.

5. GLOSSARY¹²²

a

abosiya, Noun (pl. *abosiye*), **a type of coin**, in plural, **small change**
(Etym. P *abbāsi* a type of coin)

abra (m.), Noun (pl. *abne*), **son, young man**

áǧdode, Pronoun, **each other**

aka, Interrogative, **where**

alpa, Number, **thousand**

amal, Noun, **work** (Etym. K *ʿemal* work, business, concern)

amra, Noun, **wool**

amtu (f.), Noun (pl. *amtwota*), **aunt**

ana, Noun (pl. *anota*), **spring (of water)**

anhan, Pronoun, **they**

anwa, Noun (pl. *anwe*), **grape**

aqla, Noun (pl. *aqlota*), **foot, leg**

aqubra, Noun, **mouse**

ara, Noun (pl. *arota*), **penis** (Etym. Ar *ayr*)

arba, Number, **four**

arbassar, Number, **fourteen**

¹²² For unusual verbs, the stems are given in parentheses, separated by semicolons in this order: P, Pf, J, O.

arbawšoba, Noun, **Wednesday**

arbi, Number, **forty**

armulla, Noun (pl. *armulle*), **widower**

armulta, Noun (pl. *armulyota*), **widow**

arxe, Noun (pl. *arxota*), **mill**

arya, Noun, **lion**

aryona, Noun, **rain**

arzan, Adjective (invar.), **cheap**

atra, Noun, **country, homeland**

aṭma, *aṭmad aqla*, Noun (pl. *aṭmota*), **thigh**

aṭtor, *aṭtora*, Conjunction, **so, then** (Etym. *at* this + S *ṭawrā* moment, interval, *bṭawrā* at that moment)

aw, Pronoun, **that**

axəsta, Noun (pl. *axəsyota*), **ring** (Etym. JBA *ʿizqtā* seal ring)

axni, *axnən*, Pronoun, **we**

axre, Noun (pl. *Tant.*), **shit**

axtun, Pronoun, **you (pl.)**

axutta, Quantifier, **many, much**

axxa, Adverb, **here**

ayna, Noun (pl. *ayne*, *aynota*), **eye**

ayni, Interrogative, **which**

aywa, Noun (pl. *aywe*), **cloud**

b

b-, Preposition, **in**

b-yaliida, Adjective, **pregnant**

balkət, Adverb, **maybe** (Etym. K *belkî* maybe, Chyet 33)

bar noša (m.), Noun, **person, human being**

- barbuze*, Verb Quad., **to divide (int.), to be scattered**
- barda*, Noun, **hail**
- barekka*, Noun, **rug**
- barmoġa*, Noun (pl. *barmoġe*), **stem**
- barmoše*, *barmošel*, Noun (pl. *barmašota*), **evening**
- baroza*, Noun (pl. *baroze*), **pig, boar** (Etym. K *beraz* pig, Chyet 37)
- barroni*, Noun (pl. *barroniye*), **pear**
- bas*, Adverb, **enough**
- basima*, Adjective, **good, nice**
- bašla*, Noun, **onion**
- bata*, Noun (pl. *batwota, bote*), **house**
- batrowwa*, Adverb, **afterwards, later on**
- baṭila* Adjective, **free, unemployed**
- baxra*, Noun, **sea**
- baxšuše*, Verb Quad., **to forgive**
- baxta* (f.), Noun (pl. *baxtota, baxte*), **woman**
- baxušta*, Noun, **ladle**
- beta*, Noun (pl. *biye*), **egg**
- bewač*, Adjective (invar.), **weak** (Etym. K *bêwač*, Chyet 58)
- bəhra*, Noun, **light**
- bəl*, Preposition, **between**
- bira*, Noun (pl. *bire*), **well**
- bərka*, Noun (pl. *bərkyota, bərkota*), **knee**
- bərqa*, Noun, **lightning**
- bəšra*, Noun, **meat**
- birdán*, Adverb, **suddenly** (Etym. T *birden*)
- biyowa** (*be; be; ibe / kibe / kaybe;*), Verb I, irregular, **to want**

boba (m.), Noun (pl. *bobe*), **father**

bohtoya, Adjective, **of Bohtan**

bola, Noun, **face**

bonoka, Noun (pl. *bonoke*), **jar** (Etym. R банка)

bōš, Adjective (invar.), **good** (Etym. K baş, Chyet 25)

botar, Preposition, **after**

bowər, Adverb, **maybe** (Etym. K bawer belief, Chyet 26)

božar, Noun, **city** (Etym. K bajar, Chyet 20)

brita, Noun, **world, creation**

brotā (f.), Noun (pl. *bnota*), **daughter**

buka, Noun (pl. *buke*), **rooster**

buma, Noun, **owl** (Etym. K būm, Chyet 80, S būmā)

č

čakya, Noun (pl. *čakye*), **gun** (Etym. K çek weapons, arms, Chyet 102)

čamma, Noun, **river** (Etym. K çem, Chyet 103)

čanga, Noun (pl. *čange*), **arm** (Etym. K çeng, Chyet 104)

čanta, Noun (pl. *čanyota*), **bag** (Etym. K çente satchel, Chyet 105)

čaploya, Adjective, **left-handed**

čappa, Adverb, **left** (Etym. K çep, Chyet 105)

čaqqa, Noun (pl. *čaqqe*), **branch** (Etym. K çiq, Chyet 111)

čarpule, Verb Quad., **to wrap, to embrace**

čatum, Adjective, **difficult** (Etym. K çetin, Chyet 106)

čatunuta, Noun, **difficulty**

čawəkke, Noun, **eyeglasses** (Etym. K çavik, Chyet 101)

čaxčupe, Verb Quad., **to swear, to curse**

čəlme, Noun, **snot** (Etym. K çilm, Chyet 110)

čarra, Noun (pl. *čarrota*), **navel** (Etym. S *šerā*)

čloka, Verb I, **to tear**

čokuč, Noun (pl. *čokuče*), **hammer** (Etym. K *çakûç*, Chyet 97)

čola, Noun, **bride**

čora, Adverb, **close, nearby** (Etym. K *çar* four, Chyet 98. This meaning derives from its use in constructions such as *çarhilqe* all around, *čarnikar* all four sides.)

čorət, Preposition, **near**

čül, Noun, **desert** (Etym. K *çol* desert, wilderness, Chyet 116)

d

dāta, Noun, **sweat**

danwa, Noun, **tail**

darašta, Noun, **beginning**

darga, Noun (pl. *darge*), **gate**

dargušta, Noun, **cradle**

darqule, Verb Quad., **to trip**

daruše, Verb II, **to begin** (Etym. S *draš* to tread, to find out, to prepare)

dawona, Noun, **fool** (Etym. S *daywānā* possessed, madman)

dawune, Verb II, **to go crazy**

dax, Interrogative, **how**

daxla, Noun, **grain**

dewa (m.), Noun (pl. *dewe*), **wolf**

dəbba (f.), Noun (pl. *dəbbe*), **bear**

dəmma, Noun, **blood**

dəmma, Noun (pl. *dəmmə*), **tear**

dənya / *dunya*, Noun, **world**

dəpna, Noun (pl. *dəpnota*, *dəpne*), **side**

dəqna, Noun, **beard**

dəžmanuta, Noun, **enmity**

did-, Pronoun, **Independent possessive pronoun**

diyora (*dər; dīr; dora; dur*), Verb I, middle weak, **to return**

diyota (*dət; dīt*), Verb I, middle weak, **to sweat**

diyu, Adverb, **today**

dmixa, Adjective, **asleep**

dona (m.), Noun, **time (period)**

donəd, Conjunction, **when**

dorma, Noun (pl. *dorme*), **tree** (Etym. K *dar*, Chyet 123)

dorá yoma, Adverb, **day before yesterday**

droya, Verb I, final-weak, **to put, to pour**

dugla, Noun, **lie**

duka (m.), Noun (pl. *dukone*), **place**

dula, Noun (pl. *dule, dulone*), **valley** (Etym. K *dol* deep, narrow valley)

dure, Noun, **gums**

duwa (f.), Noun (pl. *duwota*), **mother** (Etym. K *diya*, Chyet 147)

dušakka, Noun (pl. *dušakke*), **bedding, mattress** (Etym. K *došek*, Chyet 164)

dwore, Noun, **cattle** (Etym. K *dewar* cattle, livestock, Chyet 144)

e

e, Adverb, **yes**

eta, Noun (pl. *etwota*), **church**

ə

abbət, Preposition, **with, by means of, at**

əčča, Number, **nine**

aččassar, Number, **nineteen**

əl / *əllət*, Preposition, **to, on**

əmma, Number, **hundred**

əmmət, Preposition, **with**

ənsón (m.), Noun, **person, human being**

ašqa, Adverb, **last year** (Etym. *S eštqad*, JBA *ištqad*)

ašta, Number, **six**

aštassar, Number, **sixteen**

ašti, Number, **sixty**

ašra, Number, **ten**

ašri, Number, **twenty**

əzza (f.), Noun, **she-goat**

f

fānan, Adverb, **as soon as, right away** (Etym. *K fenan*, Chyet 190)

farrokšu, Noun, **rag to dry table** (Etym. *K peřok rag*, Chyet 441)

faxule, Verb II, **to forgive**

fālfāla, Noun, **pepper**

froka, Verb I, **to rub** (Etym. *K firikandin* (Haig 100))

g

gabuye, Verb II, final-weak, **to choose**

gālak, Adverb, **very, many** (Etym. *K gelek very*, Chyet 202)

galda, Noun, **body**

garak, Auxiliary, **necessary** (Etym. *K gerek*, Chyet 206)

garakka, Noun (pl. *garakke*), **hill** (Etym. *K gir*, Chyet 213)

gargərara, Noun (pl. *gargərre*), **noble** (Etym. cf. *gura*, Maclean 56)

garma, Noun (pl. *garme, garmota*), **bone**

gǎron, Adjective (invar.), **expensive** (Etym. K *giran* heavy, expensive, Chyet 214)

garwuse, Verb Quad., **to grow up**

gaššuma, Adjective, **fat**

gawra (m.), Noun, **man, husband**

gawwa, Noun, **time (period)** (Etym. K *gav*, Chyet 201)

gawza, Noun, **nut**

gēž, Adjective (invar.), **dizzy** (Etym. K *gêj* stunned, dizzy, Chyet 209)

gəlla, Noun, **grass**

glula, Adjective, **round**

gnowa, Verb I, final *w*, **to steal**

gnoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to set (of the sun)**

go / *gowət*, Preposition, **in**

gore, Noun (pl. *garwota*), **roof**

groya, Verb I, final-weak, **to shave**

grosa, Verb I, **to grind**

groša, Verb I, to pull, **to smoke**

grusa, Adjective, **big**

guda, Noun (pl. *gudone*), **wall**

gudowa, Adjective, **bad, evil**

guhina, Noun (pl. *guhine*), **eyebrows**

gulliya, Noun (pl. *gulliye*), **hair** (Etym. K *gulĭ*, Chyet 225)

guma, Noun (pl. *gumota*), **stable** (Etym. K *gom* sty, fold, pen, Chyet 219)

gunna, Adjective (invar.), **poor, miserable** (Etym. K *gune* innocent, Chyet 226)

gura, Noun (pl. *gurone*), **man**

gutta, Noun, **ball** (Etym. K *govek*, Chyet 221)

gworā, Verb I, **to marry**

ġ

ġdissar, Number, **eleven**

ġzoda, Verb I, **to reap**

ġzoya (*ġze; ġze; xoze; ġzi*), Verb I, final-weak, **to see**

h

hafsora, Noun, **bridle** (Etym. K *hevsar*)

hakowat (f.), Noun (pl. *hakowate*), **tale**

hal, Preposition, **to, until**

hala, Adverb, **already, still, yet** (Etym. K *hila* still, yet, Chyet 253)

hamman, Adverb, **right away** (Etym. K *heman*, Chyet 237)

hammum, Noun, **bathroom**

hamu, Adverb, **only, just**

hatxa, Adverb, **such**

hawda, Adverb, **now**

hawdax, Adverb, **thus**

hawnona, Adjective, **smart**

hawša, Noun, **courtyard** (Etym. K *ħewš yard*, courtyard, Chyet 275)

háyuna, Adverb, **in the morning**

hedī, Adverb, **slowly** (Etym. K *hêdī* slow(ly), quiet(ly), Chyet 249)

hālma, Noun, **steam** (Etym. K *hilm*, Chyet 256)

hænna, Particle, **whatchamacallit** (Etym. K *hinek* a little, someone, some, Chyet 259, or perhaps S *hânâ*)

hiwoya (*hu; hu; yowu; hal*), Verb I, irregular, **to give**

hiwoya (*höle/(v)hele; (w)he; yowe, howe;*), Verb, irregular, **to be, to become**

hōl, Noun, **condition** (Etym. K *hāl*, Chyet 267)

hozər, Adjective, **ready** (Etym. K *hāzir*, Chyet 267)

i

ida, Noun (pl. *idota*), **hand**

idoya (*də; de; yodə; ədu*), Verb I, multiply weak, **to know**

iloda (*ləd; lid; yalda; uləd*), Verb I, initial y, **to give birth (animals)**

ima, Interrogative, **when**

imora (*mər; mūr; orə; imər*), Verb I, irregular, **to say**

ipowa (*pə; pe; yope; pi, pa, pun*), Verb I, multiply weak, **to bake**

iroqa (*rəq; rīq; orəq; irəq*), Verb I, vowel initial, **to flee, to run**

irowa (*rū; riw; yorū;*), Verb I, multiply weak, **to grow (int.)**

iroṭa, Verb I, vowel initial, **to fart (audibly)**

isoqa (*səq; sīq; yosəq; usəq*), Verb I, initial y, **to go up**

isowa (*sī; siwən; yosu;*), Verb I, multiply weak, **to become old**

işora (*şər; şīr; oşər; uşər*), Verb I, vowel initial, **to tie**

it, Particle, **there is**

itmal, Adverb, **yesterday**

itowa (*tu; tu; yotu; tu*), Verb I, multiply weak, **to sit**

itoya (*te; ite; ote; hayo*), Verb I, irregular, **to come**

iwoda (*wəd; wīd; owəd; iwəd*), Verb I, vowel initial, **to do, to make**

ixola (*xəl; xīl; oxəl; uxəl*), Verb I, vowel initial, **to eat**

ixola, Noun, **food**

izola (*zi; izu; yozu / zole; si*), Verb I, irregular, **to go**

j

jalbuṭe, Verb Quad., **to scratch** (Etym. A *jalaṭa* to chafe, abrade)

jamad, Noun, **ice** (Etym. K *cemed*, Chyet 87)

- jamowat*, Noun, **people, community** (Etym. K *cimaet* group [of people], people, Chyet 91)
- jamuda*, Adjective, **cold (of food)**
- janjure*, Verb Quad., **to suffer** (Etym. cf. K *cencer* threshing machine, Chyet 87)
- jazdona*, Noun, **money belt**
- jbowa*, Noun, **answer** (Etym. A *jawāb*)
- jalle*, Noun, **clothing**
- jhoya*, Verb I, final-weak, **to get tired**
- jirona*, Noun (pl. *jirone*), **neighbor** (Etym. K *cîran*, Chyet 94)
- jmoda*, Verb I, **to catch a cold**
- jroṭa*, Verb I, **to slip**
- jwanəqta* (f.), Noun (pl. *jwanəqyota*), **young woman**
- jwaniya*, Noun, **foal**
- jwanqa* (m.), Noun (pl. *jwanqe*), **young man** (Etym. K *ciwan* young, young man, Chyet 93)

k

- kaboba*, Noun (pl. *kabobe*), **kebab**
- kalakušək*, Noun, **lizard**
- kalba*, Noun (pl. *kalbe, kalwe*), **dog**
- kaləbta*, Noun (pl. *kaləbyota*), **bitch**
- kalləkka*, Noun, **basket**
- kalta* (f.), Noun (pl. *kalwota*), **bride, daughter-in-law**
- kaltiinta* (f.), Noun, **little bride, daughter-in-law**
- kanuna*, Noun, **fireplace**
- kanušta*, Noun (pl. *kanušyota*), **broom**
- kapuruta*, Noun, **evil, infidelity**

- karačuka*, Noun (pl. *karačuke*), **Gypsy** (Etym. K *qereçi*, Chyet 481)
- karma*, Noun, **orchard, vineyard**
- karsa*, Noun (pl. *karse*), **belly**
- karya*, Adjective, **short**
- kawdanna*, Noun (pl. *kawdanne*), **mule**
- kêf*, Noun, **pleasure, happiness** (Etym. K *kêf* pleasure, condition, Chyet 316)
- kêm*, Noun, **few** (Etym. K *kêm*, Chyet 317)
- kepa*, Noun (pl. *kepe*), **stone**
- ketta*, Pronoun, **no-one** (Etym. K *kit*, Chyet 326; cf. Sabar *kitte* none, not even one)
- kəflat*, Noun, **family, child** (Etym. K *kuflet* wife, family, Chyet 334)
- kəlmalle / kərmalle*, Noun (pl. tant.), **belongings** (Etym. K *kel û pel*, Chyet 306)
- kən, ki*, Conjunction, **that (introducing subordinate clause)** (Etym. K *kî*, Chyet 327)
- kəpnuta*, Noun, **famine**
- kərra*, Adjective (limited), **deaf** (Etym. K *kerr*, Chyet 307)
- kəxwa*, Noun (pl. *kəxwe*), **star**
- kiyoda*, Verb I, middle weak, **to hold a grudge** (Etym. A *kāda* to harm, conspire against, cf. *kayda* grudge Sabar 184)
- kloya*, Verb I, final-weak, **to stand, to wait**
- kma*, Interrogative, **how much?**
- knoša*, Verb I, **to sweep**
- koka*, Noun (pl. *koke*), **tooth**
- kopurnowa*, Adjective, **evil, infidel** (Etym. T *kâfir* infidel)
- kpina*, Adjective, **hungry**
- kpoya*, Verb I, final-weak, **to cover**
- kroba*, Verb I, **to be angry**

ktata, Noun (pl. *ktayota*), **hen**

ktowa, Noun, **book**

kuba, Noun, **thorn**

kud, Quantifier, **every**

kudyum, Adverb, **every day**

kulla, Quantifier, **all**

kuma, Adjective, **black**

kuna, Noun (pl. *kune*), **tent** (Etym. K *kon*, Chyet 331)

kura, Adjective (limited), **blind** (Etym. K *kor*, Chyet 332)

kurəkka, Noun, **pocket** (Etym. K *kûrik*, Chyet 342)

kurkmona, Adjective, **yellow**

kxoka (*kxək*; *kxik*; *goxək*; *kxuk*), Verb I, irregular, **to laugh**

l

l-, Preposition, **to**

la, Adverb, **no**

lağoba, Noun, **bit (of a bridle)** (Etym. K *liğab* bridle, Chyet 356)

lal, Preposition, **to**

lamsoya, Adjective, German (Etym. R немец)

laqqad, Auxiliary, **cannot**

laqrət, Preposition, **at, chez** (Etym. cf. Arabic *fī ‘aqri d-dāri* within the house itself)

laša, Noun, **dough**

laxma, Noun, **bread**

laxta, Noun, **chicken feed** (Etym. S *leqtā* crumbs)

layle, Noun (pl. *lelota*), **night**

ləbba, Noun, **heart**

ləm-, *ləmmun*, Interrogative, **why?**

laššona, Noun (pl. *laššone*), **tongue**

ləw, Preposition, **at, chez**

lhoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to burn (int.)**

liča, Noun, **puddle** (Etym. K *lič*, Chyet 357)

liyopa (*lap; lip; yolap; lup*), Verb I, initial y, **to learn**

liyoša (*laš; liš; loyāš; luš*), Verb I, middle weak, **to knead**

liza, Adverb, **quickly** (Etym. K *lez* fast, Chyet 351)

lola, Adjective (limited), **dumb** (Etym. K *lal*, Chyet 344)

loma, Noun (pl. *lamota*), **cheek**

lozəm, Auxiliary, Adjective **necessary**

ltoya (*lte; lte; loṭe; lti*), Verb I, final-weak, **to be quiet** (Etym. cf. Sabar *l-t-y* to sleep comfortably)

lurəkka, Noun, **something made out of waste water from cheese making** (Etym. K *lorik* that which forms from the water that drips off cheese that is being made, Chyet 358)

m

m-, Preposition, **from**

m-hawdax, Conjunction, **therefore**

ma, Number, **hundred**

mabruze, Verb III, **to dry**

mabuje, Verb III, middle weak, **to annoy**

madra, Noun (pl. *madare*), **land, country, ground**

madure, Verb III, middle weak, **to return (tr.)**

magxuke, Verb III, **to make laugh**

mağzuye, Verb III, final-weak, **to show**

mahune (*muhən; muhən; mahən; mahun*), Verb III, **to help** (Etym. S *ahni* to benefit)

māləl, Adverb, **upstairs**

malhuye (*mulhe*; ; *malhe**, *malhən*;), Verb III, final-weak, **to light**

malka, Noun, **king**

malla, Noun (pl. *ṭurone*), **mountain** (Etym. K *mil* shoulder, mountain, Chyet 387)

maltax, Adverb, **downstairs**

malube, Verb III, middle weak, **to trick**

malupe, Verb III, initial y, **to teach**

maluxa, Adjective, **salty**

maluze, Verb III, middle weak, **to run**

malwuše, Verb III, **to dress (tr.)**

mamluxe, Verb III, **to salt**

mamuše, Verb III, middle weak, **to suckle (tr.)**

mamṭoya, Verb III, final-weak, **to bring**

man, Interrogative, **who?**

mapluxe, Verb III, **to use**

mapluṭe, Verb III, **to take out**

mapquye, Verb III, final-weak, **to extend, to put out**

maprume, Verb III, **to explain**

maqroṭe, Noun, **scissors**

maqrūye, Verb III, final-weak, **to study**

maqude, Verb III, middle weak, **to burn (tr.)**

maqume, Verb III, middle weak, **to raise**

maquse, Verb III, middle weak, **to clean**

mara, Adjective, **sick**

marjuye, Verb III, final-weak, **to dare** (Etym. A *rajâ* to beg cf. *r-j-y* to beg, supplicate, Sabar 287)

marqule (*murqəl*; *marqəl*; *marqul*), Verb III, **to be late**

marra, Noun, **disease**

- marume*, Verb III, middle weak, **to raise**
- maruŷe*, Verb II, final-weak, **to herd**
- marwuxe*, Verb III, **to widen**
- masāla*, Noun, **tale**
- maspuqe*, Verb III, **to empty**
- mašmašša*, Noun (pl. *mašmašše*), **apricot** (Etym. K *mišmiš*, Chyet 393)
- mašpiyona*, Noun, **strainer**
- mašpuŷe*, Verb III, final-weak, **to pour** (Etym. JBA pə'al špy to pour out, Sokoloff 1169)
- mašquŷe*, Verb III, final-weak, **to water**
- maššud*, Adverb, **together**
- maššuyŷe*, Verb II, final-weak, **to wash (dishes, body)**
- mašute*, Verb III, middle weak, **to listen to**
- maššuyŷe* (*mušše*; *mušše*; *mašše*; *mašši*, *mašša*), Verb III, irregular, **to close**
(Etym. S 'šâ to compel, to resist)
- mattuŷe* (*mutta*; *mutta*; *mattu*; *mattu*), Verb III, multiply weak, **to put**
- maṭlat*, Preposition, **for, because of**
- maṭune* (*muṭṭan*; ; *maṭṭan*; *maṭun*), Verb III, middle weak, **to load**
- mawure*, Verb III, initial y, **to spend (of time)**
- maxəšnayuta*, Noun, **mercy**
- maxkuyŷe*, Verb III, final-weak, **to speak**
- maxluše*, Verb III, **to finish (tr.)**
- maxruŷe*, Verb III, final w, **to destroy**
- maxule*, Verb III, vowel initial, **to feed**
- maxuše*, Verb III, middle weak, **to gather**
- mbola* ((*m.*)bəl; (*m.*)bīl; *nobəl*; *mbul*), Verb I, irregular, **to take**
- meša*, Noun, **forest** (Etym. K *mêše*, Chyet 382)
- mež*, Noun, **fog** (Etym. K *mij* fog, mist, Chyet 385)

- məllat*, Noun, **nation**
- məlxə*, Noun, **salt**
- mən* / *mənnət*, Preposition, **from, with**
- məndi*, Noun (pl. *məndiyone*), **thing**
- mənne*, Noun, **some, a group of**
- miqale*, Noun, **frying pan**
- miyota*, Verb I, middle weak, **to die**
- mnoya*, Verb I, final-weak, **to count**
- mol*, Noun, **property, possession**
- molya*, Adjective, **full**
- momu* (m.), Noun, **paternal uncle**
- mošekya*, Noun, **beans**
- mota*, Noun (pl. *matwota*), **village**
- motuwe* (*mte; mute; mete; meti, mata*), Verb III, irregular, **to bring**
- moy/ moyən* / *mohi* / *mohən* / *m-*, Interrogative, **what?**
- moye* / *mowe*, Noun (pl. *Tant.*), **water**
- mpola* ((*m*)*pəl; mpil; nopəl; mpul*), Verb I, irregular, **to fall**
- mročə*, Verb I, **to press**
- msoya* (*mse; mse; mose; msi*), Verb I, final-weak, **to wash (clothes)**
- mšixoya*, Adjective, **Christian**
- mşole* (*mşule*), Verb II, irregular, **to pray**
- mtoya*, Verb I, final-weak, **to arrive**
- mud*, Interrogative, **how? how much?**
- mud jurra*, Interrogative, **how?** (Etym. *mud* + K *cûre* type, way, Chyet 96)
- mud qadra*, Interrogative, **how many?**
- mud, mo*, Quantifier, **such**

muxa, Noun, **brain**

mxoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to hit**

n

nakera, Noun, **beak**

nanaka, Noun, **mirror**

naqida, Adjective, **thin**

naqla, Noun (pl. *naqle*), **time (instance)**

nawčar, Noun, **great-grandchild** (Etym. K *nevîçirk*, Chyet 410)

nawba, Noun, **guard**

nawiya, Noun, **grandchild** (Etym. K *nevî*, Chyet 410)

nax, *naxwo*, Conjunction, **otherwise, after all, but** (Etym. K *nexo* otherwise, or else, Chyet 411)

naxira, Noun (pl. *naxire*), **nose**

nčoqa (*nčəq*; *nčiq*; *nočəq*; *nčuq*), Verb I, **to kiss**

nəmmun, Interrogative, **why?**

nəmra, Noun, **tiger**

nisərta, Noun, **saw**

nola, Noun, **horseshoe** (Etym. K *nal*, Chyet 400)

noša, Noun (pl. *noše*, *našwota*), **man, person**

nota, Noun (pl. *nakyota*), **ear**

nqoša, Verb I, **to diminish (intr.)**

nsora, Verb I, **to saw**

nunta, Noun (pl. *nune*), **fish**

nura, Noun (pl. *nure*), **fire**

nwoxa, Verb I, **to bark**

nxopa (*nxəp*; *nxīp*; *noxəp*; *nxup*), Verb I, **to be ashamed**

nxota, Verb I, **to descend**

o

oĝa, Noun, **agha, tribal leader**

olá, Noun, **God**

ona, Pronoun, **I**

oni, Pronoun, **they**

osmallu, Noun, **Ottoman Empire**

otaĝ, Noun, **room** (Etym. K *otax*, Chyet 426)

owət / oyət, Pronoun, **you (ms.)**

oyat / owat, Pronoun, **you (fs.)**

oyün / ohən, Pronoun, **he/she**

p

p-hayu, Adverb, **quickly, soon**

palga, palgi, Quantifier, **half**

palguta, Noun, **half**

palxona, Noun, **work**

pandona, Adjective, **clever, tricky**

panjära, Noun (pl. *panjäre*), **window** (Etym. K *penjere*, Chyet 437)

papuka, Noun, **poor, miserable one** (Etym. K *pepük* weak, feeble, pauper, Chyet 438)

parča, Noun (pl. *parče*), **hair** (Etym. K *pirç*, Chyet 456)

parda, Noun, **individual**

pare, Noun (pl. Tant.), **money**

parmuye, Verb Quad., **to understand**

parpüle, Verb Quad., **to beg**

parzəlla, Noun, **iron**

paspuse, Verb Quad., **to whisper**

paškuža, Noun (pl. *paškuža*), **button, bud** (Etym. K *biškož*, Chyet 72)

paṭarta, Noun (pl. *paṭaryota*), **mushroom**

pawxa, Noun, **wind**

pe X-ləl, Preposition, **through**

pe / pēt, Preposition, **towards**

pe laqrət, Preposition, **towards**

peka, Noun, **berry**

pelowa, Noun (pl. *pelowe*), **shoe** (Etym. K *pēlav*, Chyet 448)

pertakka, Noun (pl. *pertakke*), **rag**

pešša, Noun, **lung** (Etym. K *piš*, Chyet 459)

pətya, Adjective, **wide**

pəqa, Noun (pl. *pəqoqe*), **frog** (Etym. K *beq*, Chyet 34)

pika, Noun, **fruit** (Etym. K *fikî*, Chyet 198)

pire, Noun, **old woman** (Etym. K *pîr* old, Chyet 464)

ploxa, Verb I, **to work**

ploya, Verb I, final-weak, **to divide (tr.)**

ploṭa (*plət*; *plīt*; *polət*; *pluṭ*), Verb I, **to go out**

pola, Noun, **servant**

pora, Noun (pl. *pore*), **lamb**

pota, Noun (pl. *pote*), **face**

proxa (*prəx*; *prix*; *porəx*;), Verb I, **to fly**

ptola, Verb I, **to walk around**, — *botər* **to look for**

ptoxa (*ptəx*; *ptix*; *potəx*; *ptux*), Verb I, **to open**

puqa, Noun (pl. *puqoqe*), **nostril**

pyoša (*pəš*; *pīš*; *poyəš*; *puš*), Verb I, middle weak, **to remain**

pšola (*pšəl*; *pšīl*; *bošəl*;), Verb I, **to cook**

pšoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to fart (inaudibly)**

q

qabule (*qubəl; qubəl; qobəl;*), Verb II, **to receive**

qalax, Quantifier, **a little** (Etym. Probably from K *qelax* dung heap, Chyet 478)

qalpa, Noun, **bark (of a tree)**

qalula, Adjective, **light**

qalula, Adverb, **easy**

qam, Preposition, **before, in front of**

qamxa, Noun, **flour**

qanna, Noun (pl. *qanne, qannota*), **nest**

qanuna, Noun, **pipe (for smoking)**

qanyanta (f.), Noun (pl. *qanyone*), **sheep**

qanyona, Noun (pl. *qanyone*), **sheep**

qapuye, Verb II, final-weak, **to catch**

qasa, Noun (pl. *qayse*), **wood, tree**

qašquže, Verb Quad., **to shout** (Etym. possibly JBA *q-š-y* ap'el to ask a question, to raise an objection, Sokoloff 1048)

qata, Noun, **summer**

qdola, Noun, **neck**

qad, Auxiliary, **can, to be able to**

qəšsat, Noun (pl. *qəšsate*), **story**

qəṭma, Noun, **ashes**

qiyoda (*qəd; qid; yoqəd; qud*), Verb I, initial y, **to burn (int.)**

qiyoma (*qəm; qīm; qoyəm; qulux*), Verb I, middle weak, **to get up**

qiyota, Verb I, middle weak, **to reach, to attain, to strike**

qiša, Adjective, **clean**

qlida, Noun (pl. *qlide*), **key**

qloya, Verb I, final-weak, **to fry**

qmata, Adverb, **first**

qmoya / *qmowa*, Adjective, **first**

qola, Noun, **voice, sound**

qomá yoma, Adverb, **three days ago**

qopina, Noun, **forehead**

qoyuša, Noun, **belt** (Etym. К *qayış*, Chyet 474)

qoṭu, Noun (pl. *qoṭuwe*), **cat**

qrəstyona (m.), Noun (pl. *qrəstiyone*), **Christian**

qropa, Verb I, **to break, to crack (int.)**

qroša, Verb I, **to catch a cold**

qroya (*qre*; *qre*; *qore*; *qri*), Verb I, final-weak, **to read, to study**

qtola (*qtəl*; *qtīl*; *qotəl*; *qtul*), Verb I, **to kill**

qtoya (*qtə* / *qte*; *qte*; *qotə*; *qatū* / *qaṭi*), Verb I, final *ayin*, **to cut**

quča, Noun, **piece**

qudma, Adverb, **forward**

qulfa, Noun (pl. *qulfe*), **lock**

qupe, Noun, **brooding hen**

qurdoya, Adjective, **Kurdish, Muslim**

qurša, Noun, **cold**

quta, Noun, **female genitals**

r

rakuna, Adverb, **down**

ramunta, Noun (pl. *ramune*), **pomegranate**

randa, Adverb, **well**

randa, Adjective (limited), **good, beautiful**

- raula*, Noun, **ravine, gorge** (Etym. S *rāḡulā*)
- raypa*, Noun, **flock (of birds)**
- razule*, Verb II, **to despise, to treat badly**
- reša*, Noun (pl. *reše*), **head**
- rešat*, Preposition, **above**
- rixa*, Adjective, **long**
- riya*, Noun (pl. *riye*), **herder**
- riyoma*, Verb I, middle weak, **to boil over**
- riyosa*, Verb I, middle weak, **to scatter (tr.)**
- riyoša* (*rəš; rīš; royəš; ruš*), Verb I, middle weak, **to wake up, to notice**
- rkona*, Verb I, **to get down**
- roba*, Adjective, **big**
- roma*, Adjective, **tall**
- rozi*, Adjective (invar.), **satisfied, agreeable**
- rtoxa*, Verb I, **to boil**
- ruqe*, Noun, **saliva**
- rusta*, Adverb, **right**
- ruša*, Noun (pl. *rušone*), **shoulder**
- ruta*, Noun, **Friday**
- rutta*, Adjective (limited), **naked**
- ruxa*, Noun, **self, reflexive pronoun**

s

- sabrone*, Noun, **meeting** (Etym. R собрание)
- sadita/saduta*, Noun, **pillow** (Etym. JBA *sādyā*)
- sahat/saat*, Noun (pl. *sahate*), **hour**
- sakure*, Verb II, **to lose**

sambela, Noun (pl. *sambele*), **moustache**

sapta, Noun (pl. *sappota*), **lip**

sarka, Noun, **vinegar** (Etym. K *sirke*, Chyet 552)

sasgure, Verb Quad., **to prepare (tr.)** (Etym. compare (*m*)*sazgir* to agree, stipulate, Maclean 185)

-se, Adverb, **also**

səbba, Noun (pl. *səbbota*), **genital hair**

sək, Adjective (invar.), **bad** (Etym. K *seqet* crippled, lame, rude, Chyet 535)

səkka, Noun, **stake, peg**

səlqa, Noun, **beet**

səpta, Noun (pl. *səppatyota*), **lip**

səttiya (f.), Noun, **lady, mistress**

sətwa, Noun, **winter**

skina, Noun, **knife**

smuqa, Adjective, **red**

sowa, Adjective, **old (of people)**

sowa (m.), Noun (pl. *sowe*), **grandfather**

sowika, Noun (pl. *sowike*), **old man**

speda, Adverb, **tomorrow** (Etym. K *spêde* morning, Chyet 560)

spiqa, Adjective, **empty**

sroqa, Verb I, **to scatter**

suroya, Adjective, **Assyrian**

susa, Noun, **horse**

swiya, Adjective, **satisfied**

sxoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to swim**

š

šabta, Noun, **Saturday**

šadure (*šudār; šudār; šodār; šodār*), Verb II, **to send**

šamoša, Noun, **deacon**

šamxa, Noun, **smell** (Etym. Cf. S *šemkē* smell of the armpits, *šamkuta* stink of a cavern)

šana, Noun, **peace**

šantona, Adjective, **sleepy**

šantule, Verb Quad., **to plunder** (Etym. K *šelandin* plunder, strip, Chyet 572)

šapta, Noun (pl. *šapota*), **week**

šaquye, Verb II, final-weak, **to drop, to leave (tr.), to throw**

šar, Noun, **war** (Etym. K *šer*, Chyet 574)

šarxa, Noun, **calf** (Etym. S *šarkā*)

šatta, Noun, **bottom** (Etym. S *eštā*)

šawa, Number, **seven**

šawassar, Number, **seventeen**

šawwi, Number, **seventy**

šaxina, Adjective, **hot (of food)**

šaxlupe, Verb Quad., **to change (tr.)**

šekar, Noun, **sugar**

šeta (f.), Noun (pl. *šanne, šanne*), **year**

šakya, Noun (pl. *šakyota*), **testicle** (Etym. JBA *iškā*)

šamma (m.), Noun (pl. *šamme*), **name**

šanta, Noun, **sleep**

šidona, Noun, **crazy**

šira, Noun, **grape juice** (Etym. K *šîrêz* unfermented wine, Chyet 588)

šiyōša, Verb I, middle weak, **to shake**

šiša, Noun, **iron rod** (Etym. K *šîš*, Chyet 589)

šišalta, Noun (pl. *šišalyota*), **chain**

škafta, Noun, **cave** (Etym. K *škeft*, Chyet 589)

šloma, Noun, **peace**

šloxa, Verb I, **to skin, to undress**

šmoṭa, Verb I, **to escape, to slip out**

šmoya (*šmā; šmā; šomā;*), Verb I, final *ayin*, **to hear**

šoma, Noun (pl. *šome*), **candle**

šōš, Adjective (invar.), **confused, bewildered** (Etym. K *šaš* confused, puzzled, Chyet 570)

šrowa, Noun, **lamp, electricity**

štoya (*šte; šte; šote; šti*), Verb I, final-weak, **to drink**

štoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to lie down**

šula, Noun (pl. *šulone*), **work, business**

šuxta, Noun (pl. *šuxyota*), **shirt**

šwa, Adverb, **even**

šwita, Noun, **bed** (Etym. S *tešwītā*)

šwora, Verb I, **to jump**

š

šabāta, Noun (pl. *šabatyota*), **finger**

šabāta gvoa, Noun, **middle finger**

šabāta la šamma, Noun, **ring finger**

šabāta maxwe/maḡze, Noun, **index finger**

šabāta roba, Noun, **thumb**

šabāta zurta, Noun, **little finger**

šada, Noun, **hunting**

şadra, Noun (pl. *şadre*), **chest (body part)**

şapərta, Noun (pl. *şapre*), **bird**

şapura, Noun (pl. *şapure*), **kid**

şattona, Adjective, **dirty** (Etym. S *şātā*)

şatune (*şutən; şutən; şatən; şatun*), Verb II, irregular, **to dirty**

şera / şəhra, Noun, **moon**

şita, Noun, **span (distance from thumb to little finger)**

şiyoda (*şəd; şid; şowəd; şud*), Verb I, middle weak, **to grab, to catch, to hunt**

şxoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to be thirsty**

t

taffak, Noun (pl. *taffake*), **rifle**

tāla, Noun (pl. *tale*), **fox**

talga, Noun, **snow**

talila, Adjective, **wet**

tammora, Noun (pl. *tammore*), **eyelashes**

tapəkka, Noun, **drop**

taqtuqe, Verb Quad., **to knock**

tara (m.), Noun (pl. *tarone*), **door**

tarkuse, Verb Quad., **to beat** (Etym. S *rgez* to be angry; cf. *mtergiz* to strike, knock, Maclean 207)

tarwoda, Noun (pl. *tarwode*), **spoon**

tawərta, Noun (pl. *tawəryota*), **cow**

tawla, Noun (pl. *tawle*), **worm**

tawra, Noun, **bull**

taxmena, Noun, **reckoning**

taxmune (*tuxmən; tuxmən; taxmən; taxmun*), Verb Quad., **to ponder, to think**

taxmunta, Noun, **thought**

taza, Adjective (invar.), **fresh** (Etym. K *taze* fresh, green, Chyet 599)

tiqa, Adjective, **old (of things)**

tiyona, Verb I, middle weak, **to urinate**

tloya, Verb I, final-weak, **to hang**

tltassar, Number, **thirteen**

tmanyā, Number, **eight**

tmonassar, Number, **eighteen**

tmoni, Number, **eighty**

toma, Adverb, **there**

tpoqa, Verb I, **to meet**

tqola, Verb I, **to weigh**

tqula, Adverb, **right, correct**

traktaristuta, Noun, **tractor-driving**

tramma, Number, **two hundred**

triša, Adjective, **fat**

trissar, Number, **twelve**

trušoba, Noun, **Monday**

tu mändi, Noun, **nothing**

tuma, Noun, **garlic**

tuquta, Noun, **long ago, the old days**

tutte (f.), Noun (pl. *tutwota*), **grandmother**

tuttur, Adverb, **never** (Etym. *tu no* + S *ṭawra* time)

tuz, Noun, **dust** (Etym. K *toz*, Chyet 628)

twira, Adjective, **broken**

twora (*twər; twīr; towər; twur*), Verb I, **to break**

ṭ

ṭalona, Noun, **forest**

ṭamta, Noun, **food**

ṭapurka, Noun, **axe**

ṭarpa, Noun (pl. *ṭarpe*), **leaf**

ṭarṭume, Verb Quad., **to murmur, to complain** (Etym. S *ṭarṭem* to murmur, to grumble)

ṭašuyē (*ṭuše; ṭuše; ṭoše; ṭoši*), Verb II, final-weak, **to hide (tr.)**

ṭawule (*ṭuwəl; ṭuwəl; ṭola; ṭawul*), Verb II, irregular, **to play**

ṭera, Noun (pl. *ṭere*), **bird**

ṭəpra, Noun (pl. *ṭəpre, ṭəprota*), **finger nail**

ṭina, Noun, **mud**

ṭiyona, Verb I, middle weak, **to pick up, to carry**

ṭiyopa, Verb I, middle weak, **to hit** (Etym. JBA *ṭ-p-ḥ* to strike)

ṭiza, Noun, **buttocks**

ṭliba, Noun, **bet rothed**

ṭloba, Verb I, **to ask for (a woman's hand in marriage)**

ṭlola, Noun, **shadow**

ṭloqa, Verb I, **to lose**

ṭlota, Number, **three**

ṭlotawšoba, Noun, **Tuesday**

ṭloti, Number, **thirty**

ṭlotamma, Number, **three hundred**

ṭo qabal, Adverb, **before, ago**

ṭo qmata, Adverb, **earlier**

ṭo qmoya, ṭo qmata, Adverb, **earlier**

to randa, Adjective, **better**

to xroya, Adverb, **later**

toṭṭuka, Noun, **poor, miserable one**

towa, Adjective, **good**

troṣa, Verb I, **to get fat**

troya, Verb I, final-weak, **to leave, to drive, to force**

tura, Noun (pl. *ṭurone*), **mountain**

tuṭunka, Noun, **miserable, pitiable one**

ṭxona, Verb I, **to grind**

u

u, Conjunction, **and**

uda, Noun (pl. *udota*), **room** (Etym. K *ode*, Chyet 425)

urusat, Noun, **Russia**

w

waroqa, Noun, **paper**

warxa (m.), Noun (pl. *warxota*), **road**

wiṣa, Adjective, **dry**

wona, Noun, **ewe**

x

xa, Number, **one, indefinite article**

xábarra, Adverb, **a lot** (Etym. K *bir* crowd, flock, Chyet 68)

xabra, Noun, **word**

xadranuta, Noun, **retinue**

xala, Adverb, **barely, scarcely** (Etym. S *ḥaylā* strength)

xalma, Noun (pl. *xalme*), **dream**

- xalona*, Adjective, **strong**
- xalwa*, Noun, **milk**
- xammona*, Adjective, **feverish**
- xamra*, Noun, **wine**
- xamšassar*, Number, **fifteen**
- xamšawšoba*, Noun, **Thursday**
- xamši*, Number, **fifty**
- xamuša*, Noun, **pickle**
- xamyona*, Noun, **father-in-law**
- xanjar*, Noun, **dagger**
- xanuxta*, Noun (pl. *xanuxyota*), **neck**
- xaqla*, Noun (pl. *xaqlota*), **field**
- xarbuše*, Verb Quad., **to argue** (Etym. S *bhaš* to stir, to shake)
- xátika*, *xatikuna*, Adverb, **a little**
- xawla*, Noun (pl. *xawle*), **rope**
- xawra*, Noun (pl. *xiirone*, *xurwota*), **friend**
- xawšoba*, Noun, **Sunday**
- xena*, Adjective, **other**
- xena*, Adverb, **again**
- xēr*, *xera*, Noun, **goodness, news**
- xədyā*, Noun (pl. *xədyota*), **breast**
- xəlyā*, Adjective, **sweet**
- xən*, Preposition, **as, like**
- xən*, Conjunction, **when**
- xərba*, Adjective (invar.), **bad**, Adverb, **badly**
- xətna*, Noun (pl. *xətnota*), **son-in-law, groom**
- xətte*, Noun, **wheat**

xəš, Adverb, **already, yet** (Etym. K *hēj* still, yet, Chyet 249)

xəška, Noun, **darkness**

xiyora (*xər*; *xīr*; *xoyər*; *xur*), Verb I, middle weak, **to look**

xiyora, Noun, **cucumber**

xiyoya, Verb I, multiply weak, **to live**

xlašta, Noun, **end**

xlopa, Verb I, **to change (tr.)**

xloša, Verb I, **to finish (intr.)**

xlowa (*xlu*; *xlu*; *xolu*; *xlu*), Verb I, final *w*, **to milk**

xlula, Noun, **wedding**

xmora, Noun (pl. *xmore*), **donkey**

xmoša, Verb I, **to go bad (to become vinegar)**

xmota (f.), Noun (pl. *xmatwota*), **mother-in-law**

xmoča, Noun, **needle**

xmoya, Verb I, final-weak, **to reside** (Etym. A *hamâ* to protect; cf. (m)*hamé gâne lgîbâ d-* to take refuge with, Maclean 169)

xoloma, Noun (pl. *xolome*), **servant**

xolu, *xola* (m.), Noun (pl. *xalwota*), **maternal uncle**

xoš, Noun, **satisfaction**

xoša, Noun (pl. *xoše*), **back**

xota, Adjective, **new**

xota (f.), Noun (pl. *xatwota*), **sister**

xowe, Noun (pl. Tant.), **life**

xpora, Verb I, **to dig**

xriwa, Adjective, **destroyed**

xroya, Adverb, **finally**

xroya, Adjective, **last**

x̣tita, Noun (pl. *x̣tiyota*), **sin**

xuda, Adverb, **only**

xurtita, Adverb, **by force** (Etym. K *xurti* force, Chyet 669)

xutət, Preposition, **under**

xuwwe, Noun (pl. *xuwowe*), **snake**

y

yan, Conjunction, **or**

yaqura, Adjective, **heavy**

yaruqa, Adjective, **green**

yarxa, Noun (pl. *yarxe*), **month**

yekyona, Noun, **only son, daughter** (Etym. K *yek* one, Chyet 679)

yoma, Noun (pl. *yomota*, *yome*, *yomone*), **day**

z

zabune (*zubən*; *zubən*; *zobən*; *zobən*), Verb II, **to sell**

zanjira, Noun, **chain**

zangəlhuta, Noun, **bell** (Etym. K *zengil*, Chyet 686)

zara, Noun, **offspring**

zarkuna, Adjective, **small**

zdoya (*zda*; *zde*; *zoda*; *zadu*), Verb I, final *ayin*, **to fear**

zera, Noun, **gold** (Etym. K *zêra*, Chyet 689)

zəqra, Noun, **spider**

zərar, Noun, **harm** (Etym. K *zirar* damage, injury, harm, Chyet 693)

zmar̄ta, Noun (pl. *zmarota*), **song**

zolumuta, Noun, **evil, injustice** (Etym. T *zalim* tyrannical, cruel)

zopa, Noun, **hair (individual)** (Etym. S *zapā* bristle)

zroqa, Verb I, **to rise (of the sun)**

zroya, Verb I, final *ayin*, **to plant**

zura, Adjective, **little**

zyopa, Verb I, Middle Weak, **to push**

ž

žežžu, Noun, **hedgehog** (Etym. K *jūjt*, Chyet 293)

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