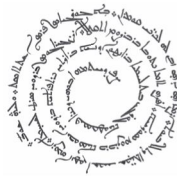


The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sanandaj



Gorgias Neo-Aramaic Studies

10

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Geoffrey Khan

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Geoffrey Khan



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For Danny Avrahami

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PREFACE

This volume is a description of the Neo-Aramaic dialect spoken by the Jews of Sanandaj in western Iran. This belongs to a subgroup of Jewish dialects in Iran that were spoken from Bokan in the North to Kerend in the South. The volume, therefore, complements my previous book in this series on the Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Urmi, which is the main dialect in the subgroup of Jewish dialects in Iran that were spoken to the North of Bokan.

The data for the volume were gathered in a series of fieldtrips to Israel over the last four years. On some occasions I conducted fieldwork sessions together with Hezy Mutzafi, the co-editor of the Gorgias Neo-Aramaic series, who has also gathered a considerable amount of data on the dialect, especially on its lexicon. I should like to thank Hezy for reading an earlier draft of the book and for giving me many important comments.

The fieldtrips were undertaken as a component of a project at the University of Cambridge that aims to document systematically the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic dialect group. This project was funded from 2004 until 2009 by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, whose support is gratefully acknowledged.

My work would not have been possible without the kind cooperation of numerous people from among the surviving speakers of the dialect. I should like to express my gratitude to all of my informants, who include Dr. Bahruz Qamran, Ḥabib Nurani, Victoria Amini, Eli Avrahami, David Avrahami, Dr. Yeskel Paz and his wife Negar Paz.

I would like to register my particular gratitude to Danny (Daryuš) Avrahami and his sister Sarah. Danny and Sarah, who came to be my close friends, offered me warm hospitality in Rehovot and enthusiastically helped me at all stages of the project. Danny arranged for me many recording sessions with other speakers of the dialect from Sanandaj. He is passionately devoted to the preservation of his native Neo-Aramaic dialect. He runs a radio phone-in programme every week for speakers of the dialect, which has attracted considerable interest. Danny is an accomplished poet and has composed numerous poems in Neo-Aramaic. He has kindly agreed for me to

include in this volume a poem he has written concerning his language, which makes an emotional plea for it to be preserved for future generations. It is hope that this volume will help to keep the knowledge of it alive in the years to come.

Geoffrey Khan
Cambridge, October 2009

INTRODUCTION

THE JEWS OF SANANDAJ

The town of Sanandaj, or Səna as it is known in Kurdish, is the capital of the mountainous province of Kurdistan in Iran. There was a small village on the site until the 17th century, when the governor of the region, Suleyman Khan Ardalan, built a castle known as Səna-dij ('Səna fortress'), which became the basis of the town. The region remained a semi-autonomous frontier province ruled by the Ardalan dynasty down to the middle of the 19th century.

A Jewish community moved to the town in the 17th century from a village known as Qal'at Ḥasan-ʿābād. As in many of the Jewish communities of the region, the learned Jews in Sanandaj practiced Qabbala and many were followers of Sabbatai Zevi (Ben-Ya'qov 1980: 148). At the beginning of the twentieth century the Alliance Israélite Universelle came to the region and established a school in the town in 1903. According to the Alliance there were approximately 1,800 Jews (480 families) in Sanandaj at this period (Tsadik 2007: 9).

In 1916 there was a famine in the town, exacerbated by hoarding of grain (McDowall 1996: 108; O'Shea 2004: 217), which resulted in the deaths of thousands of inhabitants including many from the Jewish community. A large number of the Jews fled the town at this difficult period to Hamadan and Kermanshah or to Iraq. In 1936 there were approximately 1,000 Jews in Sanandaj (Ben-Ya'qov 1980: 148).

By the beginning of the 1950s the community had increased to 4,000 (Ben-Ya'qov 1980: 149). In 1952 about 1,000 Jews emigrated to the newly founded State of Israel. Over the subsequent two decades there was a gradual emigration of the Jews from the town either to Tehran or abroad, mostly to Israel. After the Iranian Revolution in 1979 most of the remaining Jews left Sanandaj, the majority settling in Los Angeles in the USA and the remainder in Israel or Europe. Today only about half a dozen elderly Jews are reported to be still living in the town.



Fig. 1 Sanandaj



Fig. 2 Pupils and teachers of the Jewish schools, Sanandaj, January 1947

In the twentieth century the majority of the Jews of Sanandaj were small merchants, such as cloth-sellers, grocers and haberdashers. Some were peddlers of goods who travelled around the local villages. There were some merchants who imported goods from abroad. A few educated Jews were medical doctors or dentists.

The homes of the Jews were concentrated in a special quarter of the town, though some of the merchants' shops were interspersed with those of the Muslims. The relations of the Jews with the Sunni Muslim Kurds of the town were excellent. Informants tell of the warm friendship between Muslim and Jewish families. In addition to a rabbinical school (*qāraula*), there were Jewish schools in the town for boys and girls.

THE DIALECT OF THE JEWS OF SANANDAJ

The Affiliation of the Dialect

The Neo-Aramaic dialect of the Jews of Sanandaj belongs to the North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA) group of dialects, which is a linguistically very diverse group spoken by Jews and Christians East of the Tigris river in south-eastern Turkey, northern Iraq and western Iran. It is a general feature of NENA that the dialects spoken by the Jews differ from those spoken by the Christians, even where the two communities lived in modern times in the same geographical location. This applies to the NENA dialects of the Jewish and Christian communities of Sanandaj, which exhibit fundamental differences in their structure. Recognition of this is reflected by the fact that the Jews referred to their dialect as *lišana nošan* 'our language' or *hulaula* 'Jewish'. The following comparative list illustrates some selected divergences in phonology, morphology and lexicon:¹

J. Sanandaj	C. Sanandaj	
<i>belá</i>	<i>bésa</i>	'house'
<i>'ilá</i>	<i>'ída</i>	'hand'
<i>laḥmal</i>	<i>latəmal</i>	'the day before yesterday'
<i>'āt (c.)</i>	<i>'ayət (m.), 'ayat (f.)</i>	'you (sing.)'
<i>bronāxun</i>	<i>'əbroxən</i>	'your (pl.) son'
<i>kéna</i>	<i>kasən-yen</i>	'I (m.) am coming'
<i>hiya-y</i>	<i>gi-'isele</i>	'He has come'
<i>qəṭlale</i>	<i>təm-qəṭəlla</i>	'He killed her'
<i>pəma</i>	<i>kəma</i>	'mouth'
<i>zbota</i>	<i>špesa</i>	'finger'
<i>roxa</i>	<i>poxa</i>	'wind'

¹ Here and in the following lists the abbreviations J. = Jewish and C. = Christian are used. The data on C. Sanandaj are taken from Panoussi (1990).

<i>rāba</i>	<i>kabíra</i>	‘very, much’
ʾāta	<i>da</i>	‘now’
<i>gny</i>	<i>dmx</i>	‘to sleep’

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

**baytā* ‘house’, **edā* ‘festival’

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

J. Sanandaj	<i>belá</i>	ʾelá
J. Urmi	<i>belá</i>	<i>elá</i>
J. Arbel	<i>belá</i>	ʾelá

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

J. Amedia	<i>béθa</i>	ʾéda
J. Dohok	<i>béθa</i>	ʾéða
J. Zakho	<i>bésa</i>	ʾéza

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

Trans-Zab Jewish NENA

J. Sanandaj	ʾo	(3c.)
J. Urmi	<i>o</i>	(3c.)
J. Arbel	ʾo	(3c.)

Jewish dialects West of the Zab

J. Amedia	ʾawa (3ms.)	ʾaya (3fs.)
J. Zakho	ʾawa (3ms.)	ʾaya (3fs.)

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

The Iranian Sub-groups of NENA

The closest relatives of Jewish Sanandaj are the Jewish dialects of western Iran spoken in an area ranging from Kerend in the South up to Boker in the North and extending East as far as Bijar. This is a distinct sub-group of Jewish NENA, which exhibits a considerable degree of homogeneity. It includes also the Jewish dialect of the town of Khanaqin, which is situated in the adjacent region of Iraq close to the Iranian border. The dialects of this sub-group differ noticeably from the Jewish dialects spoken further North in Iran in the region ranging from Sablag to Salmas, which themselves form a considerably homogeneous sub-group. These two clusters of dialects may be termed the western Iranian (WI) subgroup and the north-western Iranian (NWI) subgroup respectively. In the region of the western Iranian subgroup Kurdish is spoken by the Muslim population whereas the predominant language of the Muslims in the region of the north-western Iranian subgroup is Azeri Turkish.²

The dialects of these subgroups for which data are available include:

Western Iranian	North-Western Iranian
Bijar	Sablag
Boker	Salmas
Kerend	Solduz
Khanaqin	Šano
Qarah Hasan	Urmi
Qasr-e Širin	
Sainqala	
Sanandaj	
Saqaz	
Tikab	

² Hopkins (1999: 313) refers to these groups as Kurdistan Jewish and Azerbaijan Jewish respectively.



Fig. 3. Jewish NENA dialects

Some linguistic research has already been carried out on the dialects of the western Iranian subgroup. These include a series of articles by Simon Hopkins that concern general features of the Iranian NENA dialects (Hopkins 1989, 1993, 1999) or treat specifically features of the dialect of Kerend (Hopkins 2002; 2005: 74-77). Yafa Yisrael wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on the phonology and morphology of the spoken dialect of Sāqəz (Yisraeli 1998) and has published some articles relating to the traditional written form of this dialect (Yisraeli 1997, 2003, 2009). Some aspects of the dialects have been described by Hezy Mutzafi in his work on the classification of the trans-Zab dialects (Mutzafi 2008). The only publication relating specifically to the Jewish dialect of Sanandaj, as far as I know, is a short and faulty word-list appearing in the fifth volume of J. de Morgan's *Mission scientifique en Perse* (de Morgan 1904). It appears that de Morgan was not even aware that the dialect was Aramaic, but rather represented it as a degenerate Iranian dialect (Hopkins 1999: 320).

Some of the conspicuous differences between the western Iranian (WI) and north-western Iranian (NWI) subgroups of NENA are as follows:

(i) Intransitive Preterite

WI	NWI	
<i>qúnna</i>	<i>qámli</i>	‘I rose’
<i>qímét</i>	<i>qámlox</i>	‘You (ms.) rose’
<i>qim</i>	<i>qámle</i>	‘He rose’

In WI the subject of the preterite of intransitive verbs is expressed by S-suffixes, i.e. the suffixes that are used to express the subject of present base verbs (*qemna* ‘I rise’, *qemet* ‘You rise’, *qem* ‘He rises’). In NWI such verbs are inflected with L-suffixes.

(ii) Intransitive Perfect

WI	NWI	
<i>qimá-y</i>	<i>qim</i>	‘He has risen’
<i>qimta-ya</i>	<i>qíma</i>	‘She has risen’
<i>qimta-yat</i>	<i>qímat</i>	‘You (fs.) have risen’

In WI the perfect of intransitive verbs is formed by inflecting the resultative participle with the copula. In NWI this is expressed by the past base inflected with S-suffixes.

(iii) Progressive Present

WI	NWI	
<i>gāraš</i>	<i>garošle/garoše</i>	‘He is pulling’
<i>garšena</i>	<i>garošlen/garošen</i>	‘I am pulling’

In WI the progressive is expressed by the present base of the verb, whereas NWI uses a construction consisting of the infinitive inflected with the copula, which exhibits various degrees of contraction.

(iv) Direct Object of Perfect

WI

šwawi baxti nšaqta-ya

‘My neighbour (m.) has kissed my wife’

(*nšaqta-ya* = fs. resultative participle + 3fs. copula)

NWI

šwawi baxti nšiqella

‘My neighbour (m.) has kissed my wife’

(*nšiqella* = ms. resultative participle + 3ms. copula + 3fs. object suffix)

In both dialect groups a transitive perfect is expressed by a resultative participle inflected by the copula. The alignment of the components of the clause, however, is different. In WI the resultative participle and copula agree with the undergoer of the action, whereas in NWI these agree with the agent.

(v) Present Copula

	WI	NWI
3ms.	-ye	-ile
2ms.	-yet	-ilet
1ms.	-yena	-ilen

In NWI the present copula has an /l/ element throughout the paradigm, whereas this is lacking in WI.

(vi) Reflexes of *d and *t

Although both WI and NWI share the feature of the shift of the interdental fricatives *d and *t to /l/, there are exceptions to this process in a few lexical items. WI and NWI differ in the distribution of these exceptions:

	WI	NWI	
* <i>iḏā</i>	<i>’ila</i>	<i>ida</i>	‘hand’
* <i>’aḏmā</i>	<i>’alma</i>	<i>adma</i>	‘brother of husband’
* <i>k-awəḏ</i>	<i>kol</i>	<i>god</i>	‘He does’
* <i>la-təmmal</i>	<i>laḥmal</i>	<i>lalummal</i>	‘the day before yesterday’

(vii) Lexical differences

Some lexical differences that are consistent throughout the two subgroups are illustrated below:

WI	NWI	
<i>thy</i>	<i>mštx</i>	‘to find’
<i>gny</i>	<i>+dmx</i>	‘to sleep’
<i>poxa</i>	<i>kolga</i>	‘shade’

<i>roxa</i>	<i>poxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>čəkna</i>	<i>kəmna</i>	‘how much?’
<i>doka</i>	<i>loka</i>	‘there’

Differences within the Western Iranian Sub-group

Although the WI sub-group to which J. Sanandaj belongs exhibits a general homogeneity, a few small differences among these dialects can be identified.

Some differences relate to phonetic processes. In most such cases the J. Sanandaj dialect tends to have undergone some kind of phonetic weakening in comparison with other dialects. A few examples are as follows:

(i) *xzy

In the verb ‘to see’, which has the historical form *xzy, the consonant *z has been weakened to zero in J. Sanandaj but is retained in other dialects of the sub-group:

*xǎze ‘He sees’

J. Sanandaj	<i>xǎe</i>
J. Bijar	<i>xǎze</i>
J. Säqəz	<i>xǎze</i>
J. Bokan	<i>xǎze</i>
J. Kerend	<i>xǎze</i>
J. Qasr-e Širin	<i>xǎze</i>
J. Khanaqin	<i>xǎze</i>

(ii) *xdr

The verb *xdr ‘to become’, which had an original *d in the trans-Zab dialects of NENA, has lost this consonant in J. Sanandaj:

*xǎdər ‘He becomes’

J. Sanandaj	<i>xar</i>
J. Bijar	<i>xar</i>
J. Säqəz	<i>xar</i>
J. Kerend	<i>xǎər</i>
J. Qasr-e Širin	<i>xǎər</i>
J. Bokan	<i>xǎdər</i>

As can be seen, the 3ms. of the present base contracts also the short *ə vowel of the second syllable, resulting in a monosyllabic form. It shares this

degree of contraction with J. Bijar and J. Sāqəz, but other dialects of the sub-group exhibit lesser degrees of contraction. In J. Kerend and J. Qasr-e Širin the *d is elided but the following short vowel is not contracted. In J. Bokan the original medial consonant has been retained.

(iii) Consonant Gemination

In J. Sanandaj there is a general weakening of the gemination of consonants that can be reconstructed as existing in proto-NENA. This is the case, for example, with the gemination of a consonant after the short vowel /ə/, which is preserved in other dialects of the WI sub-group:

*ləbba ‘heart’

J. Sanandaj	ləba
J. Sāqəz	ləbba
J. Bokan	ləbba
J. Kerend	ləbba
J. Qasr-e Širin	ləbba
J. Khanaqin	ləbba

(iv) Contraction of Diphthongs

In all dialects of the WI sub-group there is a general contraction of the original diphthongs *aw and *ay to /o/ and /e/ respectively. In a few contexts, however, J. Sanandaj exhibits contraction of the sequence *aw and *ay where they have been preserved in other dialects of the sub-group. This applies, for example, to the independent demonstrative pronouns. J. Sanandaj and dialects spoken further North exhibit contraction, whereas dialects spoken South of Sanandaj have uncontracted forms:

*ʷawa ‘that one’, *ʷaya ‘this one’

J. Sanandaj	ʷoa	ʷea
J. Sāqəz	ʷoa	ʷea
J. Bokan	ʷoya	ʷaya
J. Kerend	ʷawa	ʷaya
J. Qasr-e Širin	ʷawa	ʷaya
J. Qarah Hasan	ʷawa	ʷaya
J. Khanaqin	ʷawa	ʷaya

Genitive Particle

J. Kerend and the closely related dialect spoken by the small Jewish community of Qarah Hasan differ from J. Sanandaj and all other dialects of the sub-group in the complete loss of the genitive particle **d*. This particle is preserved in most dialects in genitive pronominal constructions. In J. Kerend and J. Qarah Hasan constructions are used with the independent pronoun without explicit genitive marking:

	‘his house’	‘my house’
J. Sanandaj	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Sāqəz	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Bokan	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Tikab	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Qasr-e Širin	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Khanaqin	<i>bela d-o</i>	<i>bela didi</i>
J. Kerend	<i>bela ’o</i>	<i>bela ’ana</i>
J. Qarah Hasan	<i>bela ’o</i>	<i>bela ’ana</i>

THE INFLUENCE OF KURDISH AND PERSIAN

The Jewish Sanandaj Neo-Aramaic dialect is extensively influenced by Kurdish and Persian (Farsi). Kurdish was spoken in and around the town of Sanandaj by the Muslim population. The Jews would have been exposed to Persian as an official language in schools and government administration. Most Jews were able to communicate fluently in Kurdish and Persian as well as in Neo-Aramaic. The results of this influence are found in all levels of the grammar and in the lexicon.

Chapter 13 presents statistics for the proportion of loanwords in lists of the core vocabulary. Outside of the core vocabulary the extent of influence from Kurdish and Persian is greater, especially in the categories of nouns and adjectives. Many speakers prefer to employ Persian numerals in conversation, although the original NENA equivalents are still in use.

Due to the lack of any systematic research on the Kurdish dialect of Sanandaj, it is not possible at the moment to make a detailed study of the impact of the Kurdish dialect on the grammatical structure of the NENA dialect. Some features of the NENA dialect that have clearly been induced by contact with Kurdish and/or Persian may, nevertheless, be noted here:

- (i) The general placement of stress in word-final position and the retraction of stress in vocative nouns (§1.6.1.).
- (ii) The lack of gender distinctions in personal and demonstrative pronouns.
- (iii) The use of the Iranian *izafe* particle in nominal annexation constructions between a head and dependent noun, e.g. *'asər-e šābat* 'the eve of Sabbath' (§4.19.), and in attributive constructions between a noun and an adjective, e.g. *bela-e rūwa* 'a big house' (§8.8.1.).
- (iv) The Kurdish definite article affix *-āke* (§8.2.).
- (v) The extensive use of the Kurdish postverbal suffix *-o* (< *-awa* §9.12.).
- (vi) The existence of two past tense conjugations, a simple past consisting of a past stem and inflectional endings and a compound perfect consisting of a resultative participle and an enclitic form of the verb 'to be', as is found in Kurdish and Persian.
- (vii) The ergative type alignment of these past tense conjugations (§9.13.2., §9.13.3.), which is a feature of Kurdish.
- (viii) The normal placement of the direct object before the verb, as in Kurdish and Persian.

INFORMANTS AND TEXTS

The material for this grammar was gathered in the course of various rounds of fieldwork conducted in Israel over the last four years. The text corpus in this volume contains transcriptions of the speech of the following informants, all of whom were born in Sanandaj in the 1930s or 1940s and are native speakers of the dialect:

Ḥabib Nurani	Informant A
Yeskel Paz	Informant B
Negar Paz	Informant C
Victoria Amini	Informant D
Danny Avrahami	Informant E

These texts are largely free of interferences from Israeli Hebrew. In the rare cases where this occurs, the Hebrew words are marked by enclosing them by the superscribed letters ^{H...H}. The numerous loanwords from Kurdish and Persian are not marked, but sections of speech in these languages, which occasionally occur, are indicated by the superscribed letters ^{K...K} and ^{P...P} respectively. Some informants who were educated in the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle on some isolated occasions use French words,

which are marked by the superscribed letters ^{F....F}. The original recordings of the texts can be heard at the website of the NENA database project in Cambridge (nena.ames.cam.ac.uk).

The principal data regarding the morphology of the dialect were established by means of a questionnaire, for which the main informants were Danny Avrahami and his sister Sarah. These two informants were the main source of the supplementary vocabulary that does not appear in the recorded texts.

THE GRAMMAR

The grammatical description follows the general format of my previous grammars of NENA dialects. Sections are devoted to the phonology, morphology and syntax of the dialect. The chapter on phonology makes greater use of instrumental acoustic measurements than is the case in my other grammars, especially with regard to vowel quality. The syntax is largely based on material published in the text corpus that is placed after the grammar. As in my previous grammars, the transcription of the texts indicates intonation group boundaries and distinguishes between nuclear and non-nuclear stress. In many cases these details are necessary to understand the syntax fully. The volume contains a chapter on the lexicon. The main purpose of this is to arrange a selection of the recorded lexicon into semantic fields to facilitate future comparative research on the lexicon of the NENA dialects. Full glossaries of all recorded lexical items are included at the end of the volume. These include all material that was gathered during the fieldwork. Verbs are presented in a glossary arranged by root and the remaining lexical items are put in a general glossary arranged alphabetically. Where possible, the origin of loanwords is indicated. In some cases, however, their origin cannot be verified.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. CONSONANT PHONEMES

1.1.1. Phoneme Inventory

	Labials	Dental/ Alveolar	Palato- alveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stops							
Unvoiced	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>		ʔ
Voiced	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>g</i>			
Emphatic		<i>t̤</i>					
Affricates							
Unvoiced			<i>ç</i>				
Voiced			<i>j</i>				
Fricatives							
Unvoiced	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>x</i>		<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
Voiced	<i>w</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>ɣ</i>		ʕ	
Emphatic		<i>ʂ</i> <i>ʐ</i>					
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>					

Lateral							
Plain		<i>l</i>					
Emphatic		<i>l̤</i>					
Rhotic							
Trill/Tap		<i>r</i>					
Trill		<i>ř</i>					
Emphatic		<i>r̤</i>					
Approximant			<i>y</i>				

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

/č/, e.g. *parča* (Kurd.) ‘material, fabric’, *čamča* ‘spoon’ (Kurd.), *čəngāl* ‘fork’ (Kurd.), *čqy* ‘to dig’ (Kurd.).

/f/, e.g. *səfra* ‘cloth’ (Pers. < Arab.), *fāqat* ‘only’ (Pers. < Arab.), *fhm* ‘to understand’ (Pers. < Arab.).

/ğ/, e.g. *šogł* ‘profession’ (Pers. < Arab.), *ğer* ‘other (than)’ (Pers. < Arab.).

/j/, e.g. *jəle* ‘clothes’ (Kurd.), *jgər* ‘anger’ (Kurd.), *jəns* ‘material’ (Pers. < Arab.).

/ř/, e.g. *řang* ‘colour’ (Kurd./Pers.), *řag* ‘vein’ (Kurd./Pers.).

/ž/, e.g. *pžgn* ‘to scatter’ (Kurd.), *žān* ‘pain’ (Kurd.).

/z/, e.g. *zəlm* ‘injustice’ (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.).

1.1.2. Notes on the Phonetic Realization of the Consonants

1.1.2.1. /p/, /t/, /k/

These unvoiced stops are generally pronounced with some aspiration before vowels, e.g. *pex-ó* [p^he:ˈxo:] ‘It cools’, *tără* [t^haˈra] ‘door’, *kól* [k^ho:l] ‘He does’. There is no aspiration when they follow an unvoiced fricative in a cluster, e.g. *skitá* [skiˈta], *baxtá* [baxˈta] ‘woman’. The consonants may be pronounced aspirated also in word-final position, particularly at the end of an intonation group, e.g. *wardé hafšè-yat^h* [yat^h] ‘You are a flower of the courtyard’.

1.1.2.2. /t̥/, /s̥/

The consonants /t̥/ and /s̥/ are historically emphatics and were originally pronounced with pharyngalization, i.e. the retraction of the back of the tongue into the pharynx. In the current state of the dialect, however, the consonants /t̥/ and /s̥/ are in most cases realized without any clear pharyngalization. This can be demonstrated by instrumental acoustic analysis. Pharyngalization of a consonant segment is reflected in spectrographs by the lowering ('flattening') of high frequency energy, specifically by the lowering of the second formant (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996: 360-363), in the transition to the adjacent vowels and also, if the consonant is voiced, in the consonantal segment. In most environments there is no significant difference in the second formant (F2) frequency between sequences of /t̥/ or /s̥/ and adjacent vowels, on the one hand, and equivalent sequences containing the corresponding non-emphatic consonants /t/ and /s/. In what follows the mean F2 frequency is given for the transition points between these sets of unvoiced consonants and the following vowels:

<i>šiwa</i>	'wood'	/ši/ F2 = 2245
<i>ʔəsiri-o</i>	'They were tied'	/si/ F2 = 2255
<i>xəše</i>	'backs'	/še/ F2 = 1898
<i>seräke</i>	'the moon'	/se/ F2 = 1941
<i>mäte</i>	'He arrived'	/te/ F2 = 2072
<i>tema</i>	'It (f.) finishes'	/te/ F2 = 2037
<i>plița</i>	'It (f.) came out'	/ta/ F2 = 1618
<i>tlita</i>	'hung'	/ta/ F2 = 1603
<i>tura</i>	'mountain'	/tu/ F2 = 1523
<i>xăetun</i>	'You see'	/tu/ F2 = 1557

The stop /t̥/ is pronounced with aspirations before vowels in the same environments as /t/ is aspirated, e.g. *țurá* [t̥^huːˈra] 'mountain'.

Occasionally syllables containing /t̥/ or /s̥/ are realized with a significant lowering of F2 frequency compared to corresponding syllables with /t/ and /s/. This is encountered mainly in the environment of /l/ or /m/, e.g.

<i>țălăbe</i>	'seeking'	/t̥ăl/ F2 = 1408
<i>talga</i>	'snow'	/tal/ F2 = 1818

<i>zmaṭela</i>	‘It (f.) is full’	/aṭ/ F2 = 1202
<i>bate</i>	‘houses’	/at/ F2 = 1653
<i>qāṭəl</i>	‘He (m.) kills’	/ṭəl/ F2 = 1460
<i>təlyen</i>	‘They are hung’	/ṭəl/ F2 = 2124
<i>ṣalmax</i>	‘Your (fs.) face’	/ṣa/ F2 = 1579
<i>sāroqe</i>	‘to comb’	/sa/ F2 = 2023

This suggests that the historical pharyngalization of the consonants /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ remains as a potential feature that may be conditioned by certain phonetic environments but generally remains unrealized. It has been decided to represent /ṭ/ and /ṣ/ consistently in the transcription according to their historical distribution, despite the fact that in the majority of cases they are phonetically indistinguishable from non-emphatic /t/ and /s/. An exception to this transcription practice is made in cases where the word contains a pharyngal consonant /ʕ/ or /ħ/. In such words a historical *ṭ or *ṣ is never pronounced with pharyngalization, e.g. *taʕna* ‘load’ (< *ṭaʕnā), *ṭhy* ‘to find’ (< *ṭy). This neutralization of emphasis appears to have arisen by a process of dissimilation from the pharyngal.³

Minimal pairs can be identified that are distinguished only by one of these historically emphatic consonants, e.g.

təpla ‘She sneezed’ : *ṭəpla* ‘drop’

1.1.2.3. /l/

Unlike the historical emphatics /ṭ/ and /ṣ/, which have largely lost their emphatic quality, the innovative emphatic /l/ is regularly realized with pharyngalization. This emphatic is phonemically distinct from /l/, as is demonstrated by several minimal pairs, e.g.

<i>lala</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>laḷa</i>	‘lung’
<i>mala</i>	‘village’	<i>maḷa</i>	‘trowel’
<i>mila</i>	‘dead’	<i>miḷa</i>	‘circumcision’
<i>nāqole</i>	‘to extract (forbidden parts of an animal)’	<i>nāqoḷe</i>	‘to dance’
<i>pela</i>	‘radish’	<i>peḷa</i>	‘eyelash’

³ Cf. the remarks of Hezy Mutzafi regarding emphasis neutralization in the Jewish Koy Sanjak dialect (Mutzafi 2004: 27).

The pharyngalization of /l/ is demonstrated instrumentally by the fact that it consistently has a significantly lower second formant than /l/. This lowering of F2 is discernible also in the surrounding vowels, especially /a/ and back vowels. Adjacent high front vowels generally do not exhibit a significant difference in the mean frequency of F2, although it tends to be lower in the onset phase. This is shown in the following F2 readings for one of the minimal pairs:

<i>nǎqole</i>	/o/ F2 = 1050, /l/ F2 = 1690, /e/ F2 = 1378
<i>nǎqole</i>	/o/ F2 = 878, /l/ F2 = 1099, /e/ F2 = 1471

1.1.2.4. /m/

In some words this labial consonant is realized with pharyngalization, which is reflected acoustically by the lowering of the second formant. Since no minimal pairs are available, this emphatic /m/ is not distinguished in the transcription, e.g.

<i>tǎmám</i> [ta ^h m ^h a ^h :m ^h] ‘all’	/ma/ F2 = 1013
<i>xmála</i> [xma: ^h la] ‘porter’	/ma/ F2 = 1342

1.1.2.5. /w/

The phoneme /w/ is realized as a labio-dental [v] in most cases, e.g. *šiva* [si:^hva] ‘wood’, *hǎwe* [ha^h:ve:] ‘May he be’, *hewalé* [he:va:^hle:] ‘(that) he could’. The friction is sometimes reduced and it is pronounced as a labio-dental approximant [ʋ]. This is heard mainly after back consonants, e.g. *dóqwa* [d^ho:^hqwa] ‘He used to hold’, *gwǎrté-ya* [gvǎ:^hte:^hja] ‘He has married her’. It tends to be realized as a bilabial continuant [w] when in contact with a sibilant, e.g. *šwawá* [ʃw^ho:^hw^hla] ‘neighbour’, when it is between two instances of the low vowel /a/, e.g. *šatǎwáe* [ʃa^ht^ha^h:wa:^he] ‘years’, or when it is adjacent to back rounded vowels, e.g. *rǔwá* [ru^h:wa] ‘big’, *yǎtúwa* [ya^ht^hu:^hwa] ‘He used to sit’.

1.1.2.6. /r/

The /r/ phoneme is generally realized as a voiced alveolar trill [r]. There is a certain degree of variation in the number of periods of vibration of the tongue tip. In word-internal position, however, it is sometimes realized as a single tap [ɾ] with no vibration, e.g. *ʔəsiri-ó* [ʔəsi:ri:^hjo:] ‘They were tied’, or even an alveolar approximant [ɹ], e.g. *baširtá* [ba:^hsi:^hɾ^ha] ‘grape’.

1.1.2.7. /ř/

This phoneme, which occurs only in loanwords from Kurdish, is a voiced alveolar trill that has a greater number of periods of vibration than is typical for /r/, e.g. *řangú* [r:ɑŋ^lgu:] ‘their colour’, *řag* [r:ag] ‘vein’.

1.1.2.8. /r̥/

This emphatic phoneme has only been identified in the word *zora* ‘water jar’, which has an Aramaic etymology. It has apparently developed in this word to distinguish it from the adjective *zora* ‘small’.⁴ The emphatic quality of /r̥/ in *zora* is discernible acoustically. It is a voiced alveolar trill that is realized with a certain degree of pharyngalization. This causes a significantly lower F2 in the consonantal segment and in the adjacent vowel transitions. In the following, the F2 reading of the transition from /o/ to /r̥/ and from /r̥/ to /a/ is given together with the F2 at the equivalent points in the word *zora*:

z	o	r̥	a
	1131		1206
z	o	r	a
	1526		1770

In some realizations of the word *zora*, moreover, speakers pronounce the trilled /r̥/ with a greater number of periods of vibration than /r/.

1.1.2.9. /n/

Normally this is realized as an alveolar nasal [n]. Before velar consonants it is a velar nasal [ŋ], e.g. *řangú* [r:ɑŋ^lgu:] ‘their colour’, *mangól* [maŋ^lgo:l] ‘like’.

⁴ The phenomenon whereby an /r/ or other consonant in one of a pair of homophones is pronounced emphatic in order to distinguish meaning has been found in other NENA dialects; cf. Khan (2008b: 59).

1.1.2.9. /q/

This is normally realized as an unvoiced uvular stop, e.g. *baqá* [ba:'qa] 'to'. After a vowel or /w/, it is occasionally realized as an unvoiced uvular fricative, e.g. *qoqé* [qo:'χe:] 'pots', *šəwqá-y*. [ʃɪf'χaj] 'He has left'.

1.2. PHONETIC PROCESSES RELATING TO VOICING

The voiced consonants have a tendency to be devoiced when in contact with unvoiced consonants, e.g.

<i>rabtá</i> [rap'ta] 'big'	cf. <i>raba</i> ['ra:ba] 'much'
<i>nāwagta</i> [nawak'ta] 'granddaughter'	cf. <i>nāwaga</i> [nawa:'ga] 'grandson'
' <i>ayzta</i> [ʔajs'ta] 'good' (fs.)	cf. ' <i>ayza</i> [ʔaj'za] 'good' (ms.)
<i>šwawta</i> [ʃwʌf'ta] 'neighbour (fs.)'	cf. <i>šwawa</i> [ʃwʌ:'wʌ] 'neighbour (ms.)'

An original voiced affricate *j [ɟ] in some words loses its stop onset when devoiced in contact with a following unvoiced consonant. This applies regularly to the following, in which the devoiced consonant is represented as /š/ in the orthography:

<i>haļušta</i> 'a plum'	cf. <i>haļuje</i> 'plums'
<i>hašta</i> 'job, work'	cf. <i>hajyale</i> 'jobs'

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

<i>šarbàt mélu baqá</i> [ʃar'bad 'me:lu] (A:23) 'They brought sherbet'
<i>xá nāfar-šć mangál</i> [nafa'rɪɟ maŋ'gal] (A:16) 'A person like ...'

Voiced consonants tend to be devoiced at the end of words, e.g.

<i>šoɫtáli d-o-làg</i> [do'lak] (A:24) 'I threw it on that side'
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This is regularly the case with the 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes *-ef* and *-af* (< **-ew*, **-aw*) and the devoicing is represented in the transcription. This devoicing is retained when particles with the form of a vowel are attached after the suffix, e.g. *doqnef-ó* 'I hold it again'.

1.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONSONANTS

1.3.1. The *BGDKPT* Consonants

1.3.1.1. *b

The reflex of the fricative allophone of *b in earlier Aramaic is the consonant /w/, which is generally realized as a labio-dental [v] (see §1.1.2.5.). This is found after both vowels and consonants, e.g.

<i>dānwe</i>	‘flies’	< * <i>dīnbē</i>
<i>gwānyē</i>	‘eyebrows’	< * <i>gbīnyē</i>
<i>hiwlox</i>	‘you gave’	< * <i>hīb-lox</i>

The diphthong /aw/ that developed from *aḅ has contracted to /o/, e.g.

<i>gora</i>	‘man’	< * <i>gaḅrā</i>
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When *ḅ was preceded by a high vowel, the sequence has contracted to /u/, e.g.

<i>duša</i>	‘honey’	< * <i>dīḅšā</i>
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1.3.1.2. *p

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

<i>kepa</i>	‘stone’	< * <i>kēpā</i>
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The form *noš-*, which acts as the base of the reflexive pronoun (§2.5.) is related etymologically to the form *napšā* ‘soul’ of earlier Aramaic. It is easier, however, to regard its immediate background as being the form **nabšā* with the voiced fricative *b. The *p* in the form *napšā* would have developed by devoicing of an original *ḅ.

1.3.1.3. *t

The usual reflex of the original fricative allophone of this consonant *ṭ is the lateral /l/, e.g.

<i>mala</i>	‘village’	< * <i>māṭā</i>
<i>bela</i>	‘house’	< * <i>bayṭā</i>

In a few words the reflex of $*t$ is the unvoiced pharyngal fricative /ħ/, e.g.

<i>ʾaħra</i>	‘town’	< $*ʾatrā$
<i>təħħa</i>	‘three’	< $*tīātā$
<i>lāħmal</i>	‘the day before yesterday’	< $*lā tūmmal$
<i>nāħhale</i>	‘ears’	< $*nātātā$

Such words must have been originally pronounced with suprasegmental pharyngalization, originating no doubt from the consonants *r*, *l* or *m*. The pharyngalization was subsequently lost as a suprasegmental feature but left a vestige in the pharyngal segment /ħ/: *ʾaħra* < $ʾatrā$ < $*atrā$.

In some plural forms of nouns the reflex of $*t$ is zero, e.g.

<i>malāwāe</i>	‘villages’	< $*mātawātā$
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1.3.1.4. $*d$

The usual reflex of the original fricative allophone of this consonant $*ḏ$ is the lateral /l/, e.g.

<i>ʾila</i>	‘hand’	< $*ʾiḏā$
<i>qlila</i>	‘key’	< $*qḏilā$

In some words the reflex of the consonant is /z/. This has developed from the stop $*d$ in post-vocalic position, e.g.

<i>koza</i>	‘liver’	< $*koda$
<i>guza</i>	‘wall’	< $*guda$
<i>šeza</i>	‘almond’	< $*šeda$

The articulation of the consonant has been further weakened in a few cases to zero, e.g.

<i>xar</i>	‘He becomes’	< $*xādər$
<i>šar</i>	‘He sends’	< $*šādər$
<i>bi-zóa</i>	‘more’	< $*bi-zoda$
<i>qóme</i>	‘tomorrow’	< $*qādome$
<i>Kursān</i>	‘Kurdistan’	< $*Kurdastān$

1.3.1.5. $*k$

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

<i>bāxe</i>	‘He weeps’	< $*bākē$
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The fricative /x/ occurs also where a diphthong has contracted to a vowel, e.g.

kaxwa ‘star’ < **kawkbā*

1.3.1.6. *g

The velar fricative allophone of *g has in most cases been weakened to zero, e.g.

pela ‘radish’ < **paḡlā*
šrata ‘lamp’ < **šrāḡtā*
reš-o ‘He wakes’ < **rāḡiš* + Kurd. suffix

This process of weakening of the velar fricative *ḡ is likely to have involved an intermediate stage in which the velar shifted to the pharyngeal *ḳ. The pharyngeal is preserved in the word *lo‘a* ‘inside’, the development of which can be reconstructed as *lo‘a* < **l‘oya* (by metathesis, this being the form of the word in J. Amedia) < **l-ḡoya*. The preservation of the pharyngeal would have been conditioned by a pharyngealized pronunciation of the word, no doubt facilitated by the /l/, though this has now been lost. The word is still pronounced with suprasegmental emphasis in J. Urni (+ *lwa*).

1.3.2. Emphatic Consonants

1.3.2.1. /ṣ/ and /ṭ/

As remarked in §1.1.2.2., the original pharyngealization of the emphatic consonants /ṣ/ and /ṭ/ is generally weakened. This is reflected by the fact that a word-final historical **-ṭa* is sometimes interpreted as the feminine ending *-ta*, as shown by the following words, in the plural forms of which the *-ta* is replaced by a plural ending:

xmata f. *xmaye* pl. ‘needle’ **mḥaṭa* m.
sita f. *siye* pl. ‘span’ **siṭa* m.

In at least one case an original emphatic sibilant *ṣ has become affricated:

ṣč ‘to knead’ < *ṣṣ

The pharyngealization of the original *ṣ has here conditioned the preservation of the initial pharyngeal consonant (§1.3.3.4.).

1.3.2.2. /l̥/

Emphatic /l̥/ occurs mainly in loanwords from Kurdish and Persian, e.g.

<i>ʾaspāl</i>	‘goods, merchandise’
<i>ʾāwāl</i>	‘first, beginning’
<i>bāxeli</i>	‘jealousy’
<i>gaḷa</i>	‘leaf’
<i>haḷwa</i>	‘sweets’
<i>ḥāmaḷa</i>	‘porter’
<i>jangāl</i>	‘forest’
<i>mangal</i>	‘brazier’
<i>pātiḷa</i>	‘container’
<i>puḷe</i>	‘money’
<i>qaḷi</i>	‘carpet’
<i>zuxāl</i>	‘coals’

It is found in a number of words of NENA origin. In such cases it corresponds to /r/ in other dialects, e.g.

<i>pšila</i>	‘melted’	< <i>pšira</i>
<i>jole</i>	‘urine’	< <i>jore</i>
<i>ḷala</i>	‘lung’	< <i>rala</i>
<i>nuḷe</i>	‘sweets’	< <i>nuqre</i>
<i>maḷa</i>	‘trowel’	< <i>mara</i>
<i>tuḷa</i>	‘twig’	< <i>tura</i>

Note also its occurrence in the following Hebrew word:

<i>miḷa</i>	‘circumcision’	< <i>mila</i>
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1.3.3. Laryngals and Pharyngals

1.3.3.1. *ʾ)

The reflex /ʾ/ of a historical laryngal stop is found only in word initial position:

<i>ʾāxəl</i>	‘He eats’	< *ʾāxəl
<i>ʾāra</i>	‘land’	< *ʾarʿā

An initial laryngal stop *ʾ) in some words shifts to a laryngal fricative /h/, e.g.

<i>hāmər</i>	‘(that) he says’	< ʾāmər
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<i>hezəl</i>	‘(that) he goes’	< <i>ʔezəl</i>
<i>he</i>	‘(that) he comes’	< <i>ʔe</i> < <i>*ʔate</i>
<i>hol</i>	‘(that) he does’	< <i>ʔol</i> > <i>ʔabed</i>
<i>hit</i>	‘there is’	< <i>ʔit</i>
<i>hema</i>	‘which?’	< <i>ʔema</i>
<i>heka</i>	‘where?’	< <i>ʔeka</i>

The verbs in which this development is attested belong to the class of verbs that distinguish the realis from the irrealis by attaching an initial *k-/g-* prefix. This realis marking prefix is used also with some verbs that have a historical initial /h/, e.g. *hwy* ‘to be’. The /h/ in the initial /ʔ/ verbs may, therefore, have arisen by analogy with such initial /h/ verbs:

<i>hwy</i>	<i>hāwe</i>	<i>kwe</i>
<i>ʔmr</i>	<i>hāmər</i>	<i>kmər</i>

The shift of /ʔ/ > /h/ is not, however, attested in all initial /ʔ/ verbs that take the realis suffix, e.g.

<i>ʔxəl</i>	‘(that) he eats’	<i>cxəl</i>	‘He eats’
<i>ʔāle</i>	‘(that) he knows’	<i>kāe</i>	‘He knows’

This suggests that the shift has been lexicalized for certain lexical items only.

In non-initial position a historical laryngal **ʔ* has been elided, e.g.

<i>hulāe</i>	‘Jews’	< <i>*hudaʔe</i>	< <i>*yhūdāʔē</i>
<i>māe</i>	‘water’	< <i>*maʔe</i>	

1.3.3.2. **h*

A historical laryngal fricative **h* is preserved in word initial position,

<i>hulāe</i>	‘Jews’	< <i>*hudaʔe</i>	< <i>*yhūdāʔē</i>
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In non-initial position it is generally elided, e.g.

<i>sala</i>	‘witness’	< <i>*sahdā</i>
<i>dewa</i>	‘gold’	< <i>*dehwa</i>
<i>bāura</i>	‘bright’	< <i>*bāhura</i>

1.3.3.3. **ħ*

The unvoiced pharyngeal fricative **ħ* has shifted to the velar fricative /x/, e.g.

<i>xmara</i>	‘ass’	< <i>*ħmārā</i>
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<i>qamxa</i>	‘flour’	< * <i>qamḥā</i>
<i>xamša</i>	‘five’	< * <i>ḥamšā</i>

The original pharyngeal has been preserved in words and verbal roots of Aramaic stock that contain /q/ or a historical emphatic or emphaticized consonant, e.g.

<i>ḥnq</i>	‘to be throttled, to drown’
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In the words *ṭḥy* ‘to find’ and *tšḥ* ‘to stuff, pack’ the /ḥ/ has developed from the voiced pharyngeal *^ç:

<i>ṭḥy</i>	‘to find’	< * <i>ṭʿy</i>
<i>tšḥ</i>	‘to stuff, pack’	< * <i>dʿš</i>

Elsewhere the pharyngeal occurs in loanwords from Kurdish and Arabic, e.g.

<i>ḥāqe</i>	‘He speaks’	< Arab.
<i>ḥašta</i>	‘work’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>ḥaywān</i>	‘animal’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>na-raḥati</i>	‘discontent’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>ḥawša</i>	‘courtyard’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>ḥāmām</i>	‘bath’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>ḥāna</i>	‘henna’	< Kurd. < Arab.
<i>zaḥamta</i>	‘trouble’	< Kurd./Pers.

Hebrew and Rabbinic Aramaic words in the dialect also preserve the pharyngeal pronunciation of the consonant *ḥet*, e.g.

<i>šoḥet</i>	‘ritual slaughterer’
<i>məšpaḥa</i>	‘family’
<i>ḥoxma</i>	‘wisdom’
<i>ta-ḥayme</i>	‘cemetery’
<i>ḥānukae</i>	‘Hanukkah’
<i>ḥameš</i>	‘leaven’
<i>pəšḥa</i>	‘Passover’
<i>pšḥ</i>	‘to celebrate Passover’
<i>ḥaliq</i>	<i>ḥaroseṭ</i>

1.3.3.4. *^ç

In word initial position the reflex of an historical *^ç is normally the laryngeal stop /ʔ/, e.g.

ʔ <i>apra</i>	‘soil’	< * <i>ʔapṛā</i>
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ʿ*ela* ‘festival’ < *ʿ*ēdā*

In word-internal or word-final position the voiced pharyngal **ʿ* has been weakened to zero in most cases, e.g.

beta ‘egg’ < **bēʿtā*
tāra ‘door’ < **tarʿā*
zāra ‘wheat’ < **zarʿā*
šāme ‘he hears’ < **šāmaʿ*
bée ‘eggs’ < **bēʿē*
šoá ‘seven’ < **šoʿa* < **šabʿā*

The pharyngal has been retained in some words of Aramaic stock that contain /*q*/ or a consonant that was historically emphatic, e.g.

ʿ*aqəwra* ‘scorpion’ < *ʿ*aqəbrā* < *ʿ*aqərbā*
taʿna ‘load’ < **taʿnā*
tamʿa ‘She tastes’ < **tāmʿā*

In words that preserve the pharyngal the historically emphatic consonant is never pronounced with pharyngalization (§1.1.2.2.).

This retention of the pharyngal does not regularly occur in words containing /*q*/ or a historical guttural, as shown by forms such as:

ʿ*ārəq* ‘He runs’ < *ʿ*ārəq*
ʿ*apša* ‘gallnut’ < *ʿ*apšā*
ʿ*aqla* ‘leg’ < *ʿ*aqlā*
ʿ*aqubra* ‘mouse’ < *ʿ*aqubrā*

The occurrence of /*ʿ*/ in the loanword ʿ*aql* ‘mind, intelligence’ produces a minimal pair demonstrating the phonemic opposition between /*ʿ*/ and /*ʿ*/:

ʿ*aqləf* ‘his leg’ : ʿ*aqləf* ‘his mind’

Pharyngals are also preserved in environments where a consonant adjacent to the pharyngal became emphaticized at some stage of development. This is found especially in the environment of the sonorant consonants /*m*/, /*b*/, /*l*/ and /*r*/, e.g.

dəmʿe ‘tears’ < **dəmʿe* < **dəmʿe*
gulʿa ‘kernel of fruit’ < **gulʿa* < **gulʿā*
maʿlela ‘eve of festival’ < **maʿlela* < **maʿlē ʿedā*
pərtaʿna ‘flea’ < **pərtaʿna* < **purtaʿnā*
zaʿra ‘barley’ < **zaʿra* < **sʿārā*
blʿ ‘to swallow’ < **blʿ* < *blʿ*
ʿ*əçʿa* ‘nine’ < *ʿ*əçʿa* < **tšʿā*

In some cases the labial /m/ became emphaticized independently. A non-etymological pharyngeal has even developed in the environment of such emphaticized labials, as in the following case:

<i>tmaʿnisar</i>	‘eighteen’	< <i>tḡanisar</i>
<i>tmaʿni</i>	‘eighty’	< <i>tḡani</i>

This pharyngeal is absent in the form *tmanyā* ‘eight’. The explanation may be that the pharyngeal developed from an original laryngeal in the sequence *Vʿ*, which replaced an original long vowel \bar{V} . Since the first /a/ in *tmanyā* is short, the laryngeal did not arise:

<i>tmaʿnisar</i>	<	<i>*tḡaʿnisar</i>	<	<i>*tmānisar</i>
<i>tmaʿni</i>	<	<i>*tḡaʿni</i>	<	<i>*tmāni</i>

The alternation of / \bar{V} / with /*Vʿ*/ is attested in other NENA dialects, e.g. Qaraqosh (Khan 2002a: 43):

<i>šata</i> ~ <i>šaʿta</i>	‘year’
<i>šaḡa</i> ~ <i>šaʿḡa</i>	‘fever’

In the cases described above of the preservation of the pharyngeal / ʕ /, it would be more accurate to state that the / ʕ / is potentially realized as a pharyngeal. In some cases it is realized with less muscular tension as a laryngeal [ʔ]:

<i>tamʿa</i> [tʰamʿa ~ tʰamʔa]	‘She tastes’
ʔəčʿa [ʔəčʿa ~ ʔəčʔa]	‘nine’

The same allophonic alternation [ʕ] ~ [ʔ] applies to pharyngeals in loanwords, e.g.

<i>maʿləm</i> [maʿləm ~ maʔləm]	‘teacher’
ʿayza [ʿayza ~ ʔayza]	‘good’

The phoneme / ʕ /, therefore, may be said to have the allophones [ʕ] and [ʔ]. In the transcription it will be regularly represented as a pharyngeal / ʕ /.

In a few cases the reflex of a historical pharyngeal * ʕ in initial or medial position is the laryngeal fricative **h*. This is found in a few verbs, e.g.

<i>hol</i>	‘(that) he does’	< <i>*ʕbəd</i>
<i>pāhər</i>	‘He yawns’	< <i>*pāʕər</i>
<i>šāhəl</i>	‘He coughs’	< <i>*šāʕəl</i>
<i>māhe</i>	‘He churns’	< <i>*māʕē</i>

1.3.4. Weakening of *z

It has been remarked in §1.3.1.4. that a post-vocalic *d is weakened to zero in some words. The intermediate stage of this weakening is likely to be *z (cf. *koza* ‘liver’ < **koda*):

xar < **xāzər* < **xādər* ‘he becomes’

This is demonstrated by the fact that etymological *z is sometimes weakened to zero in the same way, e.g.

xāe ‘he sees’ < **xāzē*

1.3.5. /č/

Most cases of the affricate /č/ are found in loanwords from Kurdish or Persian. It is, however, found in a few words of Aramaic etymology. These include *ʿyč* ‘to knead’, in which the /č/ has developed from an original emphatic /š/. It can be assumed that at some stage the affricate was emphatic *ʿyč. The presence of the pharyngal /ʕ/ has neutralized its emphasis (§1.1.2.2.). The affrication of emphatic sibilants is attested in other NENA dialects. In Barwar, for example, /š/ has developed into an emphatic /č/ in environments that induce emphasis, such as pharyngal and labial consonants, or /l/, e.g. *čūwa* ‘smooth’ < *šū‘ā, *čīta* ‘cream of yoghurt’ < *šī‘tā, *māčoye* ‘to smooth’ (< *maš‘ōyē), all of which are connected historically with the root *š‘ (cf. Syriac ša‘ ‘to smooth’); *pčala* ‘to be crooked’, *pčila* ‘crooked’, which are derived from *pšl (cf. Syriac pšal ‘to twist’); *člapa* ‘to tear off (meat)’ < *šlp (cf. Syriac šlap ‘to pull out’, Jewish Babylonian Aramaic šallep ‘to tear off’) (Khan 2008b: 61-62).

Some cases of the affricate /č/ have developed from a fusion of *t and *š. This is the case in numeral ʾəč‘a ‘nine’ < ʾətš‘a < *tš‘ā. The preservation of the historical pharyngal /ʕ/ must have been conditioned by suprasegmental emphasis at some stage of the word’s development. Indeed, in the some NENA dialects the affricate in this word is pronounced emphatic, e.g. Barwar ʾəčč‘a (Khan 2008b: 60).

The verb *čyr* ‘to go around’ may have developed by affrication of *k > č from *kyr (derived ultimately from *krr, cf. Heb. *kirker* ‘to go around, to whirl’). Such affrication of *k is not found elsewhere in J. Sanandaj, although it is attested in numerous other NENA dialects. If the assumption is correct that the verb *čyr* has an Aramaic etymology, it is possible that the affrication has arisen by assimilation to the phonetic form of the semantically related Kurdish verb *čarxān* ‘to go around, to turn’. The historical derivation of *čyr*, however, remains unresolved.

A /č/ is found in the particle *čəkma* ‘how much?’, ‘a few’. This is derived historically from the combination of the elements *čə* + *kəmma*. Although the *kəmma* element is clearly Aramaic, the initial *čə-* may be identified as the Kurdish element *č(i)*, which occurs in various interrogative particles, e.g. *čī* ‘what’, *čand* ‘how many’.

1.3.6. /j/

The phoneme /j/ occurs in a few words of Aramaic etymology. It is found in the verb *jnw* ‘to snatch away, to kidnap’, which is derived from Aramaic **gnb*. The palatalization of the **g* has apparently arisen to differentiate it semantically from its doublet *gnw* ‘to steal’. The root *jhy* ‘to become tired’ is also of Aramaic origin, deriving from **šhy* with an initial palato-alveolar fricative. Elsewhere /j/ occurs only in loanwords.

1.4. CONSONANT GEMINATION

Consonant gemination has been completely lost. All NENA dialects have lost historical consonantal gemination in some contexts, but in J. Sanandaj this loss is systematic and occurs in contexts where other NENA dialects preserve it.

As in other NENA dialects, gemination is lost after /a/ and /u/ vowels occurring within words of Aramaic stock. The forms in the closely related dialects of J. Sulemaniyya and J. Sāqəz are given for comparison:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Sāqəz		
<i>kaka</i>	<i>kaka</i>	‘tooth’	< * <i>kakkā</i>
<i>raba</i>	<i>raba</i>	‘much’	< * <i>rabba</i>
<i>guza</i>	<i>guda</i> ~ <i>guza</i>	‘wall’	< * <i>guddā</i>

We may say that the gemination in these contexts was weakened in Proto-NENA. Unlike other documented NENA dialects, however, consonant gemination is lost within a word also after /ə/. The gemination may be considered to have been preserved in this context in Proto-NENA and its loss to have been subsequent to this stage of development. The /ə/ vowel remains short, e.g.

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Sāqəz	
<i>šəne</i>	<i>šənne</i>	‘years’
<i>šəra</i>	<i>šərra</i>	‘navel’
<i>dəma</i>	<i>dəmma</i>	‘blood’
<i>ləba</i>	<i>ləbba</i>	‘heart’

<i>təna</i>	<i>tənna</i>	‘smoke’
<i>xəma</i>	<i>xəmma</i>	‘father-in-law; heat’

The /ə/ vowel may be stressed, as is the case in the following adverbial form:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Səqəz	
<i>təmal</i>	<i>təmmal</i>	‘yesterday’

Short /a/ and /u/ vowels before a consonant that was geminated in proto-NENA likewise remain short when the gemination of the consonant is weakened, e.g.

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Səqəz	
<i>ləxa</i>	<i>laxxa</i>	‘here’
<i>xəlu</i>	<i>xallu</i>	‘I (f.) wash them’
<i>kūle</i>	<i>kulle</i>	‘all’

In other NENA dialects, and presumably in Proto-NENA, consonant gemination occurs when the initial consonant of a verbal suffix assimilates to the final radical of a verbal root or when the initial consonant of the suffix /l/ is identical to the final radical. In J. Sanandaj the gemination is weakened also in this context:

J. Sanandaj	J. Sulemaniyya/J. Səqəz		
<i>garšéte</i>	<i>garšátte</i>	‘you pull him	< * <i>garšet-le</i>
<i>garšáte</i>	<i>garšátte</i>	‘you pull her	< * <i>garšat-le</i>

In verbal forms, the weakening of gemination that arose historically by the attachment of affixes in some circumstances results in resyllabification of the word. This applies specifically to the patterns **CăCəC:V* and **CCəC:V*, which resyllabify as follows:

* <i>CăCəC:V</i>	>	* <i>CăCəCV</i>	>	<i>CaCCV</i>
* <i>CCəC:V</i>	>	* <i>CCəCV</i>	>	<i>CəCCV</i>

The stress in the resyllabified form is placed either on the penultimate or on the final syllable, e.g.

<i>maqlé</i>	‘He burns it’	< * <i>măqəle</i>	< * <i>măqəlle</i>
<i>kawlí</i>	‘He gives me’	< * <i>kăwəli</i>	< * <i>kăwəlli</i>
<i>zábna</i>	‘I sell’	< * <i>zăbəna</i>	< * <i>zăbənna</i>
<i>šəqlí</i>	‘I bought’	< * <i>šəqli</i>	< * <i>šəqalli</i>

When a geminated consonant is weakened after the long, or semi-long, vowels /i/ and /o/, the vowel is retained and pronounced long, e.g.

<i>wilé</i>	‘He made’	< * <i>wille</i>
<i>kpína</i>	‘I have become hungry’	< * <i>kpinna</i>
<i>kóna</i>	‘I do’	< * <i>konna</i> < <i>kolna</i>

Gemination is preserved across a word boundary in stress groups such as the following:

har-ret ‘He just trembles’

Loanwords preserve original gemination, e.g.

<i>mašša</i> (Heb.)	‘matzo’
<i>kalla</i> (Kurd.)	‘head of an animal’

1.5. VOWELS AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

1.5.1. Vowel Phoneme Inventory

The following vowel qualities are phonemically distinct:

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

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

<i>/i/ : /e/</i>	<i>grāšli</i>	‘I pulled’
	<i>grāšle</i>	‘He pulled’
	<i>qim</i>	‘He rose’
	<i>qem</i>	‘He is rising’
<i>/i/ : /ə/</i>	<i>grīšta</i>	fs. passive resultative participle
	<i>grāšta</i>	fs. active resultative participle
	<i>múre</i>	‘He said’
	<i>mǎre</i>	‘It ached’
<i>/e/ : /ə/</i>	<i>qeta</i>	‘summer’
	<i>qəta</i>	‘piece’

/e/ : /a/	<i>grāšle</i>	‘He pulled’
	<i>grāšla</i>	‘She pulled’
	<i>mela</i>	‘She dies’
	<i>mala</i>	‘village’
/a/ : /o/	<i>mala</i>	‘village’
	<i>mola</i>	‘death’
/o/ : /u/	<i>goran</i>	‘our man’
	<i>guran</i>	‘our men’
/o/ : /ə/	<i>zmorta</i>	‘song’
	<i>zmərta</i>	‘turban’
/u/ : /ə/	<i>grušle</i>	‘Pull him!’
	<i>grāšle</i>	‘He pulled’

1.5.2. The Quality of Vowels

The quality of the allophonic realizations of each vowel phoneme in a variety of environments was measured by establishing their first and second formant frequencies with the acoustic software Praat. Formant values were converted from Hertz to Barks. Barks are units of perceptual discriminability of frequency. The results were plotted on charts with the first formant (F1) on the y axis and the second formant (F2) on the x axis. The height of the vowels in auditory terms corresponds inversely to the F1 frequency, the higher the F1 the lower the vowel. The back-front relationship of vowels in auditory terms is indicated by the F2 frequency, the higher the F2 the more front the vowel. As is customary, the axes of the charts are inverted to produce a representation that corresponds to that of the traditional auditory space.

The mean acoustic quality of each of the vowel phonemes across samples of ten words for each vowel is represented in the chart below:

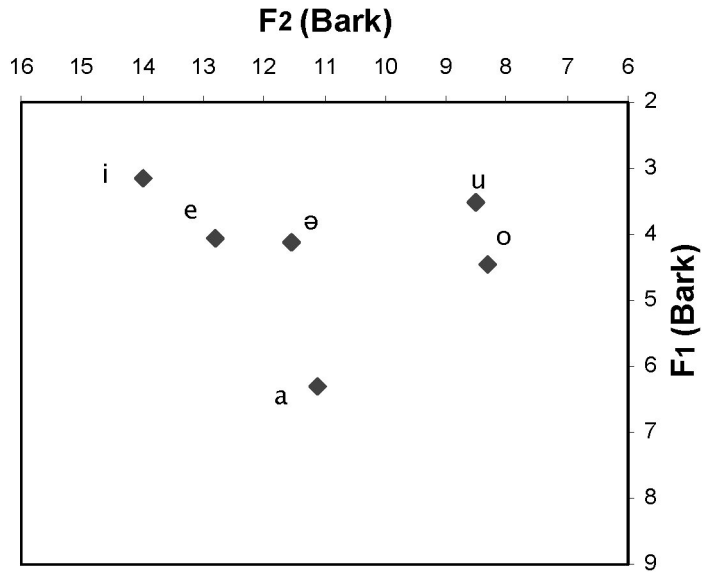


Fig. 1 Mean acoustic quality of the vowel phonemes

The acoustic scatter of the allophones for each phoneme in the sample is represented in the following sections.

1.5.2.1. /a/

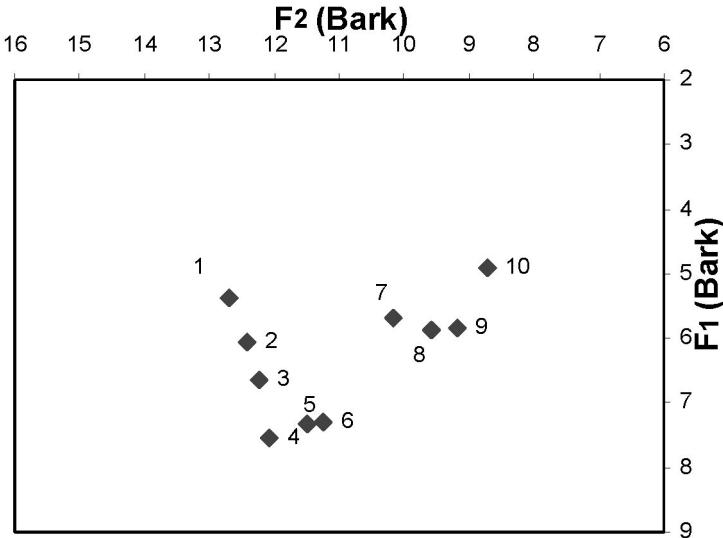


Fig. 2 Acoustic variation of /a/

- | | |
|----|--------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>šǎména</i> 'I hear' |
| 2 | <i>didán</i> 'our' |
| 3 | <i>'ǎra</i> 'land' |
| 4 | <i>'aná</i> 'I' |
| 5 | <i>tatǎwalán</i> 'our fathers' |
| 6 | <i>hǎqén</i> 'They speak' |
| 7 | <i>tatǎwalán</i> 'our fathers' |
| 8 | <i>báqef</i> 'to him' |
| 9 | <i>balé</i> 'wings' |
| 10 | <i>šwawá</i> 'neighbour' |

It can be seen from the chart that the allophones of /a/ have a wide scatter. They cluster in a front group and a back group. The front group contains both short and long vowels. The highest realizations in the front group, in the region of [æ], occur in syllables containing /š/ and/or where the adjacent syllable has one of the high front vowels /e/ or /i/, viz. *šǎména* [ʃæ'me:na] (1), *didán* [di:'dæ:n] (2). The other front realizations are in the region of [a]. The back realizations are long vowels. Most of these are in the region of [ʌ], which occur adjacent to the labials /w/, /b/, the uvular /q/ and the laterals /l/ and /l/, viz. *tatǎwalán* [tʰa:tʰawʌ:lʌn] (7), *báqef* [ʰbʌ:qef]

(8), *baḷé* [bΛ:l'f'e:] (9). The highest back quality, in the region of [ɔ], is found between two labial /w/ glides, viz. *šwawá* [ʃwɔ:'wΛ] (10).

1.5.2.2. /i/

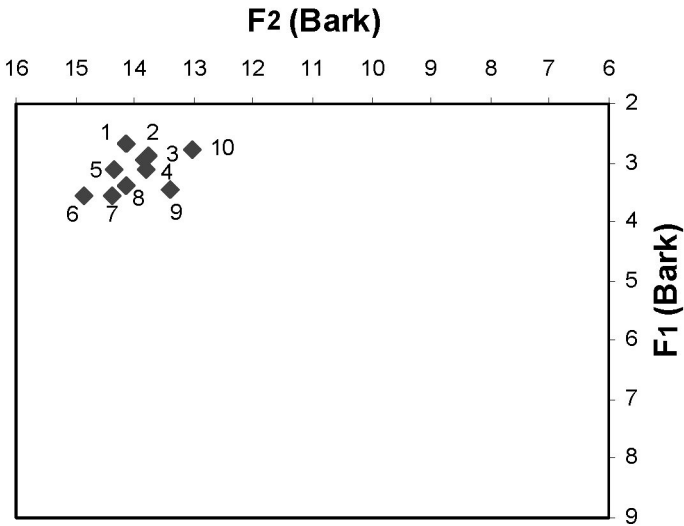


Fig. 4 Acoustic variation of /i/

- | | |
|----|------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>lišaní</i> 'my tongue' |
| 2 | <i>məndéli</i> 'I threw' |
| 3 | <i>qarwí</i> 'They approach' |
| 4 | <i>qāřirtá</i> 'cold' |
| 5 | <i>plīṭá</i> 'She went out' |
| 6 | <i>lišaní</i> 'my tongue' |
| 7 | <i>dīdán</i> 'our' |
| 8 | <i>šiwá</i> 'wood' |
| 9 | <i>māqímna</i> 'I raise' |
| 10 | <i>tlitá</i> 'hung' |

The realizations of this vowel cluster in the region of the close front quality [i]. These include both long vowels and short vowels, e.g. *qāřirta* [qarir'ta] 'cold'.

1.5.2.3. /e/

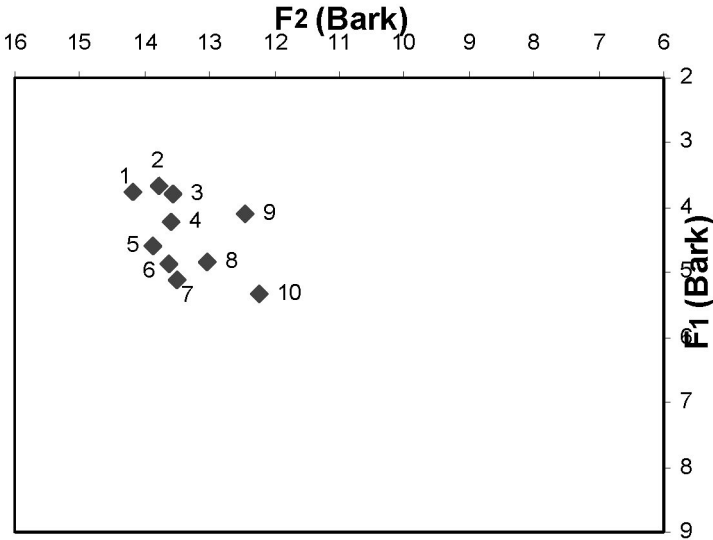


Fig. 3 Acoustic variation of /e/

- | | |
|----|--------------------------|
| 1 | <i>léka?</i> ‘where?’ |
| 2 | <i>gezál</i> ‘He goes’ |
| 3 | <i>mándéli</i> ‘I threw’ |
| 4 | <i>máté</i> ‘He arrives’ |
| 5 | <i>qoqé</i> ‘pots’ |
| 6 | <i>šáména</i> ‘I hear’ |
| 7 | <i>’orxéf</i> ‘his way’ |
| 8 | <i>’aqléf</i> ‘his foot’ |
| 9 | <i>kəxwé</i> ‘stars’ |
| 10 | <i>xét</i> ‘other’ |

Most realizations of this phoneme are in the region of [e] or slightly higher [e̞]. The more centralized qualities are the realizations of /e/ in closed syllables, viz. *’orxéf* [’or’xɛ:f] (7), *xét* [xɛ’t] (10), and after the labial /w/, viz. *kəxwé* [kʰɔx’vɛ:] (9). It is pronounced with lowered on-glides and/or off-glides in contact with pharyngalized consonants, as in *baḷé* ‘wings’, although the centre of the vowel segment has the normal quality.

1.5.2.4. /ə/

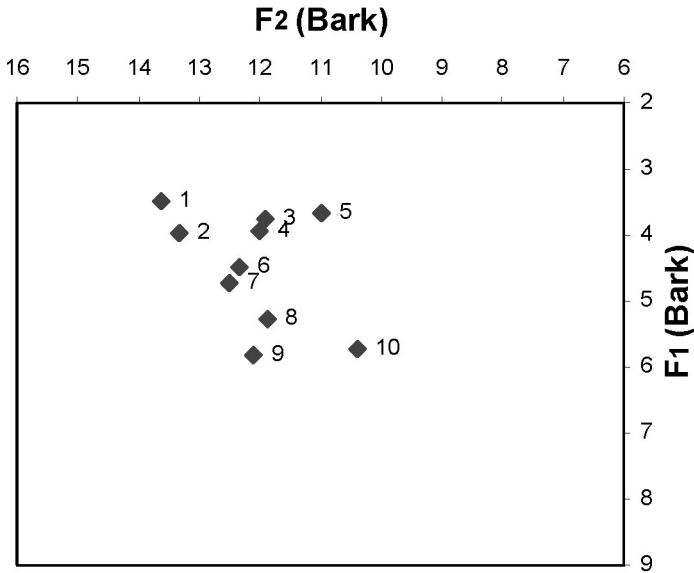


Fig. 5 Acoustic variation of /ə/

- | | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 1 | <i>təlyén</i> ‘They are hung’ |
| 2 | <i>gezál</i> ‘He goes’ |
| 3 | <i>pərcé</i> ‘hair’ |
| 4 | <i>zābónu</i> ‘He sells them’ |
| 5 | <i>ləbáf</i> ‘Her heart’ |
| 6 | <i>zābónwa</i> ‘He used to sell’ |
| 7 | <i>ləbá</i> ‘heart’ |
| 8 | <i>’ārəqna</i> ‘I flee’ |
| 9 | <i>măqál</i> ‘It burns’ |
| 10 | <i>qătəl</i> ‘He kills’ |

The majority of realizations of /ə/ are in the region of the close-mid qualities of [ɪ] or [ə], i.e. broadly speaking centralized forms of [e]. This explains why /ə/ alternates with /e/ in a stressed syllable of some forms, e.g. the 3ms. verbal pattern *qătəl* ~ *qătél*.

The lower points in the cluster in the region of central [ə] occur in the environment of the uvular /q/, viz. *’ārəqna* [ʔa^hrəqna] (8) and *măqál*

[ma¹qəl] (9). The furthest back of the lower points (10) occurs after a pharyngalized consonant, viz. *qǎṭəl* [qΔt^fəl].

The points in the chart for /e/ that are most centralized, i.e. (8)–(10) of Fig. 3, overlap in quality with the allophonic scatter of /ə/. In such cases the two phonemes are distinguished phonetically only by length, in that in the words in question the /e/ vowel is pronounced long whereas all occurrences of /ə/ are short.

It should be noted that there is a marked tendency for an unstressed short vowel /ə/ to be devoiced, e.g.

<i>qəṭá</i> [q ^h ə ^t ʰa]	‘piece’
<i>šəmə</i> [ʃ ^l ma]	‘heaven’
<i>kəxwé</i> [k ^h əx ^l ve:]	‘stars’
<i>qəṭmə</i> [q ^h ə ^t ʰma]	‘ash’
<i>šəməšá</i> [ʃə ^m ʰša]	‘sun’
<i>ptəltá</i> [p ^h t ^l ʰta]	‘tress’
<i>məndéli</i> [mən ^l de:li]	‘I threw’

If a consonant following /ə/ in a word initial CəC syllable is unvoiced, a historically voiced consonant before the /ə/ tends to be devoiced together with the vowel, e.g.

<i>təqna</i>	< * <i>dəqna</i>	‘beard’
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This devoicing, however, is not completely regular and short /ə/ sometimes has a vocalic realization in unstressed syllables, e.g.

<i>ləbá</i> [l ^l ʰba]	‘heart’
<i>təlyén</i> [t ^h l ^l ʰje:n]	‘They are hung’
<i>nəxlá</i> [nəx ^l la]	‘rain’
<i>ləxmá</i> [ləx ^l ma]	‘bread’

Due to the aforementioned variations in the realization of /ə/, an abstract morpho-phonemic transcription has been adopted whereby all words in question are transcribed with the symbol /ə/. This is justifiable on the grounds that it has a potential vocalic realization, although in many cases it is phonetically devoiced and not audible, and that the /ə/ can be identified as part of the morphological pattern of the word.

1.5.2.5. /o/

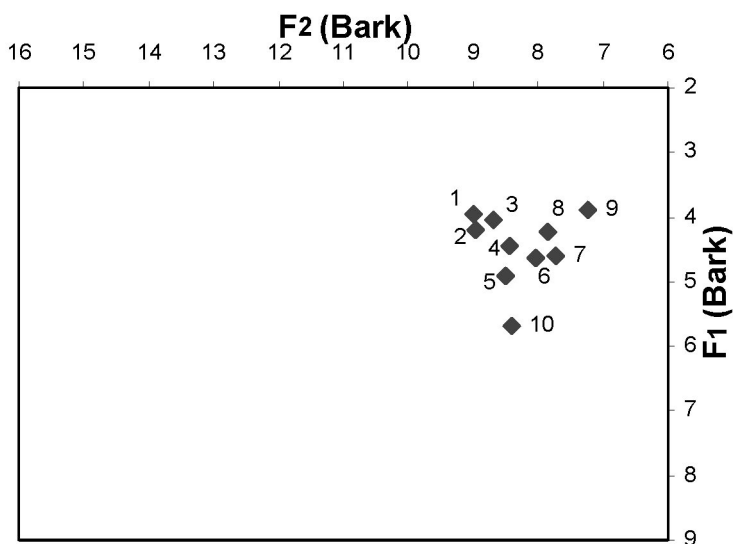


Fig. 6 Acoustic variation of /o/

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | <i>g<u>o</u>rá</i> 'man' |
| 2 | <i>'əsiri-<u>o</u></i> 'There were tied' |
| 3 | <i>z<u>o</u>rá</i> 'small' |
| 4 | <i>ba<u>ʃ</u>oré</i> 'small amount' |
| 5 | <i>'o-<u>ro</u>xá</i> 'that spirit' |
| 6 | <i>'o-<u>ro</u>xá</i> 'that spirit' |
| 7 | <i>q<u>o</u>qé</i> 'pots' |
| 8 | <i>q<u>o</u>má</i> 'stature' |
| 9 | <i>tex-<u>o</u></i> 'It diminishes' |
| 10 | <i>'or<u>x</u>éf</i> 'his way' |

Long /o/ vowels cluster around the region of [o], e.g. *gorá* [go:'ra] (1), *qoqé* [qo:'xɛ:] (7). The lowest point, which is in the region of [ɔ], is attested in a short /o/, viz. *'orxéf* [ʔɔr'xɛ:f] (10).

1.5.2.6. /u/

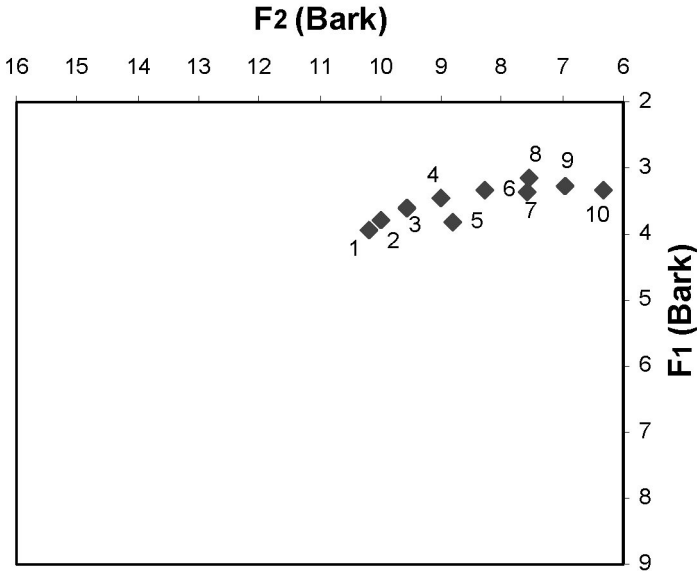


Fig. 7 Acoustic variation of /u/

- 1 *nuqlé* 'sweets'
- 2 *rǔwá* 'big'
- 3 *kúle* 'big'
- 4 *ṭurá* 'mountain'
- 5 *mirwálu* 'They had said'
- 6 *guzé* 'walls'
- 7 *guptá* 'cheese'
- 8 *huláe* 'Jews'
- 9 *řangú* 'their colour'
- 10 *'axtún* 'you (pl.)'

The realizations of /u/ occur in the region of close-mid [u] and the more centralized quality [ʊ]. The centralized [ʊ] tends to occur in short vowels, where stressed, e.g. *kúle* (3), or unstressed, e.g. *nuqlé* (1), *rǔwá* (2). Some short /u/ vowels, however, are realized further back, e.g. *guptá* (7). The realizations that are furthest back are found in stressed long /u/ in final syllables, viz. *řangú* (9) and *'axtún* (10).

We should also mention here the words *t^wka* ‘place’, *t^wkana* ‘shop’, *s^wka* ‘knitting needle/booth (at festival of Tabernacles)’, *geraq^wše* ‘rainbow’. These are reflexes of the historical forms **dukka*, **dukkana*, **sukka* and **gera-quše*. The unstressed **u* is regularly devoiced, as well as the initial **d* in the case of *t^wka* and *t^wkana*. As a result, voice does not begin in these words before the vowel of the following syllable. A vestige of the original short **u* is retained in the presence of lip-rounding in the articulation of the consonant before the devoiced /u/. This labialization is represented by a superscribed *w* in the transcription.

In some cases an original **u* has been reduced to /ə/ when short. This applies to the word *təla* ‘mulberry’ < **tūtā*. The form *təla* could be explained as a back-formation from **tutta* ‘a mulberry’ with a singularizing feminine suffix (§4.13.2.), i.e. **tūtā* + *ta* > *tutta* > *tətta* > *təlta* (sing.) > *təle* (pl. by back-formation from singular). The singular *təla* would then have been formed from the plural *təle*.

1.5.3. Syllabic Patterns

The following syllabic patterns are attested:

CV	e.g. <i>be.la</i>	‘house’
CCV	e.g. <i>smi.xa</i>	‘standing’
CVC	e.g. <i>sā.max</i>	‘He stands’
CCVC	e.g. <i>grəš.le</i>	‘He pulled’
CVCC	e.g. <i>tarz</i>	‘method’

At the beginning of a word a syllable must begin with at least a laryngeal stop /ʔ/ consonant:

ʔāra	‘land’
ʔāxəl	‘He eats’

A word initial /ʔ/ is generally elided when it is in contact with a prefixed particle that ends in a consonant, e.g. *b-áy* (< *b-ʔay*) ‘in this’ (A:56), *ba-d-éa* ‘in this’ (A:98); *g-o-belà* (< *g-ʔo*) ‘in that house’ (A:74).

Within a word two vowels may follow one another without an intervening glottal stop /ʔ/. Such sequences should be analysed as diphthongs (V \bar{y} , \bar{y} V) rather than two separate syllable nuclei, e.g.

<i>bāurá</i> [CV \bar{y} .CV]	‘bright’
<i>deará</i> [C \bar{y} V.CV]	‘tambourine’

In such words this syllabification is reflected by the fact that the non-nuclear vowel of the diphthong has a tendency to be realized as a glide.

In word-final sequences of vowels the existence of the diphthong is reflected by the fact that stress that would normally be expected to be put on a final vowel nucleus (§1.6.) is retracted to the vowel preceding it, indicating that the final vowel is treated as non-syllabic, e.g.

<i>huláa</i> [CV.CV̆]	‘Jew’
<i>huláe</i> [CV.CV̆]	‘Jews’
<i>xááe</i> [CV̆]	‘He sees’
<i>bée</i> [CV̆]	‘eggs’
’óa [CV̆]	‘that one’
’éa [CV̆]	‘this one’

In cases where stress is put on the second vowel of the sequence in word-final position, the diphthong should be interpreted as rising V̆V. This is found in sequences where the first of the two vowels is /o/. The non-syllabic status of /o/ is reflected by the fact that it is often realized as a semi-vowel [w], e.g.

<i>čároé</i> [tʃar ¹ we]	‘to search’
<i>šoá</i> [ʃwa]	‘seven’
<i>ntoá</i> [ntwa]	‘high’

Sequences of three vowels with a medial /o/ occur in some infinitive forms. These should be interpreted as V̆V̆V, the medial vowel being the onglide of a diphthong, the phonetic realization of which is often the semi-vowel [w], e.g.

<i>xáoé</i> [xawe]	‘to see’
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All of these diphthongs in word-internal position have arisen by elision of segments, usually pharyngals or laryngals, between vowels, e.g.

<i>báura</i>	<	* <i>báhura</i>	‘light’
<i>huláe</i>	<	* <i>hula’e</i>	‘Jews’
<i>bée</i>	<	* <i>be’e</i>	‘eggs’

The original word-internal diphthongs in words of Aramaic stock **ay* and **aw* have contracted to /e/ and /o/ respectively, e.g.

<i>bela</i>	‘house’	<	* <i>baytā</i>
<i>qeṭa</i>	‘summer’	<	* <i>qaytā</i>
<i>mola</i>	‘death’	<	* <i>mawtā</i>
<i>yoma</i>	‘day’	<	* <i>yawmā</i>

They are preserved, however, in loanwords, e.g.

<i>šKayta</i>	‘complaint’ (Kurd. < Arab.)
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ḥawša 'courtyard' (Kurd. < Arab.)

When the single vowel particles *o* 'again' and *u* 'and' are cliticized to the end of a word that has a final vowel, they become non-syllabic if the final vowel is the low vowel /a/. This is reflected by the placement of stress in the case of *o*, since this particle is normally stressed but the stress is retracted to the preceding vowel when the word ends in *-a*, e.g.

gezəlwá-o 'He would go back' (A:101)

bráta-u 'the girl and ...' (A:1)

If these cliticized particles are preceded by the high vowels /i/, /e/ or /u/, they remain syllable nuclei, but are preceded by the glide [j] or [w], which function as the syllable onset. This glide is not represented in the orthography of the transcription, e.g.

pašri-ò [paʃri:jo:] 'They would melt' (A:70)

tārəşwalu-ò [tʰarəşva:lu'wo:] 'He used to repair them'

kalwìwale-u [kʰal'vi:va:leju] 'They would write it and ...' (A:48)

Most combinations of consonants are possible in the initial CC- cluster at the onset of syllable patterns, though clusters of homorganic stops are avoided (e.g. *bp*, *dt*, *gk*) within morphological units. Clusters at the beginning of a word consisting of combinations of morphemes, such as a vowelless preposition and a noun, may, however, contain homorganic stops, e.g.

b-puḷe 'with money'

A cluster of two consonants in the coda of a syllable is found only in loanwords, e.g. *taxtaband* 'bed', *dars* 'lesson'.

In principle, the coda of the open syllables CV and CCV may be any vowel except /ə/. There are a few apparent exceptions to this. These include nouns with an originally geminated second radical such as *ləbá* 'heart' (< **ləbba*) and *támal* 'yesterday' (< **támmal*). The explanation seems to be that these forms have underlying patterns in which the syllables in question are closed. In the case of *ləbá* and *támal* the underlying patterns are *ləbbá* and *támmal*, which correspond to the historical forms, i.e. the vocalism and syllable structure have dragged behind the process of gemination loss and behave as if the middle radicals were still geminated. A similar situation is found in words such as *tāra* 'door' and *'āra* 'land', which contain a short /a/ vowel in the first syllable rather than a long vowel according to the normal principles of vowel lengthening (§1.5.5.2.1.) since the vocalism and syllable structure reflect those of an underlying form *CaCCa* corresponding to the historical forms **tar*^c*a* and **'ar*^c*a*.

Another case where a /ə/ occurs in an apparently open syllable is the intransitive stem I imperative, which has bi-syllabic forms such as *səmux* ‘Stand!’ as well as monosyllabic forms such as *smux*. Here again the vocalism and syllabification reflect not the surface form but the underlying pattern. The underlying pattern in this case can be identified not with the historical form of stem I imperatives but rather with the pattern of imperatives of intransitive stem III and quadriliteral verbs, which have four consonants, viz. *CəCCuC*, e.g. *məskur* ‘Get lost!’, *gəndur* ‘Roll!’. This is one aspect of a general process of morphological levelling across verbal forms (§3.1.). The pattern *CəCCuC*, in which the /ə/ occurs in a closed *CəC* syllable is imposed on a base of three consonants *smx*.

As remarked in §1.5.2.4., short /ə/ is often devoiced in unstressed syllables. This results in phonetic realizations such as the following in which the /ə/ vowel is inaudible:

<i>qəṭmá</i>	[q ^h əṭ ^h ma]	‘ash’
<i>šəməšá</i>	[ʃəmə ^h ša]	‘sun’

The syllabification and the transcription of such words must be on an abstract level taking account of the morphemic pattern to which the word is assigned and its alternant forms in which the /ə/ has a vocalic realization. The word [q^həṭ^hma], for example, should be represented phonemically as /qəṭ.ma/ on the grounds that it is to be assigned to the underlying morphemic pattern *CəCCá*. This is the historical pattern and is attested phonetically in a number of other nouns.

1.5.4. Word-Internal Syllable Boundaries

The syllable boundary in a word-internal sequence such as *VCCV* with a cluster of two consonants falls between the two consonants, e.g.

<i>xal.wá</i>	‘milk’
<i>dug.lá</i>	‘lie’
<i>maš.té</i>	‘He causes to drink’
<i>gən.dur</i>	‘Roll!’

This is confirmed by the intuition of informants who syllabify words in this way when asked to utter them slowly.

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

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

<i>marxšále</i> [marəx.ʃa:.le]	‘She makes him walk’
<i>maxlpále</i> [maxəl.ʔa:.le]	‘She exchanges it’
<i>mayrxále</i> [majər.ʔa:.le]	‘She stretches it out’

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

<i>maskrí</i> [mas.kʰəʔri]	‘They will get lost’
<i>mabšrále</i> [mab.səʔra:.le]	‘She reduces it’

1.5.5. Vowel Length

The length of vowels is conditioned to a large extent by phonotactic context and stress position.

1.5.5.1. The Vowels /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/

1.5.5.1.1. In Penultimate Open Syllables

A vowel of this group in a penultimate open syllable tends in principle to be pronounced long, both when it is stressed and also when the stress is put on the final syllable and the penultimate syllable is, therefore, pretonic. Examples:

<i>léka?</i> [ʔle:kʰa]	‘where?’
<i>belá</i> [be:ʔla]	‘house’
<i>zíla</i> [ʔzi:la]	‘She went’
<i>didán</i> [di:ʔdan]	‘our’
<i>nóšan</i> [ʔno:ʃan]	‘ourselves’
<i>doká</i> [do:kʰa]	‘there’
<i>klúmu</i> [ʔklu:muʔ]	‘write (pl.)!’
<i>ṭurá</i> [tʰu:ra]	‘mountain’

There are very few exceptions to this principle of vowel lengthening in penultimate syllables in this group of vowels. One case is the word *küle* ‘all’, in which the /u/ vowel was followed by a geminated consonant in Proto-NENA:

kǔlé [k^hu^lle^ˀ] ‘all’ < **kullé*

1.5.5.1.2. In Final Open Syllables

The length of a vowel in a word-final open syllable depends in principle on the position of the word in the intonation group in which it is uttered. When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be long, irrespective as to whether it is stressed or not. When the word occurs within an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short. In what follows the boundaries of intonation groups are marked in the transcription by a short vertical sign ^l (not to be confused with the mark of the stress ^ˈ in the IPA narrow phonetic transcription). The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group and typically occurs at its end, is marked by a grave accent (^ˀ) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (^ˊ):

<i>tatí</i> [ta: ^ˊ ti]	<i>tatí^l</i> [ta: ^ˊ ti:]	‘my father’
<i>malú</i> [ma: ^ˊ lu]	<i>malú^l</i> [ma: ^ˊ lu:]	‘their village’
<i>grǎšle</i> [ˈgrǎʃle]	<i>grǎšle^l</i> [ˈgrǎʃle:]	‘He pulled’
<i>grǎšli</i> [ˈgrǎʃli]	<i>grǎšli^l</i> [ˈgrǎʃli:]	‘I pulled’
<i>grǎšlu</i> [ˈgrǎʃlu]	<i>grǎšlu^l</i> [ˈgrǎʃlu:]	‘They pulled’

1.5.5.1.3. In Closed Syllables

When the vowels in this group occur in closed syllables, their length is generally determined by stress and the position of the word in the intonation group. There is a greater tendency to shorten the vowel when it is followed by two consonants than there is when it is followed by a single consonant and word boundary.

As a general rule, the vowels are pronounced long when they are followed by a single consonant at a word boundary, e.g.

<i>pél</i> [ˈp ^h e:l]	‘He falls’
<i>kól</i> [ˈk ^h o:l]	‘He does’
<i>kúš</i> [ˈk ^h u:ʃ]	‘Come down!’
<i>qím</i> [ˈqi:m]	‘He arose’

When the vowels are stressed and followed by two consonants, there is a tendency to shorten them, though at the end of an intonation group the length is sometimes retained, e.g.

<i>déqwa</i> [ˈdeqva]	‘He used to pound’
<i>dèqwa^l</i> [ˈde:qva:] ~ [ˈdeqva:]	‘He used to pound’

<i>kólwa</i> [ˈkʰo:lva]	‘He used to do’
<i>kòlwa</i> [ˈkʰo:lva:] ~ [ˈkʰolva:]	‘He used to do’
<i>kúšmun</i> [ˈkuʃmun]	‘Come down (pl.)!’
<i>kùšmun</i> [ˈku:ʃmun] ~ [ˈkuʃmun]	‘Come down (pl.)!’
<i>qúnwa</i> [ˈqimva]	‘He had arisen’
<i>qùnwa</i> [ˈqi:mva] ~ [ˈqimva]	‘He had arisen’

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

<i>deqwále</i> [deqˈwa:le]	‘He used to pound it’
<i>kolwále</i> [kolˈwa:le]	‘He used to do it’
<i>duqle-ó</i> [duqleˈjo:]	‘Take it away!’

1.5.5.2. The Vowel /a/

1.5.5.2.1. In Penultimate Open Syllables

The vowel /a/ in a penultimate open syllable tends in principle to be pronounced long, both when it is stressed and also when the stress is put on the final syllable and the penultimate syllable is, therefore, pretonic. Examples:

<i>rába</i> [ˈra:ba]	‘much’
<i>kasá</i> [kaːˈsa]	‘stomach’

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

(i) In the present base of verbs the /a/ vowel of the first syllable is regularly pronounced short even when it is open, e.g.

<i>gărăš</i> [gaːrəʃ]	‘He pulls’
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(ii) Vowels that are in origin epenthetics generally remain short, e.g.

<i>belăxun</i> [beːlaˈxu:n]	‘your (pl.) house’
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(iii) Vowels that were originally in a closed syllable in Proto-NENA but are now in an open one. This applies to cases where a vowel was followed by a geminated consonant in Proto-NENA, e.g.

<i>garšáte</i> [garˈʃatʰe]	‘You (fs.) pull her	< * <i>garšátte</i>	< * <i>garšat-le</i>
ʾátá [ʔaˈtʰa]	‘now’	< *ʾatta	

The /a/ vowel of a syllable that was originally followed by a consonant and a voiced pharyngal remains short even after the elision of the pharyngal resulting in the opening of the preceding syllable, e.g.

<i>tăra</i>	< *tar'a	'door'
<i>zăra</i>	< *zar'a	'wheat'

Other cases include where an augment vowel has been added to a form that originally ended in a consonant, e.g.

<i>susyăni</i>	'our horse'	< *susyan-i
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(iv) The /a/ vowel before the /w/ in the nominal plural ending *-ăwăe* is regularly pronounced short, e.g.

malăwăe

(v) Short vowels in penultimate syllables are often found in loanwords or loaned affixes that preserve the phonological system of the source language, e.g.

<i>kălăka</i> [k ^h ala'k ^h a]	'side, flank'
<i>gor-ăke</i> [go:ra'ke:]	'the man'

An /a/ vowel in an antepenultimate or earlier open syllable in the base form of a word is generally pronounced short, e.g.

<i>ăxonă</i> [ʔaxo:'na]	'brother'
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When, however, the number of syllables in a word has been increased by the addition of inflectional or derivational elements, an /a/ vowel that was long in the base form in principle remains long in the inflected or derived form even though it is now antepenultimate or further back from the end of the word, e.g.

<i>tatà</i> [t ^h a:t ^h a:]	'father'	<i>tatăwalân</i> ^l [t ^h a:t ^h awΛ:'lan]	'our fathers'
		<i>tatulà</i> ^l [t ^h a:t ^h u:'la]	'fatherhood'
<i>malà</i> [ma:'la:]	'village'	<i>malăwàe</i> ^l [ma:la'wae]	'villages'
		<i>malăke</i> [ma:la'k ^h e]	'the village'

1.5.5.2.2. Final Open Syllable

The length of an /a/ vowel in a word-final open syllable depends in principle on the position of the word in the intonation group in which it is uttered. When the word occurs at the end of an intonation group, the vowel tends to be long, irrespective as to whether it is stressed or not. When the word occurs within an intonation group, the vowel tends to be short:

<i>belá</i> [be:'la]	<i>belà</i> [be:'la:]	'house'
<i>baté</i> [ba:'te]	<i>batè</i> [ba:'te]	'houses'
<i>grášla</i> ['grəʃla]	<i>grəšla</i> ['grəʃla:]	'She pulled'

1.5.5.2.3. Closed Syllables

As a general rule an /a/ vowel in a closed syllable in a word of Aramaic stock is pronounced short, e.g.

<i>belán</i> [be:'lan]	'our house'
<i>qamxá</i> [qam'xa]	'flour'

Some loanwords preserve a long /a/ from the source language in these contexts. The vowel in such words is written with a macron, e.g.

<i>jwānqa</i>	'young man'
<i>gāz</i>	'bite'
<i>ākās</i>	'photographer'
<i>burtāqāl</i>	'orange'
<i>čəngāl</i>	'fork'

1.5.5.3. The Vowel /ə/

The vowel /ə/ is regularly pronounced short in all contexts. It is the reflex of an originally short front high vowel or of an originally long front high vowel that has been shortened, e.g.

<i>gărăš</i>	'He pulls'	< * <i>gāriš</i>
<i>grášle</i>	'He pulled'	< * <i>grišlē</i>
<i>garšāte</i>	'You pull him'	< * <i>garšēt-le</i>

It is not, however, in completely complementary distribution with the vowels /i/ and /e/ in the current state of the dialect, as shown by the following phonemic contrasts:

/i/ : /ə/	<i>grášta</i> 'pulled' (fs. transitive resultative participle)
	<i>grišta</i> 'pulled' (fs. passive resultative participle)

/ə/ : /e/	<i>qeṭa</i> 'summer'
	<i>qəṭa</i> 'piece'

1.5.5.4. The Transcription of Vowel Length

The transcription that is used in this volume aims to be phonemic and as economical as possible. Most of the vowel length distinctions that are de-

scribed above are either predictable from the phonotactic context and the position of the stress or are results of communicative strategies expressed in the division of speech into intonation groups. In such circumstances the length of a vowel does not have phonemic status since it is not crucial for expressing semantic distinctions between words. In the transcription, therefore, the length of vowels will generally be left unspecified by a diacritical mark. Diacritics will only be used in words that regularly go against the aforementioned tendencies. These have been listed above as exceptional cases. Such vowels will be marked by a breve sign in contexts where they would normally be expected to be short. Verbal forms with short vowels in an open penultimate syllable such as *šătéx* ‘we drink’ can, in fact, form minimal pairs with homophonous noun forms that differ only in the length of the vowel. In this environment, therefore, there are grounds for regarding short /ă/ as a phoneme in its own right, which further justifies distinguishing it in the transcription:

Minimal pairs:

/ă/ : /a/	<i>kăse</i>	‘He covers’
	<i>kase</i>	‘stomachs’
	<i>găre</i>	‘He shaves’
	<i>gare</i>	‘roof’

Similar oppositions between /ă/ and /a/ are found in loanwords, e.g.

<i>păro</i>	‘rag’
<i>paro</i>	‘snow shovel’

A phonemic contrast in length occurs also in word-final position in the following pair:

<i>la</i>	negator
<i>lā</i>	‘by the side of’

This has arisen, it appears, due to the fact that *lā* has developed from the form *laga* by elision of the /g/. In *laga* the first /a/ is always long on account of its occurrence in an open syllable. The vowel in the negator *la*, on the other hand, follows the normal rules of vowel lengthening in final open syllables (§1.5.5.2.2.). Since the negator in the vast majority of cases occurs in non-pausal position, the vowel is in principle short.

1.6. WORD STRESS

The place of stress is marked in the transcription of the recorded texts on all words that bear it. The transcription also marks the boundaries of intonation groups by a short vertical sign ^l. Intonation contours are not represented, but a distinction is made between the nuclear stress of the intonation group and non-nuclear stress. The nuclear stress, which is the most prominent stress of the intonation group, is marked by a grave accent (*̀*) and the non-nuclear stress is marked by an acute accent (*́*). In principle, there is only one nuclear stress in an intonation group. Occasionally, however, two intonation groups are linked together without any perceptible boundary by a process of sandhi and two nuclear stresses occur in what appears to be a single intonation group (cf. Cruttenden 1986: 43).

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

1.6.1. Nominals

In nouns and pronouns word-final stress position, which is found in most words in all contexts, may be regarded as the basic one. It is the usual position in nominals that occur in pause before an intonation group boundary and also in the citation form of nominals:

<i>belà^l</i>	‘house’
<i>tatà^l</i>	‘father’
<i>yalè^l</i>	‘children’
<i>ʼanà^l</i>	‘I’

Retraction of the stress occurs in various non-pausal contexts within an intonation group, e.g.

- (1) *xá ʼăxóna xetâ^f čəkmá šogìlè hité.^l* ‘Another brother of hers has various jobs’. (A:6)
- (2) *tára mázra ba-réša nòšaf.^l* ‘She closed the door behind her.’ (A:22)
- (3) *ʼéa bróna Jáhàn-ye.^l* ‘This is the son of Jáhàn.’ (A:17)

- (4) *’ána mătúna ba-réš ’eni.*¹ ‘I agree to it (literally: I put it on my eye).’ (A:18)

As noted in §1.5.3., the stress is retracted when a noun or pronoun ends in two adjacent vowels, reflecting the fact that the sequence is a diphthong (VY) with the first vowel functioning as the syllable nucleus and the second as the syllable boundary, e.g.

<i>hulàe</i> ¹	‘Jews’
<i>malǎwàè</i> ¹	‘villages’
<i>’èa</i> ¹	‘this’
<i>’òa</i> ¹	‘that’

The word *noš-* ‘self’ (§2.5.) is regularly stressed on the penultimate syllable when it has a pronominal suffix, e.g.

<i>nòšì</i> ¹	‘myself’
<i>nòšan</i> ¹	‘ourselves’

When a noun is used vocatively, the stress is also regularly retracted:

<i>tàta</i> ¹	‘Father!’
<i>bàxta</i> ¹	‘Wife!’
<i>gyàni</i> ¹	‘My soul!’

1.6.2. Adverbials

Some adverbials exhibit the same stress patterns as nominals, in that the stress falls on either the final or the penultimate syllable, word-final stress predominating in pausal position at the end an intonation group, e.g.

<i>lǎxà</i> ¹	‘here’
<i>dokà</i> ¹	‘there’
<i>waryà</i> ¹	‘outside’
<i>lo’à</i> ¹	‘inside’

The stress is sometimes retracted in these forms in non-pausal position, e.g.

- (1) *ga-dóka ’orxél reš-kepè-yelu.*¹ ‘There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones.’ (A:59)
- (2) *našé gezúwa wárya ba-talgà-č.*¹ ‘People would go outside even in the snow.’ (A:81)

In several adverbials, however, the stress regularly falls on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

<i>ràba</i> ^l	‘much, many’
<i>là‘e</i> ^l	‘above’
<i>qà̀me</i> ^l	‘forwards’
<i>xà̀re</i> ^l	‘backwards’
<i>bəqà̀ta</i> ^l	‘in the morning’

If the word is trisyllabic, like *bəqà̀ta*, the stress may be retracted onto the antepenultimate syllable in non-pausal position, e.g.

- (3) *bəqà̀ta ’ásər gezə̀lwa*.^l ‘Morning and evening he would go.’ (A:105)

1.6.3. Verbs

(i) The basic position of the stress in verb forms derived from the present base (§3.3.) is on the final syllable of the root or, if the vowel of this syllable is elided when an inflectional suffix is added, on the first syllable of the suffix:

<i>gà̀rə̀š</i> ^l	‘He pulls’
<i>gà̀rə̀š-na</i> ^l	‘I pull’
<i>gà̀rə̀š-i</i> ^l	‘They pull’
<i>gà̀rə̀š-èt</i> ^l	‘You (ms.) pull’
<i>gà̀rə̀š-ètun</i> ^l	‘You (pl.) pull’

Resyllabification and stress shift due to weakening of gemination can result in stress having phonemic significance in the present base paradigm of some verbs, in that the 1s and 3fs. are distinguished only by stress, as in the verb *zbn* ‘to sell’:

<i>zabná</i>	‘She sells’
<i>zábna</i>	‘I sell’ (< *zā̀banna)

(ii) In verb forms derived from the past base (§3.4.–§3.6.), the placement of the basic stress follows the same principle:

<i>grə̀š-le</i> ^l	‘He killed’
<i>grə̀š-lox</i>	‘You (ms.) killed’
<i>grə̀š-lā̀xun</i>	‘You (pl.) killed’
<i>smìxet</i> ^l	‘You stood’

The distinction between some past base verbal forms and homophonous nominal forms depends uniquely on stress position, e.g.

<i>mìla</i> ^l	‘She died’
<i>mílà</i> ^l	‘dead (ms.)’

(iii) The basic position of the stress in the imperative, on the other hand, is on the first syllable of the root:

<i>màxwe</i> ^l	‘Show! (sing.)’
<i>màxwemun</i> ^l	‘Show! (pl.)’

This stress placement has phonemic significance in the singular imperative, since its non-final position contrasts with the final position of the stress in the otherwise homophonous 3ms. present form:

<i>maxwè</i> ^l	‘He shows’
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(iv) When further pronominal suffixes are added to the verbal forms just described, the basic position of stress remains the same, e.g.

Present base

<i>gārəš-lu</i> ^l	‘He pulls them’
<i>gārəš-wa-lu</i> ^l	‘He used to pull them’
<i>gārəš-n-ef</i>	‘I pull him’
<i>garš-ì-le</i> ^l	‘They pull him’
<i>garš-ètu-le</i> ^l	‘You (pl.) pull him’

Past base

<i>grəš-wa-le</i> ^l	‘He had killed’
<i>smìxən-wa</i> ^l	‘I had stood’

Imperative

<i>màxweli</i> ^l	‘Show (sing.) me!’
<i>màxwe-mu-le</i> ^l	‘Show (pl.) him!’

As indicated above, the addition of further suffixes to a verb form does not usually affect the position of the stress, e.g. *garší* ‘They pull’, *garšíwa* ‘They used to pull’, *garšíwalu* ‘They used to pull them’. On some occasions, however, the stress is shifted onto the suffix at the end of the word. This is mainly found at the end of an intonation group where the vowel of the suffix is lengthened, e.g.

- (1) *ʔāwá| lelé gezəlwá-o belà,| xálef kxəlwalè,| yätúwa ta-sa‘ätè| tré bár pálga lelé.*^l ‘In the early evening he would go back home, eat his food and sit until two o’clock in the morning.’ (A:101)
- (2) *ʔáy našé ya-ga-ʔáy kují yelù| kùle| qalá d-áy zorná šāmenwalè| kénwa waryà.*^l ‘All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound

of the pipe would come outside and stand at the door of their courtyard.’ (A:45)

- (3) *ħāmamāke mašxniwalā*.¹ ‘They used to heat the bath.’ (A:37)

1.7. STRESS GROUPS

Occasionally a short word is combined with another word in a single stress group and only one of the words bears stress. The stress may fall on either the first or second word, depending on the nature of the component words and on their relative informational importance. Such stress groups occasionally consist of three words. In most cases each of the component words can bear its own stress and examples of this can be found in other contexts. If the stress falls on the final word of the group, its position in this word normally exhibits the same variability as it would if the word stood independently. If, on the other hand, the stress falls on the first word of the group and this word consists of more than one syllable, the stress is regularly placed in its basic position for that particular word (cf. §1.6.).

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

1.7.1. Numeral + Counted Nominal

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

Stress on the nominal: *xa-bratá* ‘a girl’ (A:6), *xa-šatá* ‘one year’ (A:8), *xa-taxtá rūwā*¹ ‘a big box’ (A:9), *tre-képe* ‘two stones’ (A:59).

Stress on the numeral: *xá-gora* ‘a man’ (A:21), *xá-šata* ‘one year’ (A:30), *tré-yome* ‘two years’ (A:39), *trè-yarxe*¹ ‘two months’ (A:30), *təlhá-šəne* ‘three years’ (A:19).

Examples of the occurrence of stress on both components: *xá ’ambár* ‘a storeroom’ (A:7), *xá ħāmalá* ‘a porter’ (A:87), *tré xālsyè*¹ ‘two sisters’ (A:91), *təlhá yarxé* ‘three months’ (A:30).

1.7.2. Negator + Verb/Nominal/Adverbial

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

Stress on the negated item:

- (1) *bronāké ħəl-bratāké la-xewāle ba-’amrèf*.¹ ‘The boy had never seen the girl in his life.’ (A:2)

- (2) *la-káyan mǎni-ye.*¹ ‘I do not know who he is.’ (A:21)
- (3) *ʼaná ʼo-lelé la-zìna-o belá.*¹ ‘I did not go back home that night.’ (A:26)

Stress on the negator:

- (4) *xor-ʼay-bratá lá-xar ʼay-broná xǎya x-kàr.*¹ ‘Now, the girl should not yet see the boy.’ (A:24)
- (5) *rasí rajáʼ ba-ḥǎná-č là-ḥqelan.*¹ ‘In fact we have not talked yet about henna.’ (A:38)
- (6) *lá-gban ʼáy-ḥǎsáb-u ktàbe.*¹ ‘I don’t want these accounts and books.’ (A:107)

Stress on both components:

- (7) *daǎká lá qoràlox!*¹ ‘May your mother not bury you!’ (A:103)
- (8) *čún ʼáxni nóšan là kewalán¹ xalwǎké ḥǎmèxile¹* ‘because we could not fetch milk ourselves’ (A:63)
- (9) *là šóqwa xét zólm holi-lef.*¹ ‘He did not allow him to suffer further injustice.’ (A:109)

1.7.3. Demonstrative + Nominal

The stress falls either on the demonstrative or on the nominal following it. The placement of the stress on the nominal is more common.

Stress on the demonstrative: *g-ò-lele*¹ ‘on that night’ (A:88), *g-ày-lag*¹ *g-ò-lag*¹ ‘on this side and on that side’ (A:108).

Stress on the nominal: *ʼo-lelé* ‘that night’ (A:26), *ʼo-našé* ‘those people’ (A:42), *ʼo-kepé* ‘those stones’ (A:59), *ʼay-bratá* ‘this girl’ (A:8), *ʼay-otáx* ‘this room’ (A:13), *ʼay-ʼáxonì* ‘this brother of mine’ (A:19).

Stress on both items: *ʼó pǎsráké* ‘that meat’ (A:74), *ʼó waxtára* ‘at that time’ (A:84), *ʼáy našé* ‘these people’ (A:45).

2. PRONOUNS

2.1. INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

3s.	'o
3pl.	'oni
2s.	'āt
2pl.	'axtu
1s.	'ana
1pl.	'axni

2.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

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

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

2.2.1. Independent Near Deixis Pronouns

These exist in short and long forms. The long forms have a suffixed unstressed /a/ or /xa/ element.

ms.	'ay, 'e	'éa	'exa
fs.	'ay, 'e	'éa	'exa
pl.	'ayni	'ənye	'ənyexáe

The uncontracted form *ʼay* is used predominantly by informant A whereas the contracted form *ʼe* is used by informant B.

2.2.2. Independent Far Deixis Pronouns

These also exist in short and long forms with an unstressed /a/ or /xa/ element.

ms.	<i>ʼo</i>	<i>ʼóa</i>	<i>ʼóxa</i>
fs.	<i>ʼo</i>	<i>ʼóa</i>	<i>ʼóxa</i>
pl.	<i>ʼoni/ʼonye</i>		<i>ʼonyexáe</i>

2.2.3. Attributive Near Deixis Pronouns

Only the short form *ʼay/ʼe* is used when the pronoun is attributive, and this is generalized also to plural nouns:

ms.	<i>ʼay, ʼe</i>
fs.	<i>ʼay, ʼe</i>
pl.	<i>ʼay, ʼe</i>

Examples: *ʼay gora* ‘this man’, *ʼay baxta* ‘this woman’, *ʼay naše* ‘these people’, *ʼay ənše* ‘these women’. The uncontracted form *ʼay* is used predominantly by informant A whereas the contracted form *ʼe* is used by informant B.

2.2.4. Attributive Far Deixis Pronouns

Short and long forms are used. In the short form paradigm, the singular form *ʼo* has been generalized to use with plural nouns:

ms.	<i>ʼo</i>
fs.	<i>ʼo</i>
pl.	<i>ʼo</i>

Examples: *ʼo gora* ‘that man’, *ʼo baxta* ‘that woman’, *ʼo naše* ‘those people’, *ʼo ənše* ‘those women’.

2.3. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON NOUNS AND

PREPOSITIONS

3ms.	-ef
3fs.	-af
3pl.	-u, -un
2ms.	-ox
2fs.	-ax
2pl.	-ăxun
1s.	-i
1pl.	-an, -ăni

The variant form of the 3pl. suffix *-un*, which preserves the original final /n/ of the pronoun (< *-hun), is used only before the co-ordinative enclitic *-u*, e.g. *xa-dána mənun-u* ‘one of them and ...’ (D:2).

These suffixes replace the final inflectional vowel of nouns, as illustrated by the following, which presents the suffixed forms of the noun *bela* ‘house’:

3ms.	<i>belef</i>
3fs.	<i>belaf</i>
3pl.	<i>belu</i>
2ms.	<i>belox</i>
2fs.	<i>belax</i>
2pl.	<i>belăxun</i>
1s.	<i>beli</i>
1pl.	<i>belan, belăni</i>

These suffixes are also attached to nouns that end in a consonant, e.g.

ktab ‘book’ *ktabef* ‘his book’.

When the noun ends a vowel that is not an inflectional vowel, this is retained before the suffixes. In most cases it shifts to a glide that is homorganic with it, e.g.

<i>susi</i> ‘horse’	<i>susyef</i>	‘his horse’
	<i>susyaf</i> ‘	‘her horse’
	<i>susyu</i>	‘their horse’, etc.

<i>qaṭu</i> ‘cat’	<i>qaṭwef</i>	‘his cat’
	<i>qaṭwaf</i>	‘her cat’
	<i>qaṭwu</i>	‘their cat’, etc.
<i>kau</i> ‘lettuce’	<i>kawef</i>	‘his lettuce’
	<i>kawaf</i>	‘her lettuce’
	<i>kawu</i>	‘their lettuce’, etc.

If the noun is a loanword that has a final *-a* belonging to its base in the source languages, this *-a* may be retained when a suffix is added, e.g.

<i>mīla</i> ‘circumcision’	<i>mīlaef</i>	‘his circumcision’
<i>ḥoxma</i> ‘wisdom’	<i>ḥoxmaef</i>	‘his wisdom’

Pronominal suffixes may also be attached to some adverbs and quantifiers. In such cases the final *-a* vowel is retained before the suffix, e.g.

<i>lāxa</i> ‘here’	<i>lāxáu</i>	‘their here (= this place here on them)’
<i>rāba</i> ‘many’	<i>rābau</i>	‘their majority (= most of them)’

The 3ms. suffix *-ef* has developed from **-ew* by devoicing of the final **w*, the normal realization of which being a labio-dental. This in turn is derived historically from **-ayhu*, which is the form of the suffix that was originally added only to plural nouns. Its use has been extended also to singular nouns. The 3fs. suffix *-af* has arisen, it appears, by adding a /f/ element to an original *-a* by analogy with the 3ms. form. There are a few cases that may be interpreted as fossilized vestiges of the original form of the 3ms. suffix that was attached to singular nouns **-eh*. This applies, for example, to phrases containing the word *pālga* ‘half’, e.g. *yarxá-u pālge* ‘a month and a half’ (B:62), the original meaning being ‘one month and its half’. Another case may be the *-e* ending in the quantifier *kūle* ‘all’, e.g. *kūle ’apra* ‘all the soil’ (< **kull-eh bela* ‘all of it—the soil’). The *-e* on *kūle* was subsequently extended to all syntactic contexts (§8.9.2.). The final *-e* in the formulaic phrase *’alha la holane* ‘God fend’ may also be a 3ms. suffix in origin, literally: ‘God [be] not the doer of it (*holana + e*)’.

The 3pl. suffix *-u* is derived historically from **-hun* or **-hon*, the final /n/ being preserved in the variant form *-un*.

The variant 1pl. suffix *-ānī* appears to have development by analogy with the independent 1pl. personal pronoun *axnī*.

2.4. INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PRONOUN

There is a distinction in paradigm between the 3rd person forms, which are formed by combining the particle *d-* with the independent pronouns, and the 1st and 2nd person forms, which have the base *did-*:

3ms.	<i>d-o</i>
3fs.	<i>d-o</i>
3pl.	<i>d-oni</i>
2ms.	<i>didox</i>
2fs.	<i>didax</i>
2pl.	<i>didăxun</i>
1s.	<i>didī</i>
1pl.	<i>didan, didăni</i>

2.5. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

The word *noša* with pronominal suffixes is used in various contexts to express the sense of ‘oneself’. The full paradigm is as follows:

3ms.	<i>nóšef</i>
3fs.	<i>nóšaf</i>
3pl.	<i>nóšu</i>
2ms.	<i>nóšox</i>
2fs.	<i>nóšax</i>
2pl.	<i>nóšăxun</i>
1s.	<i>nóši</i>
1pl.	<i>nóšan, nošăni</i>

Note that the stress is regularly placed on the initial syllable throughout the paradigm, with the exception of the variant 1pl. form *nošaní*.

The reciprocal pronoun has the form *xle*, which is used in combination with the prepositions *l-* (*lăxle*) and *b-* (*băxle*), e.g.

- (1) *dăen lăxle*.¹ ‘They are hitting each other’.
- (2) *’oni-híyen băxle*¹ ‘They came together’.

2.6. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

<i>máni</i>	‘who?’
<i>ma</i>	‘what?’
<i>hema</i>	‘which?’

The final *-i* of *máni* often coalesces with the /y/ of the copula enclitic, e.g. *máni + ye?* > *mánye?* ‘Who is it?’

The form *ma* may take pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the sense ‘What (is it) to ...?’ The suffixes are separated from the base of the pronoun by the glide /y/ and the syllable /ay/ is reduplicated, resulting in the following forms:

3ms.	<i>mayayef</i>	‘What (is it) to him?’
3fs.	<i>mayayaf</i>	‘What (is it) to her?’
3pl.	<i>mayayu</i>	‘What (is it) to them?’ etc.
2ms.	<i>mayayox</i>	
2fs.	<i>mayayax</i>	
2pl.	<i>mayayăxun</i>	
1s.	<i>mayayi</i>	
1pl.	<i>mayayan, mayayăni</i>	

The form *hema* is invariable for gender and number, e.g. *hema gora?* ‘which man?’, *hema baxta?* ‘which woman?’, *hema naše?* ‘which people?’

3. VERBS

3.1. VERBAL STEMS

Verbs with trilateral roots are used in one of three stems with distinctive patterns of inflection. In addition to these there are a number of quadrilateral verbs, which belong to a single stem with the same pattern of inflection. We present below for each of these categories the various parts that are used in the formation of verbal forms. A distinction must be made between the bases of transitive active verbs, on the one hand, and those of intransitive and passive verbs, on the other, since intransitive and passive verbs have forms of the past base and resultative participle that are different from those of the transitive active verbs. There are also differences between transitive and intransitive verbs in the imperative bases. In other bases (present and infinitive) intransitive verbs are identical in pattern to transitive verbs. There are no passive bases apart from the past base and resultative participle.

Stem I

grš I 'to pull' (transitive)', *smx* 'to stand' (intransitive)'

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	<i>gārəš-</i>	<i>sāməx-</i>	—
Past base	<i>grəš-</i>	<i>smix-</i>	<i>griš-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>gərša</i>	<i>smixa</i>	<i>griša</i>
Imperative	<i>gruš ~ gārəš</i>	<i>smux</i>	—
Infinitive	<i>gəroše</i>	<i>səmoxe</i>	—

Stem II*zbn* I ‘to sell’ (transitive)’

	Transitive Active		Transitive Passive
Present base	<i>zābən-</i>		—
Past base	<i>zbən-</i>		<i>zbin-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>zəbna</i>		<i>zbina</i>
Imperative	<i>zābən</i>	—	
Infinitive	<i>zābone</i>	—	

Stem III*m-ršx* ‘to cause to walk’ (transitive), *m-skr* ‘to become lost’ (intransitive)

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	<i>marxəš-</i>	<i>maskər-</i>	—
Past base	<i>mərxəš-</i>	<i>məskir-</i>	<i>mərxiš-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>məršxa</i>	<i>məskira</i>	<i>mərxiša</i>
Imperative	<i>mārxəš</i>	<i>māskur</i>	—
Infinitive	<i>marxoše</i>	<i>maskore</i>	—

Quadriliteral*brbz* ‘to scatter’ (transitive and intransitive)

	Transitive Active	Intransitive	Transitive Passive
Present base	<i>barbəz-</i>	<i>barbəz-</i>	—
Past base	<i>bərbəz-</i>	<i>bərbiz-</i>	<i>bərbiz-</i>
Resultative participle	<i>bərbza</i>	<i>bərbiza</i>	<i>bərbiza</i>
Imperative	<i>bārbəz</i>	<i>bārbuz</i>	—
Infinitive	<i>barboze</i>	<i>barboze</i>	—

The verbal stems of earlier Aramaic have undergone considerable leveling. Stem I is derived historically from the *pəʿal* stem of earlier Aramaic, stem II from the *paʿel* and stem III from the *ʾapʿel*. Stem II has virtually merged in form with stem I, but the distinct pattern of imperative justifies identifying it as a separate stem. While the imperative patterns *CCuC* and *CāCəC* are used interchangeably in stem I verbs, the former being the more common, stem II verbs only have the imperative pattern *CāCəC*. This corre-

sponds to the historical pattern of the *pa^{ce}l* imperative, while *CCuC* is the historical pattern of the *pə^{al}* imperative. The set of historically *pa^{ce}l* verbs that exhibit this feature of the imperative are identical to stem I in all other patterns.

Stems I and III are distinguished by their consonantal pattern, but the vocalic patterns of the bases have been largely levelled across the two stems. The proto-NENA vocalism of the infinitive of stem I can be reconstructed as **CCaCa*. The pattern *CăCoCe* has arisen by analogy with that of stems II and III.

The distribution of the imperative patterns across the stems has undergone a certain amount of analogical change from the historical situation. As remarked, the *CăCəC* pattern is occasionally used with stem I verbs. This occurs as an optional alternative to the *CCuC* pattern and is restricted in principle to transitive verbs. Conversely, the historical stem I imperative pattern is normally used with intransitive stem III verbs with the addition of an epenthetic /ə/ vowel between the first two consonants (*măCCuC*). The historical stem III imperative pattern *măCCəC* is the only one used with transitive verbs. In quadriliteral verbs the imperative pattern *CăCCuC* is, in principle, used for intransitive verbs and *CăCCəC* for transitive verbs. In verbs that are used both transitively and intransitively, however, the imperative pattern *CăCCuC* is sometimes used also when the verb is transitive. This has arisen, presumably, by analogy with the *CCuC* pattern in transitive stem I verbs, e.g. *gruš*.

There are no direct descendants of the intransitive stems *ʔetpə^{el}*, *ʔetpa^{al}* and *ʔettaḫ^{al}*, the functions of which are now expressed by other verbal constructions. Some verbal roots, however, may preserve the /t/ element of these stems reanalysed as the initial radical of stem I, e.g. *tnx* 'to enjoy' (cf. Syriac *ʔettaniḫ* 'to be at rest, to be contented', the *ʔetpə^{el}* of *nwh*).

The *m-* prefix occurs in all forms of stem III, although in the *pa^{ce}l* and *ḫə^{el}* stems of earlier Aramaic it was a feature of the participles, the forebears of the present and past bases of the modern dialect, but did not occur in the imperative, nor did it regularly occur in the infinitive. In the modern dialect the prefix has been extended by analogy to all parts of the verb in stem III.

The lack of a prefixed *m-* in all parts of stem II and the quadriliteral verb is also an innovation of the J. Sanandaj dialect. Its elision is likely to be the result of a phonetic process due to its contact with the following consonant without an intervening vowel (**mzābən* > *zābən*, **mbarbəz* > *barbəz*).

3.2. INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

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

3.2.1. S-suffixes

These inflectional suffixes are attached to the present base of all verbs and to the intransitive and passive past bases in order to express the grammatical subject (S). They are used as inflections of the transitive past base in order to express the undergoer of the action.

	Default
3ms.	-∅
3fs.	-a
3pl.	-i
2ms	-et
2fs.	-at
2pl.	-etun
1ms.	-en
1fs.	-an, -ána
1pl.	-ex, -éxin

3.2.2. L-suffixes

These suffixes, which are historically a combination of the preposition *l-* and a pronominal suffix, are attached to the transitive past base in order to express the grammatical subject.

3ms.	-le
3fs.	-la
3pl.	-lu, -lun
2ms.	-lox
2fs.	-lax
2pl.	-lăxun
1s.	-li
1pl.	-lan

When the 3pl. suffix is followed by the conjunctive clitic *-u*, an /n/ element is sometimes inserted between the two vowels, i.e. *-lun-u*. This is a vestige of the final consonant of the original form of the suffix **-lhun* or **-hon*.

3.3. INFLECTION OF THE PRESENT BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES

This construction has a wide functional range including present progressive, present habitual, future and irrealis. These functions are examined in greater detail in §9.2.

3.3.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	<i>gārāš ~ gāreš</i>	‘He pulls’
3fs.	<i>garša</i>	‘She pulls’
3pl.	<i>garši</i>	‘They pull,’ etc.
2ms	<i>garšet</i>	
2fs.	<i>garšat</i>	
2pl.	<i>garšétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>gārāšna</i>	
1fs.	<i>garšan, garšána</i>	
1pl.	<i>garšex, garšéxin</i>	

Note that the /a/ vowel in the open syllable of the 3ms. and 1ms. forms is short. This is by analogy with the shortness of the /a/ vowels in closed syllables in the rest of the paradigm.

3.3.2. Stem II Verbs

3ms.	<i>pālət ~ pələt</i>	‘He takes out’
3fs.	<i>palta</i>	‘She takes out’
3pl.	<i>palti</i>	‘They take out,’ etc.
2ms	<i>paltet</i>	
2fs.	<i>paltat</i>	
2pl.	<i>paltétun</i>	

1ms.	<i>palátna</i>
1fs.	<i>palтан, palťána</i>
1pl.	<i>palťex, palťéxin</i>

3.3.3. Stem III Verbs

3ms.	<i>marxš ~ marxěš</i>	‘He makes walk’
3fs.	<i>marxša</i>	‘She makes walk’
3pl.	<i>marxši</i>	‘They make walk,’ etc.
2ms	<i>marxšet</i>	
2fs.	<i>marxšat</i>	
2pl.	<i>marxšétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>marxšna</i>	
1fs.	<i>marxšan, marxšána</i>	
1pl.	<i>marxšex, marxšéxin</i>	

3.3.4. Quadrilateral Verbs

3ms.	<i>barbəz ~ barbéz</i>	‘He scatters’
3fs.	<i>barbza</i>	‘She scatters’
3pl.	<i>barbzi</i>	‘They scatter,’ etc.
2ms	<i>barbzet</i>	
2fs.	<i>barbzat</i>	
2pl.	<i>barbzétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>barbážna</i>	
1fs.	<i>barbzán, barbzána</i>	
1pl.	<i>barbzex, barbžéxin</i>	

3.3.5. Verbs with Bases Ending in /n/ or /l/

When the last radical of the verbal base is /n/ or /l/, this is assimilated by the /n/ of the 1ms. suffix and the resulting gemination of /n/ is weakened in accordance with the usual rule (§1.4.). In stems I and II there is a consequent resyllabification and shift of stress to the first syllable, e.g.

<i>kápna</i>	‘I hunger’	< <i>kapánna</i> (<i>kpn</i>)
<i>šámna</i>	‘I become fat’	< <i>šamánna</i> (<i>šmn</i>)
<i>šáxnna</i>	‘I become hot’	< <i>šaxónna</i> (<i>šxn</i>)

<i>ṭáxna</i>	‘I grind’	< <i>ṭaxónna</i> (<i>ṭxn</i>)
<i>zábna</i>	‘I sell’	< <i>zabónna</i> (<i>zbn</i>)
<i>šáqna</i>	‘I buy’	< <i>šáqalna</i> (<i>šql</i>)

The uncontracted form *šáqalna* from the final /l/ verb *šql* is also used.

In stem III and quadriliteral verbs the original vowel and stress remain in place before the /n/, e.g.

<i>makpána</i>	‘I make hungry’	< <i>makpánna</i> (<i>m-kpn</i>)
<i>mašmána</i>	‘I make fat’	< <i>mašmánna</i> (<i>m-šmn</i>)
<i>mašxána</i>	‘I make hot’	< <i>mašxánna</i> (<i>m-šxn</i>)
<i>pažgána</i>	‘I scatter’	< <i>pažgánna</i> (<i>pžgn</i>)

3.4. INFLECTION OF THE INTRANSITIVE AND PASSIVE

PAST BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES

The S-suffixes are used to express the grammatical subject of intransitive or passive past bases. Such constructions express a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.). Unlike in the inflection of the present base, the stress remains on the vowel of the base before inflectional endings that are monosyllabic. Compare *sámáx* ‘He stands’, *samxá* ‘She stands’ with *smíx* ‘He stood’, *smíxa* ‘She stood’.

3.4.1. Stem I Verbs

In the 3ms. the stress is optionally retracted onto an epenthetic vowel after the first radical.

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>smíx</i> , <i>sámíx</i>	‘He stood up’
3fs.	<i>smíxa</i>	‘She stood up’
3pl.	<i>smíxi</i>	‘They stood up,’ etc.

2ms. *smíxet*

2fs. *smíxat*

2pl. *smíxetun*

1ms. *smíxna*

1fs. *smíxan*, *smíxána*

1pl. *smíxex*, *smíxexin*

Passive

3ms.	<i>grīš, góriš</i>	‘He was pulled’
3fs.	<i>grīša</i>	‘She was pulled’
3pl.	<i>grīši</i>	‘They were pulled,’ etc.

2ms.	<i>grīšet</i>
2fs.	<i>grīšat</i>
2pl.	<i>grīšetun</i>

1ms.	<i>grīšna</i>
1fs.	<i>grīšan, grīšāna</i>
1pl.	<i>grīšex, grīšexin</i>

3.4.2. Stem III Verbs

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>māskír</i>	‘He got lost’
3fs.	<i>māskíra</i>	‘She got lost’
3pl.	<i>māskíri</i>	‘They got lost,’ etc.

2ms.	<i>māskíret</i>
2fs.	<i>māskírat</i>
2pl.	<i>māskíretun</i>

1ms.	<i>māskírna</i>
1fs.	<i>māskíran, māskírāna</i>
1pl.	<i>māskírex, māskírexin</i>

Passive

3ms.	<i>mārxíš</i>	‘He was made to walk’
3fs.	<i>mārxíša</i>	‘She was made to walk’
3pl.	<i>mārxíši</i>	‘They were made to walk,’ etc.’

2ms.	<i>mārxíšet</i>
2fs.	<i>mārxíšat</i>
2pl.	<i>mārxíšetun</i>

1ms.	<i>mərxĩšna</i>
1fs.	<i>mərxĩšan, mərxĩšāna</i>
1pl.	<i>mərxĩšex, mərxĩšexin</i>

3.4.3. Quadrilateral Verbs

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>gəndír</i>	‘He rolled’
3fs.	<i>gəndíra</i>	‘She rolled’
3pl.	<i>gəndíri</i>	‘They rolled,’ etc.

2ms.	<i>gəndíret</i>
2fs.	<i>gəndírat</i>
2pl.	<i>gəndíretun</i>

1ms.	<i>gəndírna</i>
1fs.	<i>gəndíran, gəndírāna</i>
1pl.	<i>gəndírex, gəndírexin</i>

Passive

3ms.	<i>bərbíz</i>	‘He was scattered’
3fs.	<i>bərbízā</i>	‘She was scattered’
3pl.	<i>bərbízi</i>	‘They were scattered’, etc.’

2ms.	<i>bərbízet</i>
2fs.	<i>bərbízat</i>
2pl.	<i>bərbízetun</i>

1ms.	<i>bərbízna</i>
1fs.	<i>bərbízān, bərbízāna</i>
1pl.	<i>bərbízex, bərbízexin</i>

3.5. INFLECTION OF THE TRANSITIVE PAST BASE WITH S-SUFFIXES

The transitive past base of verbs may be inflected with S-suffixes in order to express the undergoer of the action. These are restricted to the 3rd person suffixes (3ms. -Ø, 3fs. -a, 3pl. -i). The agent is expressed by L-suffixes. The form has the basic function of a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.).

3.5.1. Stem I

The syllabification of the inflected transitive past base with S-suffix inflections differs from that of the inflected intransitive/passive past base:

3ms.	<i>gráš-le</i> (= <i>gráš-Ø-le</i>)	‘He pulled him’
3fs.	<i>garšá-le</i>	‘He pulled her’
3pl.	<i>garší-le</i>	‘He pulled them’

3.5.2. Stem II

3ms.	<i>plát-le</i> (= <i>plət-Ø-le</i>)	‘He brought him out’
3fs.	<i>pəltá-le</i>	‘He brought her out’
3pl.	<i>pəltí-le</i>	‘He brought them out’

3.5.3. Stem III

3ms.	<i>mərxáš-le</i> (= <i>mərxáš-Ø-le</i>)	‘He made him walk’
3fs.	<i>mərxšá-le</i>	‘He made her walk’
3pl.	<i>mərxší-le</i>	‘He made them walk’

3.5.4. Quadriliteral Verbs

3ms.	<i>bərbáz-le</i> (= <i>bərbəz-Ø-le</i>)	‘He scattered him’
3fs.	<i>bərbzá-le</i>	‘He scattered her’
3pl.	<i>bərbzí-le</i>	‘He scattered them’

3.6. INFLECTION OF THE TRANSITIVE PAST BASE WITH L-SUFFIXES

This inflection is used to express the agent of transitive verbs. The form has the basic function of a preterite with perfective aspect (§9.3.).

3.6.1. Stem I Verbs

3ms.	<i>grášle</i>	‘He pulled’
3fs.	<i>grášla</i>	‘She pulled’
3pl.	<i>grášlu</i>	‘They pulled,’ etc.

2ms. *grāšlox*
 2fs. *grāšlax*
 2pl. *grāšlāxcun*

1s. *grāšli*
 1pl. *grāšlan*

3.6.2. Stem II Verbs

3ms. *plátle* ‘He brought out’
 3fs. *plátla* ‘She brought out’
 3pl. *plátlu* ‘They brought out,’ etc.

2ms. *plátlox*
 2fs. *plátlax*
 2pl. *plátlāxcun*

1s. *plátli*
 1pl. *plátlan*

3.6.3. Stem III Verbs

3ms. *mārxāšle* ‘He caused to walk’
 3fs. *mārxāšla* ‘She caused to walk’
 3pl. *mārxāšlu* ‘They caused to walk,’ etc.

2ms. *mārxāšlox*
 2fs. *mārxāšlax*
 2pl. *mārxāšlāxcun*

1s. *mārxāšli*
 1pl. *mārxāšlan*

3.6.4. Quadrilateral Verbs

3ms. *bārbāzle* ‘He scattered’
 3fs. *bārbāzla* ‘She scattered’
 3pl. *bārbāzlu* ‘They scattered,’ etc.

2ms. *bərbázlox*
 2fs. *bərbázlax*
 2pl. *bərbázlāxun*

1s. *bərbázli*
 1pl. *bərbázlan*

3.6.5. Verbs with bases ending in /l/, /n/ or /r/

When the final radical of the verbal root is /l/, the gemination resulting from the combination of this with the L-suffix is reduced. In stems I and II the syllabification of the form is changed (§1.4.), e.g.

šql 'to buy':

3ms. *šáqlē* < *šqále < *šqállē
 3fs. *šáqla*
 3pl. *šáqlu*

2ms. *šáqlōx*
 2fs. *šáqlax*
 2pl. *šáqlāxun*

1s. *šáqli*
 1pl. *šáqlan*

When the last radical of the verbal base is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix assimilates to this and the gemination resulting from this is similarly reduced. In stems I and II there is consequential resyllabification of the vocalism of the stem:

zbn 'to sell'

3ms. *zábne* < *zábne < *zábnnē
 3fs. *zábna*
 3pl. *zábnu*

2ms. *zábnox*
 2fs. *zábnaḡ*
 2pl. *zábnaḡxun*

1s. *zábni*
 1pl. *zábnan*

phr 'to yawn'

3ms. *páhre* < **phære* < **phærre*

3fs. *páhra*

3pl. *páhru*

2ms. *páhrox*

2fs. *páhrax*

2pl. *páhrāxun*

1s. *páhri*

1pl. *páhran*

In stem III and quadriliteral verbs ending in these consonants the gemination resulting from the assimilation of the /l/ of the L-suffix is reduced without any resyllabification, e.g.

māšxāne 'He heated (tr.)' < **māšxānne* (*m-šxn*)

māpšāre 'He melted (tr.)' < **māpšārre* (*m-pšr*)

3.7. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

The use of different inflectional suffixes for the past bases of transitive and intransitive verbs is a feature that is shared by neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects in western Iranian Kurdistan and eastern Iraqi Kurdistan, e.g. the dialects of Kerend, Sāqəz, Bokan and Sulemaniyya.⁵ This represents an ergative type of syntax since in the expression of the same tense and aspect the subject of an intransitive verb has the same inflection as the object of a transitive verb (S-suffixes). The agent of transitive clauses, on the other hand, has a different inflection, namely by L-suffixes containing the preposition *l-*.

Another distinctive feature of this sub-group of NENA dialects is the existence of two past verbal bases with a different inflection and function (stems I and II *qtəl-*, *qtil-*; stem III *māqtəl-*, *māqtil-*). Both are derived historically from the passive participles of earlier Aramaic **qtil* (stem I), **muqtəl* < **muqtal* (stem III). The short vowel /ə/ in the stem I *qtəl-* base is likely to have arisen by analogy with the vowel in the corresponding position of the stem III *māqtəl-* base, which is historically short. Conversely, the long /i/ in

⁵ The sub-group of dialects with this type of verbal inflection was first brought to the attention of scholars by Simon Hopkins (1989) and Gideon Goldenberg (1992).

the stem III *məqtil-* base is likely to have developed by analogy with the vowel in the stem I *qtil-* base. The forms of past bases of stem II subsequently became assimilated to those of stem I. Some weak verbs have only one form of past base in each stem, which has a general function of expressing both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive.

In most NENA dialects the inflection with L-suffixes was extended to all verbs of the lexicon as a means of expressing the preterite. In some NENA dialects in which the L-suffix inflection has been generalized in the preterite, the S-suffix inflection of past bases has been retained to express the resultative perfect of intransitive verbs. This is the case, for example, in Jewish Urmi, in which a distinct intransitive past base inflected with S-suffixes has shifted from preterite to resultative perfect. As a result intransitive verbs have two past bases, one expressing the preterite, which is inflected with L-suffixes, and one expressing the resultative perfect, which is inflected with S-suffixes.

Jewish Urmi

	Transitive	Intransitive
Preterite	<i>grəšle</i> 'He pulled'	+ <i>dməxle</i> 'He went to sleep'
Perfect		+ <i>dmix</i> 'He has gone to sleep'

A similar survival of an intransitive past base with S-suffix inflection as an expression of a resultative perfect is found in some Jewish dialects in north-eastern Iraq, such as Rustaqa (Khan 2002b: 403-404) and Koy Sanjaq (Mutzafi 2004: 82, 105).

The same development has occurred in the north-western periphery of the NENA area. In Hertevin the S-suffix inflection of past bases is used to express the resultative perfect in intransitive verbs, as in Jewish Urmi, e.g. *dmeḥ* 'He has gone to sleep' (Jastrow 1988: 58-59). In the Bohtan dialect this resultative perfect construction has been extended by analogy to transitive verbs, e.g. *dmix* 'He has gone to sleep', *ptix* 'He has opened' (Fox 2009: 64).

The J. Sanandaj dialect and the neighbouring dialects with intransitive preterites inflected with S-suffixes use this construction also to express the preterite passive of transitive verbs. This type of passive usage of the intransitive past base is not found in the aforementioned dialects in which the base is used to express the intransitive resultative perfect rather than the preterite. In these dialects alternative periphrastic constructions are used to express the passive, e.g. J. Urmi +*qtila xdare* 'He was killed (literally: he became killed)' (Khan 2008a: §4.8.1.5., §10.11.1).

3.8. INFLECTION OF THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative has a singular and a plural form. The plural is formed by attaching the suffix *-mu* or its variant *-mun* to the singular. The stress is placed on the initial syllable in all forms.

3.8.1. Stem I Verbs

grš 'to pull', *smx* 'to stand'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	<i>gruš</i> ~ <i>gǎruš</i> <i>gǎrǎš</i>	<i>smux</i> ~ <i>sǎmux</i>
plural	<i>grúšmu(n)</i> ~ <i>gǎrušmu(n)</i> <i>gǎrǎšmu(n)</i>	<i>smúxmu(n)</i> ~ <i>sǎmuxmu(n)</i>

The pattern *gruš-* is the historical pattern of the *pa^{al}* stem. The imperative pattern *CǎCǎC-* has been extended by analogy with that of other stems. In the pattern with /u/, an alternative pattern with the /ǎ/ between the first two radicals has been transferred by analogy from the pattern of stem III and quadriliteral verbs, viz. *CǎCCuC* (§3.1.).

3.8.2. Stem II Verbs

Verbs in stem II are derived historically from *pa^{el}* forms (§3.1.). Their distinctive feature is that their imperative has only the pattern *CǎCǎC-* and never *CCuC-*. This applies, for example, to the verb *zbn* 'to sell', which is historically a *pa^{el}* form.

sing.	<i>zǎbǎn</i>
plural	<i>zǎbǎnmu(n)</i>

3.8.3. Stem III Verbs

m-rxš 'to make walk', *m-skr* 'to get lost'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	<i>márxǎš</i>	<i>mǎskur</i>
plural	<i>márxǎšmu(n)</i>	<i>mǎskurmu(n)</i>

3.8.4. Quadrilateral Verbs

brbz 'to scatter'

	Transitive	Intransitive
sing.	<i>bárbəz</i>	<i>bárbuz</i>
plural	<i>bárbəzmu(n)</i>	<i>bárbuzmu(n)</i>

3.9. INFLECTION OF THE RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLES

Each stem of verbs with strong radicals has two types of resultative participle, one being used with a transitive active function and the other with an intransitive or passive function. These correspond in vocalic pattern to the two corresponding past bases, e.g.

Stem I

	Past base	Resultative Participle
Transitive active	<i>gərš-</i>	<i>gərša</i>
Intransitive	<i>smix-</i>	<i>smixa</i>
Passive	<i>griš-</i>	<i>griša</i>

These resultative participles derive historically from the determined state of the passive participle in earlier Aramaic, whereas the past bases derive from the passive participles in the absolute state. The feminine singular is formed by attaching the ending *-ta* and the plural by attaching the ending *-e*, which are historically the endings of nominal forms in the determined state. In the case of the transitive participle, the attachment of the feminine suffix involves the rearrangement of the syllable structure. The vocalic pattern of the participles of stem II and III and of the quadrilateral participles has developed by analogy with that of the stem I participle. Some weak verbs have only one form of resultative participle in each stem, which has the general function of expressing both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive.

The transitive, intransitive and passive resultative participles are used in compound verbal forms expressing the resultative perfect (§3.12.). The intransitive and passive resultative participles may also be used as adjectival forms (§5.2. (6))

3.9.1. Stem I Verbs

grš 'to pull' (transitive), *smx* 'to stand' (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	<i>gərša</i>
fs.	<i>grāšta</i>
pl.	<i>gərše</i>

Intransitive

ms.	<i>smixa</i>
fs.	<i>smixta</i>
pl.	<i>smixe</i>

Passive

ms.	<i>grīša</i>
fs.	<i>grīšta</i>
pl.	<i>grīše</i>

3.9.2. Stem II Verbs

zbn 'to sell' (transitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	<i>zəbna</i>
fs.	<i>zbənta</i>
pl.	<i>zəbne</i>

Passive

ms.	<i>zbina</i>
fs.	<i>zbinta</i>
pl.	<i>zbine</i>

3.9.3. Stem III Verbs

m-rxš ‘to make walk’ (transitive), *m-skr* ‘to become lost’ (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	<i>məršxa</i>
fs.	<i>mərxəšta</i>
pl.	<i>mərxše</i>

Intransitive

ms.	<i>məskira</i>
fs.	<i>məskirta</i>
pl.	<i>məskire</i>

Passive

ms.	<i>mərxiša</i>
fs.	<i>mərxišta</i>
pl.	<i>mərxīše</i>

3.9.4. Quadrilateral Verbs

brbz ‘to scatter’ (transitive), *gndr* ‘to roll’ (intransitive)

Transitive Active

ms.	<i>bərbza</i>
fs.	<i>bərbəzta</i>
pl.	<i>bərbze</i>

Intransitive

ms.	<i>gəndira</i>
fs.	<i>gəndirta</i>
pl.	<i>gəndire</i>

Passive

ms.	<i>bərbiza</i>
fs.	<i>bərbizta</i>
pl.	<i>bərbize</i>

3.10. PARTICLES COMBINED WITH VERBAL FORMS

3.10.1. Indicative Particle

An indicative particle with the form *k-*, or occasionally its voiced variant *g-*, is prefixed to some verbs derived from the present base. This construction is restricted to a set of stem I verbs with /ʔ/ or /h/ as their first radical that includes ʔxl ‘to eat’, ʔmr ‘to say’ (§3.14.1.), ʔwl ‘to do’ (§3.14.8.), ʔzl ‘to go’ (§3.18.1.), ʔby ‘to want’ (§3.18.2.), ʔly ‘to know’ (§3.18.3.), hwl ‘to give’ (§3.18.4.), hyy ‘to come’ (§3.18.5.) and hwy ‘to be’ (§3.18.7.).

3.10.2. Deontic Particles

A wish may be expressed by combining the deontic particles *mar* or *ba-* with a present base verb, e.g.

mar-gārəš ‘May he pull, let him pull’
ba-šāqəl ‘May he buy, let him buy’

In the set of verbs that mark a formal distinction between realis and irrealis, these particles are followed by the irrealis form, e.g.

mar-ʔāxəl ‘May he eat, let him eat’ (ʔxl ‘to eat’).
ba-ʔāxəl

3.10.3. Past Converter Suffix *-wa*

The particle *-wa*, a fossilized form of the verb form **hwā* in earlier Aramaic, is suffixed to verbs derived from present and past bases. For more details concerning the function of these verbal constructions see §9.2.2. and §9.3.2.

3.10.3.1. Present Base Verbs

The /e/ of the inflectional endings *-et* (2ms.), *-en* (1ms.) and *-ex* (1pl.) is sometimes centralized to the region of /ə/ when this suffix is attached. The alternative long form of 1pl. suffix *-exin* is not used before *-wa*.

3ms.	<i>gārəšwa</i>	‘He used to pull’
3fs.	<i>garšáwa</i>	‘She used to pull’
3pl.	<i>garšíwa</i>	‘They used to pull,’ etc.

2ms.	<i>garšétwa ~ garšátwa</i>
2fs.	<i>garšátwa</i>
2pl.	<i>garšétunwa</i>
1ms.	<i>gārāšnawa</i>
1fs.	<i>garšánwa</i>
1pl.	<i>garšéxwa ~ garšáxwa</i>

3.10.3.2. Transitive Past Base Verbs

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

3ms.	<i>grášwale</i>	‘He had pulled’
3fs.	<i>grášwala</i>	‘She had pulled’
3pl.	<i>grášwalu</i>	‘They had pulled,’ etc.
2ms.	<i>grášwalox</i>	
2fs.	<i>grášwalax</i>	
2pl.	<i>grášwaláxun</i>	
1s.	<i>gráštwali</i>	
1pl.	<i>grášwalan</i>	

3.10.3.3. Intransitive/Passive Past Base Verbs

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>smíxwa</i>	‘He had stood up’
3fs.	<i>smíxawa</i>	‘She had stood up’
3pl.	<i>smíxiwa</i>	‘They had stood up,’ etc.
2ms.	<i>smíxətwa</i>	
2fs.	<i>smíxatwa</i>	
2pl.	<i>smixétunwa</i>	
1ms.	<i>smíxnawa</i>	
1fs.	<i>smíxanwa</i>	
1pl.	<i>smíxəxwa</i>	

Passive

3ms.	<i>grīšwa</i>	‘He had been pulled’
3fs.	<i>grīšawa</i>	‘She had been pulled’
3pl.	<i>grīšiwa</i>	‘They had been pulled,’ etc.
2ms.	<i>grīšatwa</i>	
2fs.	<i>grīšatwa</i>	
2pl.	<i>grīšétunwa</i>	
1ms.	<i>grīšnawa</i>	
1fs.	<i>grīšanwa</i>	
1pl.	<i>grīšaxwa</i>	

3.11. THE COPULA**3.11.1. Present Copula**

Clauses with a predicate that is a nominal or preposition phrase generally contain a copula that is cliticized to the end of the predicate item. This has a base consisting of the element /y/. The dialect uses a present and past copula. The present copula has the inflectional endings of final /y/ verbs (§3.14.5.):

3ms.	-ye
3fs.	-ya
3pl.	-yen
2ms.	-yet
2fs.	-yat
2pl.	-yetun
1ms.	-yena
1fs.	-yan
1pl.	-yex

Informant B sometimes uses a variant of the 3pl. form with final *-yeni*.

The forms of the copula in the paradigm above are used when the predicate to which they are attached ends in a consonant, e.g.

3ms.	<i>nǎxóš-ye</i>	‘He is ill’
3fs.	<i>nǎxóš-ya</i>	‘She is ill’
3pl.	<i>nǎxóš-yen</i>	‘They are ill’, etc.
2ms.	<i>nǎxóš-yet</i>	
2fs.	<i>nǎxóš-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>nǎxóš-yetun</i>	
1ms.	<i>nǎxóš-yena</i>	
1fs.	<i>nǎxóš-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>nǎxóš-yex</i>	

The full forms of the copula enclitics are also retained when the predicate ends in the high vowels /i/ or /u/, e.g.

<i>bǎruxí-ye</i>	‘He is my friend’
<i>baxtí-ya</i>	‘She is my wife’
<i>yalí-yen</i>	‘They are my children’
<i>bǎruxú-ye</i>	‘He is their friend’
<i>xǎlastí-ya</i>	‘She is their sister’

The /i/ at the end of the predicate in such contexts is occasionally elided, especially when unstressed, e.g.

<i>mánye?</i>	‘Who is it?’ (< <i>máni-ye</i>)
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When the copula is attached to a word ending in /e/, the /y/ of the copula is usually completely contracted when it is followed by an inflectional ending beginning with /e/, but remains uncontracted when the copula contains the vowel /a/, e.g.

<i>’ana reša garena</i>	‘I (m.) am on the roof’ (< <i>gare-yena</i>)
<i>’āt reša garet</i>	‘You (ms.) are on the roof’ (< <i>gare-yet</i>)
<i>’ana reša gare-yan</i>	‘I (f.) am on the roof’ (< <i>gare-yena</i>)
<i>’āt reša gare-yat</i>	‘You (fs.) are on the roof’ (< <i>gare-yet</i>)

The 3ms. form is exceptional, in that in such circumstances it is replaced by the form *-le*. This preserves the original /l/ element of the copula in order to prevent its complete elision, e.g.

<i>’o reša garele</i>	‘He is on the roof’
<i>’o bāšolele</i>	‘That is cooking’ (<i>bāšole</i>)

The /l/ element appears in the 3ms. copula also after a predicate ending in *-o*, e.g.

ʼay bela d-ole ‘This house is his’ (*d-o*)

When the predicate ends in the vowel /a/, the /y/ of the enclitic is contracted when the first vowel of the copula is /e/. This applies to the masculine singular and plural enclitics. The only exception is the 3ms. form, in which the /y/ is not contracted, but the following /e/ is generally elided. The /y/ is not contracted in the sequence /aya/ that arises from the attachment of the feminine forms. The /a/ vowel before the /y/ is, however, generally raised to the region of /e/ under the influence of the following /y/. The full paradigm of the copula enclitics attached to the word *lǎxa* ‘here’ is as follows:

3ms.	<i>lǎxá-y</i>	‘He is here’
3fs.	<i>lǎxé-ya</i>	‘She is here’
3pl.	<i>lǎxén</i>	‘They are here’, etc.
2ms.	<i>lǎxét</i>	
2fs.	<i>lǎxé-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>lǎxétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>lǎxéna</i>	
1fs.	<i>lǎxé-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>lǎxéx</i>	

3.11.2. Past Copula

The past equivalent of this enclitic copula is formed from the base *ye-* inflected by the L-series suffixes:

3ms.	<i>-yele</i>
3fs.	<i>-yela</i>
3pl.	<i>-yelu</i>
2ms.	<i>-yelox</i>
2fs.	<i>-yelax</i>
2pl.	<i>-yelǎxun</i>
1s.	<i>-yeli</i>
1pl.	<i>-yelan</i>

This past form, like the present form, is attached to the end of the predicate complement as an enclitic, e.g.

<i>nǎxóš-yele</i>	‘He was ill’
<i>bǎruxí-yele</i>	‘He was my friend’
<i>bǎruxí-yele</i>	‘He was their friend’
<i>lǎxá-yele</i>	‘He was here’
<i>‘ayzé-yelu</i>	‘They were good’

The form is sometimes contracted when the predicate ends in the vowel /e/, in that the sequence /eye/ is reduced to /e/, e.g.

<i>‘ayzélu</i>	‘They were good’ (< <i>‘ayze-yelu</i>)
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3.11.3. Dative Copula

In addition to the regular copula, a further type of copula can be identified in phrases containing L-suffixes. In such phrases the copula element has the invariable form *la-*, which is not inflected for person or number:

3ms.	<i>lale</i>
3fs.	<i>lala</i>
3pl.	<i>lalu</i>
2ms.	<i>lalox</i>
2fs.	<i>lalax</i>
2pl.	<i>lalǎxun</i>
1s.	<i>lali</i>
1pl.	<i>lalan</i>

The past of this copula expression is formed by inserting the particle *wa* before the L-suffix. The *la-* element is optionally omitted:

3ms.	<i>lawale</i>	<i>wale</i>
3fs.	<i>lawala</i>	<i>wala</i>
3pl.	<i>lawalu</i>	<i>walu</i>
2ms.	<i>lawalox</i>	<i>walox</i>
2fs.	<i>lawalax</i>	<i>walax</i>
2pl.	<i>lawalǎxun</i>	<i>walǎxun</i>
1s.	<i>lawali</i>	<i>wali</i>
1pl.	<i>lalan</i>	<i>walan</i>

This copula phrase with L-suffixes has a restricted functional distribution. It is used after the interrogative *m-leka* ‘from where?’ in constructions such as the following:

*ʔaná puḷé mən-ləka lalí háwna ta-didóx?*¹ ‘From where do I have money to give to you?’

*ʔaná puḷé mən-ləka walí háwna ta-didóx?*¹ ‘From where did I have the money to give to you?’

The phrase is used also with the resultative participle of the verb *xØr* ‘to become’ *xira* + *lale* > *xírlale*, the final /a/ of the participle being elided:

xírlale ‘It has become to him’ (= He has acquired it, he has experienced it)

xírlawale ‘It had become to him’ (= He had acquired it, he had experienced it)

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *bratulà xirlála*¹ ‘She had girlness (= she was a virgin girl).’ (A:50)
- (2) *hič-kas ʔql-e Šlómo ha-mélex lá xírlale*¹ ‘Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon.’ (A:92)

The copula element in these constructions has a realis modality, either in the present or the past. In order to express irrealis it must be replaced by forms of the verb *hwy*, e.g.

*ʔaná puḷé mən-léka háwéwali háwna ta-didóx?*¹ ‘From where would I have money to give to you?’

A special irrealis form of the dative copula is, however, used when it is attached to the resultative participle of *xØr*:

xírláwelale ‘It may have become to him (= he may have acquired)’

xírláwelala ‘It may have become to her (= she may have acquired)’

xírláwelalu ‘It may have become to them (= they may have acquired)’

The element *la-* is likely to be a fossilized form of a 3fs. copula form **ila*. 3rd person copulas with /l/ are commonly attested in the NENA dialects. The form *la-* can be compared to the fossilized 3fs. copula particle *lā* which is used before verbal bases in some Jewish NENA dialects that were spoken in north-eastern Iraq. In the J. Arbel and J. Ruwanduz dialects, the *lā* particle is combined with the present and past bases. These compound forms are

used predominantly to express the progressive and present perfect (Khan 1999: 111-114):

<i>lā gārəš</i>	‘He is pulling’
<i>lā grəšle</i>	‘He has pulled’

In Jewish Rustaqa and Jewish Ruwanduz the particle is used before an infinitive base to express the progressive (Khan 2002b: 407):

<i>lā gāroša</i>	‘He is pulling’
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In Jewish Rustaqa the particle is combined with an intransitive past base inflected with S-suffixes to express a present perfect, the preterite being inflected with L-suffixes without the particle:

<i>lā qim</i>	‘He has arisen’
<i>qamle</i>	‘He arose’

The *lā* particle is also found in the Christian dialect of Bədyəl (north-eastern Iraq), where it functions as an invariable 3rd person copula:

<i>’awən lā kpina</i>	‘He is hungry’
<i>’ayən lā kpinta</i>	‘She is hungry’
<i>’ani lā kpine</i>	‘They are hungry’

In C. Bədjəl the *lā* copula is combined with the resultative participle to form present perfect constructions:

<i>lā ’əčča</i>	‘He has come’
<i>lā čita</i>	‘She has come’
<i>lā ’əčče</i>	‘They have come’

3.12. COMPOUND VERBAL FORMS CONTAINING THE VERB ‘TO BE’

3.12.1. Realis Perfect

The realis resultative perfect is expressed by a compound construction consisting of the resultative participle combined with the present enclitic copula. This construction is available for all persons in intransitive or passive verbs, expressed by the intransitive/passive base:

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>smixá-y</i>	‘He has stood up’
3fs.	<i>smixté -ya</i>	‘She has stood up’
3pl.	<i>smixén</i>	‘They have stood up’, etc.
2ms.	<i>smixét</i>	
2fs.	<i>smixté-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>smixétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>smixéna</i>	
1fs.	<i>smixté-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>smixéx</i>	

Passive

3ms.	<i>grišá-y</i>	‘He has been pulled’
3fs.	<i>grišté -ya</i>	‘She has been pulled’
3pl.	<i>grišén</i>	‘They have been pulled’, etc.
2ms.	<i>grišét</i>	
2fs.	<i>grišté-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>grišétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>grišéna</i>	
1fs.	<i>grišté-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>grišéx</i>	

Note that the stress position alone distinguishes the 2ms and 1pl. forms from the corresponding inflections of the intransitive/passive past base with S-suffixes:

<i>smixét</i>	‘He has stood up’	<i>smíxet</i>	‘He stood up’
<i>smixéx</i>	‘We have stood up’	<i>smíxex</i>	‘We stood up’

With transitive active resultative participles this perfect construction is only available where the agent of the transitive action is 3rd person. The copula cliticized to the resultative participle does not agree with this agent, but rather with the undergoer of the action, analogously to the inflection of the transitive past base with S-suffixes (§3.5.). However, unlike the construction with the transitive past base, in which the agent is marked by L-suffixes, in the resultative perfect construction the agent has zero marking. There is, therefore, no specific marking of the agent as ms., fs. or pl.

<i>gəršá-y</i>	‘He has pulled (him)’ ‘She has pulled (him)’ ‘They have pulled (him)’
<i>grš-le</i>	‘He pulled (him)’
<i>gršté-ya</i>	‘He has pulled her’ ‘She has pulled her’ ‘They have pulled her’
<i>gəršále</i>	‘He pulled her’
<i>gəršén</i>	‘He has pulled them’ ‘She has pulled them’ ‘They have pulled them’
<i>gəršíle</i>	‘He pulled them’

As is the case with the 3ms. transitive past base, the construction with the ms. resultative participle and 3ms. copula *gəršá-y* may either express specifically a ms. undergoer that is anaphorically bound to the context or may be used in a neutral sense without denoting any specific undergoer.

The resultative participle is not combined with the past copula.

For further details concerning the syntax of compound verbal constructions see §9.8.

3.12.2. Irrealis Perfect

An irrealis resultative perfect may be formed by combined the irrealis form of the verb *hwy* ‘to be’ (§3.18.7.) with the resultative participle. The final vowel of the participle and the initial /h/ of the inflected form of *hwy* are elided when the two forms are bonded together. This construction is available for all persons with intransitive/passive compound forms with intransitive/passive resultative participles. The stress remains on the final syllable of the participle:

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>smixáwe</i>	‘He may have stood up’	< <i>smixá-hawe</i>
3fs.	<i>smixtáwya</i>	‘She may have stood up’	< <i>smixtá-hawya</i>
3pl.	<i>smixáwen</i>	‘They may have stood up’	< <i>smixé-hawen</i> , etc.

2ms. *smixáwet*
 2fs. *smixtáwyat*
 2pl. *smixáwetun*

1ms. *smixáwena*
 1fs. *smixtáwyan*
 1pl. *smixáwex*

Passive

3ms. *grišáwe* 'He may have been pulled'
 3fs. *grištáwya* 'She may have been pulled'
 3pl. *grišáwen* 'They may have been pulled', etc.

2ms. *grišáwet*
 2fs. *grištáwyat*
 2pl. *grišáwetun*

1ms. *grišáwena*
 1fs. *grištáwyan*
 1pl. *grišáwex*

In constructions with transitive active resultative participles the inflected forms of *hwy* agree with the undergoer of the action and they are restricted to the 3rd person. Unlike the realis form of the transitive perfect, however, the agent is explicitly marked in the irrealis form with L-suffixes. This has arisen by analogy with the L-suffix inflection of the past base. As is the case with the past base inflection, the L-suffixes mark the agent of all persons:

gəršáwele 'He may have pulled (him)' < *gərša-háwe-le*
grəštáwyale 'He may have pulled her' < *grəšta-hawya-le*
gəršáwenile 'He may have been pulled them' < *gərše-háweni-le*

gəršáwela 'She may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwýala 'She may have pulled her'
gəršáwenila 'She may have pulled them'

gəršáwelu 'They may have pulled (him)'
grəštáwýalu 'They may have pulled her'
gəršáwenilu 'They may have pulled them'

gəršáweloχ ‘You (ms.) may have pulled (him)’
grəštáwyaloχ ‘You (ms.) may have pulled her’
gəršáweniloχ ‘You (ms.) may have pulled them’

gəršáwelax ‘You (fs.) may have pulled (him)’
grəštáwyalax ‘You (fs.) may have pulled her’
gəršáwenilax ‘You (fs.) may have pulled them’

gəršáwelāχun ‘You (pl.) may have pulled (him)’
grəštáwyalāχun ‘You (pl.) may have pulled her’
gəršáwenilāχun ‘You (pl.) may have pulled them’

gəršáweli ‘I may have pulled (him)’
grəštáwyalī ‘I may have pulled her’
gəršáwenilī ‘I may have pulled them’

gəršáwelan ‘We may have pulled (him)’
grəštáwyalan ‘We may have pulled her’
gəršáwenilan ‘We may have pulled them’

Summary of the alignment of the inflectional elements:

	Undergoer		Agent
Realis Perfect	<i>gərša-y</i>	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	∅
Irrealis Perfect	<i>gəršáwe-</i>	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	L-suffix
Past Base	<i>grəš-</i>	Unspecified ~ Specified 3ms	L-suffix
Realis Perfect	<i>grəšte-ya</i>	Specified 3fs	∅
Irrealis Perfect	<i>grəštawya-</i>	Specified 3fs	L-suffix
Past Base	<i>gərša-</i>	Specified 3fs	L-suffix
Realis Perfect	<i>gəršen</i>	Specified 3pl	∅
Irrealis Perfect	<i>gəršeni-</i>	Specified 3pl	L-suffix
Past Base	<i>gərši-</i>	Specified 3pl	L-suffix

3.12.3. Evidential Perfect

A further type of perfect construction is available, which may be termed the evidential perfect. This is used to express a situation that the speaker has heard by report but has not witnessed directly (§9.8.2., §9.9.3.). It is formed by replacing the copula of the realis perfect construction by the compound form of the verb *xØr*.

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>smixá-xira-y</i>	‘He has stood up (reportedly)’
3fs.	<i>smixtá-xirte-ya</i>	‘She has stood up (reportedly)’
3pl.	<i>smixé-xiren</i>	‘They have stood up (reportedly)’
2ms.	<i>smixá-xiret</i>	
2fs.	<i>smixtá-xirte-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>smixé-xiretun</i>	
1ms.	<i>smixá-xirena</i>	
1fs.	<i>smixtá-xirte-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>smixé-xirex</i>	

Passive

3ms.	<i>grišá-xira-y</i>	‘He has been pulled (reportedly)’
3fs.	<i>grištá-xirte-ya</i>	‘She has been pulled (reportedly)’
3pl.	<i>grišé-xiren</i>	‘They have been pulled (reportedly)’
2ms.	<i>grišá-xiret</i>	
2fs.	<i>grištá-xirte-yat</i>	
2pl.	<i>grišé-xiretun</i>	
1ms.	<i>grišá-xirena</i>	
1fs.	<i>grištá-xirte-yan</i>	
1pl.	<i>grišé-xirex</i>	

Transitive

3ms.	<i>gəršá-xira-y</i>	‘He has pulled (him) (reportedly)’
		‘She has pulled (him) (reportedly)’
		‘They have pulled (him) (reportedly)’

3fs.	<i>grāštá-xirte-ya</i>	‘He has pulled her (reportedly)’ ‘She has pulled her (reportedly)’ ‘They have pulled her (reportedly)’
3pl.	<i>gəršé-xiren</i>	‘He has pulled them’ (reportedly)’ ‘She has pulled them’ (reportedly)’ ‘They have pulled them’ (reportedly)’

3.13. NEGATION OF VERBAL FORMS

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

Present base verbs

<i>lá gārāš</i>	‘He is not pulling’
<i>lá gārāšwa</i>	‘He was not pulling’

Past base verbs

<i>lá grāšle</i>	‘He did not pull’
<i>lá smíc</i>	‘He did not stand’
<i>lá grš</i>	‘He was not pulled’
<i>lá grāšwale</i>	‘He had not pull’
<i>lá smícwa</i>	‘He had not stood’
<i>lá gršwa</i>	‘He had not been pulled’

Imperatives

<i>lá grúš!</i>	‘Do not pull (sing.)!’
<i>lá grúšmu(n)!</i>	‘Do not pull (pl.)!’

The negative particle *la* is combined with preverbal particles that are used before verbs derived from the present base, viz. the indicative particle *k-* and the deontic particle *mar*. The negator precedes the *k-*, which is closely bonded to the verbal base, e.g.

<i>la kmər</i>	‘He does not say’
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It is, however, placed after the deontic particle, e.g.

<i>mar la gārāš</i>	‘May he not pull’
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The present and past copula are likewise negated with *la*. There is no special ‘negative’ copula as is found in some NENA dialects. When the particle *la* is combined with the present copula, the sequence /*aye*/ contracts to /*e*/, as is the general rule when the present copula is cliticized to a word

ending in /a/ (§3.11.1.). The sequence /aya/ remains uncontracted, but the first /a/ is usually raised to the quality of /e/:

3ms.	<i>la-y</i>
3fs.	<i>lé-ya</i>
3pl.	<i>len</i>
2ms.	<i>let</i>
2fs.	<i>lé-yat</i>
2pl.	<i>létun</i>
1ms.	<i>léna</i>
1fs.	<i>lé-yan</i>
1pl.	<i>lex</i>

The negation of the past copula does not involve contractions:

3ms.	<i>lá-yele</i>
3fs.	<i>lá-yela</i>
3pl.	<i>lá-yelu</i>
2ms.	<i>lá-yelox</i>
2fs.	<i>lá-yelax</i>
2pl.	<i>lá-yelăxun</i>
1s.	<i>lá-yeli</i>
1pl.	<i>lá-yelan</i>

Compound verbal forms consisting of a resultative participle and a cliticized copula or a form of the verb *hwy* (§3.18.7.) are negated by placing the particle *la* before the entire unit rather than before the part of the verb ‘to be’:

<i>la smixa-y</i>	‘He has not stood up;
<i>la griša-y</i>	‘He has not been pulled’
<i>la gərša-y</i>	‘He has not pulled (him)’
	‘She has not pulled (him)’
	‘They have not pulled (him)’
<i>la smixáwe</i>	‘He may not have stood up;
<i>la grišáwe</i>	‘He may not have been pulled’

<i>la gəršāwele</i>	‘He may not have pulled (him)’ ‘She may not have pulled (him)’ ‘They may not have pulled (him)’
<i>la smixá-xira-y</i>	‘He has not stood up (reportedly)’
<i>la grišá-xira-y</i>	‘He has not been pulled (reportedly)’
<i>la gəršá-xira-y</i>	‘He has not pulled (him) (reportedly)’ ‘She has not pulled (him) (reportedly)’ ‘They have not pulled (him) (reportedly)’

3.14. WEAK VERBS IN STEM I

3.14.1. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (1)

Verbs in this category that have stable second and third radicals include ʔxl ‘to eat’ and ʔmr ‘to say’. Other verbs in this category that have additional weak radicals or exhibit irregularities include ʔwl ‘to do’ (§3.14.8.), ʔzl ‘to go’ (§3.18.1.), ʔby ‘to want’ (§3.18.2.), ʔly ‘to know’ (§3.18.3.) and ‘to come’ (§3.18.5.).

A feature that is exclusive to primae /ʔ/ (1) verbs and the initial /h/ verb *hwy* (§3.18.7.) is the survival of the initial indicative particle *k-* in the present base. In the verbs ʔxl and ʔmr it replaces the initial vowel of the base, e.g. *kxəl* ‘He eats’ < **k-ʔaxəl*. The form without the prefix expresses the irrealis mood. Another distinctive feature of the class is the elision of the first radical in patterns where this clusters with the second radical (i.e. ʔC- > C-).

3.14.1.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

The initial laryngal stop /ʔ/ in these inflections of the verb ʔmr has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/, whereas it is retained in the verb ʔxl.

3ms.	ʔǎxəl	<i>hǎmər</i>
3fs.	ʔaxla	<i>hamra</i>
3pl.	ʔaxli	<i>hamri</i>

The initial /h/ in ʔmr has apparently arisen by analogy with historically initial /h/ verbs that elide the /h/ before a *k-* prefix, e.g.

<i>kwəl</i>	'He gives'	<i>kmər</i>	'He says'
<i>hǎwəl</i>	'May he give'	<i>hǎmər</i>	'May he say'

The final radical of these verbs assimilates to the /n/ of the 1ms. inflection *-na*. The gemination of the /n/ arising from this is reduced and there is consequential resyllabification resulting in the forms:

1ms.	<i>'axna</i>	< * <i>'aməna</i>	< * <i>'amənnna</i>	< * <i>'amərna</i>
	<i>hamna</i>	< * <i>'aməna</i>	< * <i>'amənnna</i>	< * <i>'amərna</i>

(ii) *Realis*

3ms.	<i>kxəl</i>	<i>kmər</i>
3fs.	<i>kəxla</i>	<i>kəmra</i>
3pl.	<i>kəxli</i>	<i>kəmri</i>
1ms.	<i>kəxna</i>	<i>kəmna</i>

3.14.1.2. Past Base

Both verbs are treated as transitive verbs and so the active subject inflection of their past base is expressed by L-suffixes. The initial syllable of the past base is elided. Unlike strong transitive verbs, there is no formal distinction between the active and passive base. One past base is used for both active and passive preterite, the subject of the former expressed by L-suffixes and the subject of the latter by S-suffixes. The vowel after the second radical of this past base has a long /i/:

3ms.	<i>xil-</i>	<i>mir-</i>
3fs.	<i>xila-</i>	<i>mira-</i>
3pl.	<i>xili-</i>	<i>miri-</i>

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical of each of the verbs. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced, resulting in the forms:

<i>xile</i>	'He ate'	< * <i>xille</i>
<i>xila</i>	'She ate'	< * <i>xilla</i>
<i>xilu</i>	'They ate'	< * <i>xillu</i>
<i>mire</i>	'He said'	< * <i>mirre</i>
<i>mira</i>	'She said'	< * <i>mirra</i>
<i>miru</i>	'They said'	< * <i>mirru</i>

Examples of the use of the past base to express the passive:

<i>xil</i>	‘He was eaten’	< * <i>xille</i>
<i>xīla</i>	‘She was eaten’	< * <i>xilla</i>
<i>xīli</i>	‘They were eaten’	< * <i>xillu</i>

3.14.1.3. Resultative Participle

One form of resultative participle is used to express the transitive active and passive. As in the past base, the vowel after the second radical is /i/:

ms.	<i>xila</i>	<i>mira</i>
fs.	<i>xīla</i>	<i>mīra</i>
pl.	<i>xile</i>	<i>mire</i>

3.14.1.4. Imperative

The imperative of *ʾxl* has the regular pattern for stem I with elision of the first syllable:

sing.	<i>xul</i>
pl.	<i>xúlmun</i>

The verb *ʾmr* has /a/ instead of /u/ in its imperative forms:

sing.	<i>mar</i>
pl.	<i>máru(n)</i>

3.14.1.5. Infinitive

The infinitive has the regular pattern:

<i>ʾăxole</i>	<i>ʾămore</i>
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Variant forms of the infinitive exist with the initial syllable replaced by *k-* by analogy with the indicative inflection of the present base:

<i>kxole</i>	<i>kmore</i>
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These are only used in combination with the indicative *k-* form of the verb in constructions such as *kxole kxəl* ‘He is eating’, *kmore kmər* ‘He is saying’, which express a progressive aspect (§9.16.2.1.).

3.14.2. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (2)

A second class of initial /ʔ/ verbs conforms to the patterns of strong verbs. They do not exhibit the distinctive features of the first class, namely the inflection of the indicative with a prefixed *k-/g-* particle and the elision of the

/ʔ/ in initial clusters. The initial cluster ʔC- is regularly split by an epenthetic vowel, which is not indicated in the transcription.

Verbs in this category include ʔrq ‘to flee, to run’ (intr.), ʔsq ‘to go up’ (intr.), ʔsr ‘to bind, to close’ (tr.) and ʔzl ‘to spin (wool)’ (tr.).

3.14.2.1. Present

The initial /ʔ/ does not interchange with /h/ as in initial /ʔ/ verbs of class (1):

ʔsr ‘to bind’ (tr.), ʔsq ‘to go up’ (intr.)

3ms.	ʔǎsər	ʔǎsəq
3fs.	ʔasra	ʔasqa
3pl.	ʔasri	ʔasqi
1ms.	ʔǎsərna	ʔǎsəqna

3.14.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	ʔsər-
3fs.	ʔasra-
3pl.	ʔasri-

Examples: ʔsrali ‘I bound her’, ʔsrili ‘I bound them’.

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base of the verbs ʔsr and ʔzl, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced with consequential resyllabification, resulting in the forms:

ʔasre	‘He bound’	< *ʔsərre	ʔəzle	‘He span’	< *ʔzəlle
ʔasra	‘She bound’	< *ʔsərri	ʔəzla	‘She span’	< *ʔzəlla
ʔasru	‘They bound’	< *ʔsərri	ʔəzlu	‘They span’	< *ʔzəllu

3.14.2.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

ʔsiq-	ʔsir-
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Examples:

ʔsiq	‘He went up’	ʔsir	‘He was bound’
ʔsiqa	‘She went up’	ʔsira	‘She was bound’
ʔsiqi	‘They went up’	ʔsiri	‘They were bound’
ʔsiqna	‘I went up’	ʔsirna	‘I was bound’

In the verb ʔrq ‘to run’ the initial /ʔ/ is elided in the past base:

<i>riq</i>	‘He ran’
<i>riqa</i>	‘She ran’
<i>riqi</i>	‘They ran’
<i>riqna</i>	‘I ran’

3.14.2.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>’asra</i>
fs.	<i>’sarta</i>
pl.	<i>’asre</i>

3.14.2.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>’siqa</i>	<i>’sira</i>
fs.	<i>’siqta</i>	<i>’sirta</i>
pl.	<i>’siqe</i>	<i>’sire</i>

3.14.2.6. Imperative

The stress is generally retracted to the epenthetic vowel after the first radical, which is marked here in the transcription:

sing.	<i>’<u>sur</u></i>	<i>’<u>suq</u></i>
pl.	<i>’<u>sur</u>mu(n)</i>	<i>’<u>suq</u>mu(n)</i>

3.14.2.7. Infinitive

<i>’<u>asore</u></i>	<i>’<u>asoqe</u></i>
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3.14.3. Verba Primae /y/

This category includes the verb *ylp* ‘to learn’ (tr. and intr.), *yql* ‘to burn’ (intr.), *yrc* ‘to become green’ and *yrx* ‘to become long, tall’ (intr.).

3.14.3.1. Present

ylp ‘to learn’ (tr.), *yrx* ‘to become long’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>y^hl^hp</i>	<i>y^hr^hx</i>
3fs.	<i>y^hal^hpa</i>	<i>y^har^hxa</i>
3pl.	<i>y^hal^hpi</i>	<i>y^har^hxi</i>
1ms.	<i>y^hl^hpna</i>	<i>y^hr^hxna</i>

3.14.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>yłap-</i>
3fs.	<i>yłpa</i>
3pl.	<i>yłpi-</i>

Examples: *yłpli* ‘I learnt (it)’, *yłpili* ‘I learnt them’.

3.14.3.3. Intransitive Past Base

<i>yrix-</i>	-
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Examples:

<i>yrix</i> ~ <i>yárix</i>	‘He became tall’
<i>yrixá</i>	‘She became tall’
<i>yrixí</i>	‘They became tall’

3.14.3.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>yłpa</i>
fs.	<i>yłpta</i>
pl.	<i>yłpe</i>

3.14.3.5. Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>yrixá</i>
fs.	<i>yrixta</i>
pl.	<i>yrixé</i>

3.14.3.6. Imperative

sing.	<i>yólup</i>
pl.	<i>yólupmu(n)</i>

3.14.3.7. Infinitive

<i>yálope</i>	<i>yároxé</i>
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The initial /y/ of the verb *yql* ‘to burn’ is elided in the past base, resultative participle and imperative, as a consequence of which these forms are identical to the corresponding forms of middle /y/ verbs (§3.14.4.).

Present

3ms.	<i>yāqəl</i>
3fs.	<i>yaqla</i>
3pl.	<i>yaqli</i>
1ms.	<i>yāqəlna</i>

Intransitive Past Base

<i>qil</i>	‘He burnt’
<i>qīla</i>	‘She burnt’
<i>qīli</i>	‘They burnt’

Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>qila</i>
fs.	<i>qilta</i>
pl.	<i>qile</i>

Imperative

sing.	<i>qul</i>
pl.	<i>qulmu(n)</i>

Infinitive

yāqole

3.14.4. Verba Mediae /y/

This category includes the verbs *ʕč* ‘to knead’, *čym* ‘to close (eye) (intr.)’, *čyr* ‘to go around’, *dyq* ‘to crush’, *gyp* ‘to boil over’, *kyp* ‘to bow’, *lys* ‘to chew’, *myl* ‘to die’, *myš* ‘to suck’, *pyš* ‘to remain’, *pyx* ‘to cool (intr.)’, *qym* ‘to rise (human)’, *qyr* ‘to cool (intr.)’, *qyš* ‘to cut (with scissors, shears)’, *ryq* ‘to spit’, *ryš* ‘to wake (tr.)’, *ryt* ‘to tremble’, *šyk* ‘to rub’, *tym* ‘to finish (intr.)’, *tyx* ‘to die down (fire)’, *wyš* ‘to dry (intr.)’, *xyk* ‘to rub’, *xyp* ‘to bathe’, *xyt* ‘to sew’, *zyz* ‘to increase’.

Some verbs are derived historically from final geminate roots, e.g. *ʕč* ‘to knead’ < **čšš*, *qyr* ‘to cool’ < **qrr*. The medial /y/ is contracted in all inflections.

3.14.4.1. Present

dyq ‘to crush’ (tr.), *qym* ‘to rise’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>deq</i>	<i>qem</i>
3fs.	<i>deqa</i>	<i>qema</i>
3pl.	<i>deqi</i>	<i>qemi</i>
1ms.	<i>deqna</i>	<i>qemna</i>

3.14.4.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern CiC- is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	<i>dikle</i>	‘He crushed (it)’
3fs.	<i>dikle</i>	‘He crushed her’
3pl.	<i>dikle-</i>	‘He crushed them’

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>qim</i>	‘He arose’
3fs.	<i>qima</i>	‘She arose’
3pl.	<i>qimi-</i>	‘They arose’
1ms.	<i>qimna</i>	‘I arose’

Passive

3ms.	<i>diq</i>	‘He was crushed’
3fs.	<i>díqa</i>	‘She was crushed’
3pl.	<i>díqi-</i>	‘They were crushed’
1ms.	<i>díqna</i>	‘I was crushed’

3.14.4.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

	Active/Passive	Intransitive
ms.	<i>díqa</i>	<i>qíma</i>
fs.	<i>díqta</i>	<i>qímta</i>
pl.	<i>díqe</i>	<i>qíme</i>

3.14.4.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>duq</i>
pl.	<i>dúqmu(n)</i>

The final radical is elided in the imperative singular of the verb *qym* ‘to rise’ and L-suffixes are optionally added to distinguish genders:

sing.	<i>qu</i>
ms.	<i>qúlox</i>
fs.	<i>qú lax</i>
pl.	<i>qúmu(n)</i>

3.14.4.5. Infinitive

Two variant forms of infinitive are used. One has the pattern *CCaCa*, which is the original form of the stem I infinitive in NENA, and the other has the vocalic pattern of the strong verb *CăCoCe*:

<i>dyaqa</i>	~	<i>dăqoe</i>
<i>qyama</i>	~	<i>qămoe</i>

3.14.5. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes the verbs *b’y* ‘to bleat’, *bxy* ‘to weep’, *bzy* ‘to burst (intr.)’, *čqy* ‘to dig’, *dny* ‘to imagine’, *d’y* ‘to pray’, *dry* ‘to put’, *gny* ‘to sleep’, *hqy* ‘to speak’, *jhy* ‘to become tired’, *kry* ‘to become short’, *m’y* ‘to bleat (goat)’, *mhy* ‘to churn’, *mly* ‘to be enough’, *mry* ‘to ache’, *nty* ‘to arrive’, *mxy* ‘to play (music)’, *nqy* ‘to aim and throw’, *nty* ‘to rise/to take’, *pqy* ‘to burst (intr.)’, *pšy* ‘to fart (without noise)’, *qly* ‘to fry’, *qry* ‘to read’, *qty* ‘to cut’, *rny* ‘to collapse’, *ropy* ‘to be abandoned’, *shy* ‘to become thirsty’, *сны* ‘to hate’, *špy* ‘to be filtered’, *sry* ‘to bray (donkey)’, *sxy* ‘to bathe’, *šky* ‘to move (intr.)’, *šmy* ‘to hear’, *špy* ‘to rub’, *šty* ‘to drink’, *tpy* ‘to destroy’, *tšy* ‘to hide (intr.)’, *thy* ‘to find’, *tly* ‘to hang’, *try* ‘to become wet’, *xly* ‘to wrap around’, *xmy* ‘to leaven (intr.)’, *zdy* ‘to fear’.

Some of these verbs originally had a voiced pharyngal *^c as final radical, e.g. *gry* ‘to shave’ (< **gr^c*), *mry* ‘to ache’ (< **mr^c*), *pqy* ‘to burst’ (< **pq^c*), *qty* ‘to cut’ (< **qt^c*), *šmy* ‘to hear’ (< **šm^c*), *xly* ‘to wrap around’ (< **xł^c*), *xmy* ‘to leaven’ (< **xm^c*), *zdy* ‘to fear’ (< **zd^c*). Although these original final *^c verbs have become assimilated to the final /y/ paradigm, some of them exhibit a few isolated features in their inflection which distinguish them from originally final /y/ verbs and are vestiges of the earlier inflec-

tional pattern. In the verb *tm*‘ ‘to taste’ (< *tm*‘) the original pharyngal has been preserved due to the historical presence of the emphatic in the root.

3.14.5.1. Present

šty ‘to drink’ (tr.), *zdy* ‘to fear’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>šäte</i>	<i>zäde</i>
3fs.	<i>šatya</i>	<i>zadya</i>
3pl.	<i>šäten</i>	<i>zäden</i>
2ms.	<i>šätet</i>	<i>zädet</i>
2fs.	<i>šatyat</i>	<i>zadyat</i>
2pl.	<i>šätétun</i>	<i>zädétun</i>
1ms.	<i>šäténa</i>	<i>zädéna</i>
1fs.	<i>šatyan, šatyána</i>	<i>zadyan, zadyána</i>
1pl.	<i>šätex, šätéxin</i>	<i>zädex, zädéxin</i>

The 3fs. form of the verb *mry* ‘to ache’ is attested in two alternative forms:

3fs.	<i>marya</i>	<i>mära</i>
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The form *mära* is a vestige of the original final **ʕ* inflection (*mära* < **marʕa* < **marʕa*), which corresponds to the form of inflection that is found in other NENA dialects that preserve a distinct inflection for verbs of this group, e.g. C. Barwar *mära*, C. Qaraqosh *marʕa*. This feature of the 3fs. inflection has not been identified in other verbs that are derived historically from final pharyngal roots.

3.14.5.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *CCe-* (ms.), *CəCya-* (fs.), *CCen(i)-* (pl.) is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	<i>štéle</i>	‘He drank (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>šatyále</i>	‘He drank it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>šténile-</i>	‘He drank them’

The verb *šmy* ‘to hear’ deviates from the usual pattern, in that it has /i/ rather than /e/ in its inflectional endings of this base:

3ms.	<i>šmīle</i>	‘He heard (him)’
3fs.	<i>šamyále</i>	‘He heard her’
3pl.	<i>šmīnile-</i>	‘He heard them’

This vocalism is a conservative feature that was originally distinctive of verbs with a final pharyngal (*šmīle* < **šmiʕle*). A similar distinction is exhibited by some NENA dialects after the loss of the pharyngal, e.g. C. Barwar *štele* ‘He drank’, *xzele* ‘He saw’ but *šmīle* (< **šmiʕle*) ‘He heard’, *mrīle* (< **mriʕle*) ‘He became ill’. In J. Sanandaj this vocalism is restricted to the past base of the verb *šmy* and is not found in other final /y/ verbs that historically had a final pharyngal.

Intransitive

In the feminine singular forms the stress falls on the epenthetic after the first radical. In the 3ms. form the stress is optionally retracted to an epenthetic after the second radical.

3ms.	<i>zde</i> ~ <i>zǎde</i>	‘He feared’
3fs.	<i>zǎdya</i>	‘She feared’
3pl.	<i>zdén</i> -	‘They feared’, etc.
2ms.	<i>zdet</i>	
2fs.	<i>zǎdyat</i>	
2pl.	<i>zdétun</i>	
1ms.	<i>zdéna</i>	
1fs.	<i>zǎdyan</i>	
1pl.	<i>zdéx(in)</i>	

3.14.5.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

	Active/Passive	Intransitive
ms.	<i>šətya</i>	<i>zədya</i>
fs.	<i>šūta</i>	<i>zdita</i>
pl.	<i>šətye</i>	<i>zədye</i>

3.14.5.4. Imperative

The imperative has either /e/ or /u/ after the second radical, the latter by analogy with the /u/ in the imperative of strong verbs. The distribution of /e/ and /u/ in the imperative of final /y/ verbs of the lexicon is unpredictable. According to informants, some verbs have variant forms with /e/ and /u/ while other verbs have either /e/ or /u/ exclusively. This is illustrated by the verbs *šty* ‘to drink’, *nty* ‘to take’ and *ṭšy* ‘to hide (intr.)’:

sing.	<i>šte, šáte</i>	<i>ntu, nátu</i>	<i>ṭše, ṭáše ~ ṭšu, ṭášu</i>
pl.	<i>štému(n)</i>	<i>ntúmu(n)</i>	<i>ṭšému(n) ~ ṭšúmu(n)</i>

There is a tendency for originally final pharyngeal verbs to have /u/ in the imperative, e.g.

<i>qtu</i>	‘cut!’	< * <i>qtu</i> ’ < * <i>qtu</i> ’
<i>šmu</i>	‘listen!’	< * <i>šmu</i> ’ < * <i>šmu</i> ’

3.14.5.5. Infinitive

<i>šátoe</i>	<i>zádoe</i>
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The original stem I infinitive pattern *CCaCa* is attested in the form *ḥqaa* ‘speaking, speech’, which functions as a verbal noun derived from the verb *ḥqy* ‘to speak’. This verb also has a regular infinitive form *ḥáqoe*.

3.14.6. Verba Primae /ʔ/, Tertiae /y/

The verb *ʔry* ‘to thicken, to freeze’ (intr.) falls into this category. It has the properties of final /y/ verbs and initial /ʔ/ of class (2), in that it preserves the /ʔ/ throughout all inflections and does not have the indicative particle *k*-prefixed to the present base.

3.14.6.1. Present

3ms.	<i>ʔäre</i>
3fs.	<i>ʔarya</i>
3pl.	<i>ʔären</i>
1ms.	<i>ʔarena</i>

3.14.6.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	<i>ʔäre</i>
3fs.	<i>ʔarya</i>

3pl.	ʔóren
1ms.	ʔréna

3.14.6.3. Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	ʔarya
fs.	ʔrita
pl.	ʔarye

3.14.6.4. Imperative

The stress is generally retracted to the epenthetic vowel after the first radical:

sing.	ʔóre
pl.	ʔóremu(n)

3.14.6.5. Infinitive

ʔároe

3.14.7. Verba Mediae /w/

This category includes the verbs *bwr* ‘to low (cattle)’, *dwq* ‘to hold’, *gwr* ‘to marry’, *kwš* ‘to descend’, *lwš* ‘to dress’, *nwx* ‘to bark’, *twr* ‘to break (tr. and intr.)’.

3.14.7.1. Present

dwq ‘to hold’ (tr.), *kwš* ‘to descend’ (intr.),

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

3ms.	<i>doq</i>	<i>koš</i>
3fs.	<i>doqa</i>	<i>koša</i>
3pl.	<i>doqi</i>	<i>koši</i>
1ms.	<i>doqna</i>	<i>košna</i>

3.14.7.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>dwəq-</i>
3fs.	<i>dəwqa-</i>
3pl.	<i>dəwqi-</i>

Examples: *dwəqli* ‘I held (him)’, *dəwqali* ‘I held her’, *dəwqili* ‘I held them’.

3.14.7.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

<i>kwiš</i>	<i>dwiq-</i>
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Examples:

<i>kwiš</i>	‘He descended’	<i>dwiq</i>	‘He was held’
<i>kwiša</i>	‘She descended’	<i>dwiqa</i>	‘She was held’
<i>kwiši</i>	‘They descended’	<i>dwiqi</i>	‘They were held’
<i>kwišna</i>	‘I descended’	<i>dwiqna</i>	‘I was held’

3.14.7.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>dəwqa</i>
fs.	<i>dwəqta</i>
pl.	<i>dəwqe</i>

3.14.7.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>kwiša</i>	<i>dwiqa</i>
fs.	<i>kwišta</i>	<i>dwiqta</i>
pl.	<i>kwiše</i>	<i>dwiqe</i>

3.14.7.6. Imperative

sing.	<i>duq</i>	<i>kuš</i>
pl.	<i>dúqmu(n)</i>	<i>kúšmu(n)</i>

3.14.7.7. Infinitive

The infinitive regularly has the pattern CCaCa, which is the original vocalism of stem I infinitives in NENA:

<i>dwaqa</i>	<i>kwaša</i>
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3.14.8. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (1), Mediae /w/

This category includes ʔwl ‘to do’ (< *ʔd).

3.14.8.1. Present

As in other primae /ʔ/ verbs (1), the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by prefixing the particle *k-*

(i) Irrealis

The original initial laryngal stop /ʔ/ in these forms has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/:

3ms.	<i>hol</i>
3fs.	<i>hola</i>
3pl.	<i>holi</i>

The final radical /l/ of the verb assimilates to the /n/ of the 1ms. inflection *-na*. The gemination of the /n/ arising from this is reduced:

1ms.	<i>hona</i>	< * <i>honna</i>	< * <i>holna</i>
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(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>kol</i>
3fs.	<i>kola</i>
3pl.	<i>koli</i>
1ms.	<i>kona</i>

3.14.8.2. Past Base

The initial syllable of the past base is elided. The vowel after the second radical of this past base has a long /i/:

3ms.	<i>wil-</i>
3fs.	<i>wila-</i>
3pl.	<i>wili-</i>

When L-suffixes are attached to the 3ms. form of the base, the /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the final radical. The gemination arising from this assimilation is reduced, resulting in the forms:

<i>wile</i>	‘He did’	< * <i>wille</i>
<i>wila</i>	‘She did’	< * <i>willa</i>
<i>wilu</i>	‘They did’	< * <i>willu</i>

3.14.8.3. Resultative Participle

The resultative participle is used to express the transitive active. As in the past base, the vowel after the second radical is /i/:

ms.	<i>wila</i>
fs.	<i>wilta</i>
pl.	<i>wile</i>

3.14.8.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>wul</i>
pl.	<i>wúlmu(n)</i>

3.14.8.5. Infinitive

wala

3.14.9. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (2), Mediae /w/

This category includes ʔwr ‘to pass, to enter’ (< *wr). This exhibits the features of other primae /ʔ/ (2) verbs, in that the /ʔ/ is retained in all inflections and the present base does not take the indicative *k-/g-* prefix.

3.14.9.1. Present

3ms.	ʔor
3fs.	ʔora
3pl.	ʔori

3.14.9.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	ʔwir
3fs.	ʔwíra
3pl.	ʔwíri

3.14.9.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	ʔwira
fs.	ʔwíra
pl.	ʔwíre

3.14.9.4. Imperative

sing.	ʔwur
pl.	ʔwúrmu(n)

3.14.9.5. Infinitive

ʔwara

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

This category includes *rwy* ‘to grow’, *swy* ‘to be sated’, *šwy* ‘to spread out’ and *xwy* ‘to drop (voice)’.

3.14.10.1. Present

rwy ‘to grow’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>rǎwe</i>
3fs.	<i>rawya</i>
3pl.	<i>rǎwen</i>
1ms.	<i>rǎwéna</i>

3.14.10.2. Past Base

In the feminine singular forms the stress falls on the epenthetic after the first radical. In the 3ms. form the stress is optionally retracted to an epenthetic after the second radical.

3ms.	<i>rwe</i> ~ <i>rǎwe</i>	‘He grew’
3fs.	<i>rǎwya</i>	‘She grew’
3pl.	<i>rwen</i>	‘They grew’
1ms.	<i>rwéna</i>	‘I grew’

3.14.10.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>rǎwya</i>
fs.	<i>rwita</i>
pl.	<i>rǎwye</i>

3.14.10.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>rǎwe</i>
pl.	<i>rǎwemu(n)</i>

3.14.10.5. Infinitive

rǎwoe

3.14.11. Verba Tertiae /w/

Verbs in this category include *ʔrw* ‘to be destroyed’, *gnw* ‘to rob’ (tr.), *jnw* ‘to kidnap’, *klw* ‘to write’, *qlw* ‘to clean’, *tnw* ‘to become numb’, *rkw* ‘to ride’ and *xlw* ‘to milk’.

The conjugation follows that of the strong verb, except that the sequence /əw/ contracts to /u/ when stressed.

3.14.11.1. Present

klw ‘to write’ (tr.), *rkw* ‘to ride’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>kǎlu</i>	(< * <i>kǎlǎw</i>)	<i>rǎku</i>	(< * <i>rǎkǎw</i>)
3fs.	<i>kalwa</i>		<i>rakwa</i>	
3pl.	<i>kalw</i>		<i>rakwi</i>	
1ms.	<i>kǎlúna</i>	(< <i>kǎlǎwna</i>)	<i>rǎkúna</i>	(< * <i>rǎkǎwna</i>)

3.14.11.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>klu-</i>
3fs.	<i>kǎlwa-</i>
3pl.	<i>kǎlwi-</i>

Examples: *klúli* ‘I wrote (it m.)’, *kǎlwáli* ‘I wrote it (f.)’, *kǎlwíli* ‘I wrote them’.

3.14.11.3. Intransitive and Passive Past Base

rkiw *kliw-*

Examples:

<i>rkiw</i>	‘He rode’	<i>kliw</i>	‘It (m.) was written’
<i>rkúwa</i>	‘She rode’	<i>klúwa</i>	‘It (f.) was written’
<i>rkúwi</i>	‘They rode’	<i>klúwi</i>	‘They were written’
<i>rkúwna</i>	‘I rode’	<i>klúwna</i>	‘I was written’

When the past converter particle *-wa* is attached to the 3ms. form ending in /w/, the gemination resulting from the combination of the two /w/ segments is weakened, in accordance with the usual process:

rkúwa ‘He had ridden’ < **rkiwwa*

3.14.11.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>kəlwa</i>
fs.	<i>kləwta</i>
pl.	<i>kəlwa</i>

Note that the sequence /əw/ in *kləwtá* is not contracted since it is not stressed.

3.14.11.5. Intransitive and Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>rkiwa</i>	<i>kliwa</i>
fs.	<i>rkiwta</i>	<i>kliwta</i>
pl.	<i>rkiwe</i>	<i>kliwe</i>

3.14.11.6. Imperative

sing.	<i>klu</i>	<i>rku</i>
pl.	<i>klúmu(n)</i>	<i>rkúmu(n)</i>

3.14.11.7. Infinitive

<i>kǎlowe</i>	<i>rǎkowe</i>
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3.15. WEAK VERBS IN STEM II

Very few weak verbs assignable to stem II by the form of their imperative can be identified.

3.15.1. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes *bzy* ‘to make a hole’, *gby* ‘to sort/to clean (rice)’, *gry* ‘to shave’, *ksy* ‘to cover’, *mhy* ‘to erase’, *ply* ‘to divide/to share’, *pqy* ‘to burst (tr.)’, *špy* ‘to filter’, *šly* ‘to sow (seed)’, *řsy* ‘to hide (tr.)’, *xpy* ‘to cover food’, *zry* ‘to sow (wheat seed)’.

Some of these verbs originally contained a final pharyngal *^c, *bzy* ‘to make a hole’ < *bz^c, *gry* ‘to shave’ < *gr^c. In *ply* ‘to divide/to share’ the historical pharyngal developed ultimately from the velar fricative * \bar{g} (< *pl^c < *pl \bar{g}).

3.15.1.1. Present

ṭšy ‘to hide’ (tr.)

3ms.	ṭāše
3fs.	ṭašya
3pl.	ṭāšen
1ms.	ṭāšéna

3.15.1.2. Past Base

3ms.	ṭšéle	‘He hid (him)’
3fs.	ṭašyále	‘He hid her’
3pl.	ṭšénile -	‘He hid them’

3.15.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	ṭāšya
fs.	ṭšita
pl.	ṭāšye

3.15.1.4. Imperative

sing.	ṭáše
pl.	ṭášemu(n)

3.15.1.5. Infinitive

ṭāšoe

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

This category includes šwy ‘to spread out’, ṭwy ‘to roast’.

3.15.2.1. Present

ṭwy ‘to roast’ (tr.)

3ms.	ṭāwe
3fs.	ṭawya
3pl.	ṭāwen
1ms.	ṭāwéna

3.15.2.2. Past Base

3ms.	<i>ṭwéle</i>	‘He roasted (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>ṭəwyále</i>	‘He roasted it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>ṭwénile-</i>	‘He roasted them’

3.15.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>ṭəwya</i>
fs.	<i>ṭwita</i>
pl.	<i>ṭəwye</i>

3.15.2.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>ṭáwe</i>
pl.	<i>ṭáwemu(n)</i>

3.15.2.5. Infinitive

ṭáwoe

3.16. WEAK VERBS IN STEM III**3.16.1. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (1)**

This category includes the verb *m-xl* ‘to feed’ (tr.), the stem I form of which belongs to the Verba Primae /ʔ/ (1). In the stem III form, the historical initial /ʔ/ has been elided from all forms. The patterns of conjugation, furthermore, are identical to those of stem III middle /y/ verbs (§3.16.4.) in all bases except the infinitive.

3.16.1.1. Present

3ms.	<i>măxil</i>
3fs.	<i>măxila</i>
3pl.	<i>măxili</i>
1ms.	<i>măxilna</i>

3.16.1.2. Past Base

A single base with the pattern *mCiC-* is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

3ms.	<i>mxil-</i>
3fs.	<i>mxila-</i>
3pl.	<i>mxili-</i>

The /l/ of L-suffixes in the active inflection combines with the final /l/ in 3ms. form and the resulting gemination is then weakened:

<i>mxile</i>	‘He fed him’	< * <i>mxille</i>
<i>mxilale</i>	‘He fed her’	
<i>mxilile</i>	‘He fed them’	
<i>mxil</i>	‘He was fed’	
<i>mxĭla</i>	‘He was fed’	
<i>mxĭli</i>	‘He were fed’	

3.16.1.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	<i>mxila</i>
fs.	<i>mxilta</i>
pl.	<i>mxile</i>

3.16.1.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>máxil</i>
pl.	<i>máxilmu(n)</i>

3.16.1.5. Infinitive

măxole

3.16.2. Verba Primae /ʔ/ (2)

Verbs of this category include: *m-ʔrq* ‘to cause to run, to kidnap’ and *m-ʔsq* ‘to cause to go up’, which correspond to the stem I forms *ʔrq* ‘to run’ and *ʔsq* ‘to go up’. The initial /ʔ/ is elided and the forms of the verb are identical to the patterns of the strong verb of stem I.

3.16.2.1. Present

3ms.	<i>măřəq</i>
3fs.	<i>marqa</i>

3pl.	<i>marqi</i>
1ms.	<i>mārəqna</i>

3.16.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>mrəq-</i>
3fs.	<i>mərqa-</i>
3pl.	<i>mərqi-</i>

Examples: *mrəqli* ‘I made (him) run’, *mərqali* ‘I made her run’.

3.16.2.3. Passive Past Base

mriq-

Examples:

<i>mriq</i>	‘He was kidnapped’
<i>mriqa</i>	‘She was kidnapped’
<i>mriqi</i>	‘They were kidnapped’
<i>mriqna</i>	‘I was kidnapped’

3.16.2.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mərqa</i>
fs.	<i>mrəqta</i>
pl.	<i>mərqe</i>

3.16.2.5. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mriqa</i>
fs.	<i>mriqta</i>
pl.	<i>mriqe</i>

3.16.2.6. Imperative

sing.	<i>mārəq</i>
pl.	<i>mārəqmu(n)</i>

3.16.2.7. Infinitive

māroqe

3.16.3. Verba Primae /y/

The verbs *m-yrx* ‘to make long’ and *m-yrq* ‘to make green’ belong to this category. The stem III of some initial /y/ stem I verbs do not have /y/ in the stem III. These include *m-lp* ‘to teach’ (cf. *ylp* ‘to learn’) and *m-ql/m-lq* ‘to burn (tr.)’ (cf. *yql* ‘to burn intr.’). The inflectional pattern of these two verbs is identical to stem II strong verbs.

3.16.3.1. Present

m-yrx ‘to make long’ (tr.), *m-lp* ‘to teach’ (tr.)

3ms.	<i>māyræx</i>	<i>mǎlæp</i>
3fs.	<i>māyræxa</i>	<i>mǎlæpa</i>
3pl.	<i>māyræxi</i>	<i>mǎlæpi</i>
1ms.	<i>māyræxna</i>	<i>mǎlæpna</i>

3.16.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>māyræx-</i>	<i>mǎlæp-</i>
3fs.	<i>māyræxa-</i>	<i>mǎlæpa-</i>
3pl.	<i>māyræxi-</i>	<i>mǎlæpi-</i>

Examples: *māyræxli* ‘I made (him) long’, *māyræxali* ‘I made her long’.

3.16.3.3. Passive Past Base

māyrix- *mliþ-*

Examples:

<i>māyrix</i>	‘He was made long’
<i>māyrixca</i>	‘She was made long’
<i>māyrixci</i>	‘They were made long’
<i>māyrixna</i>	‘I was made long’

3.16.3.4. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>māyræxa</i>	<i>mǎlpa</i>
fs.	<i>māyræxta</i>	<i>mǎlpta</i>
pl.	<i>māyræxe</i>	<i>mǎlpe</i>

3.16.3.5. *Passive Resultative Participle*

ms.	<i>məyrixá</i>	<i>młipa</i>
fs.	<i>məyrixta</i>	<i>młipta</i>
pl.	<i>məyrixé</i>	<i>młipe</i>

3.16.3.6. *Imperative*

sing.	<i>máyrax</i>	<i>málap</i>
pl.	<i>máyraxmu(n)</i>	<i>málapmu(n)</i>

3.16.3.7. *Infinitive*

Note the vocalic pattern of the infinitive of *m-yrx*, which has the characteristic vowel sequence /*oe*/ of the infinitive after the third radical:

<i>mayrxoe</i>	<i>málope</i>
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3.16.4. *Verba Mediae /y/*

This category includes the verbs *m-ʹyn* ‘to look’, *m-čyr* ‘to cause to turn’, *m-kyp* ‘to bend (tr.)’, *m-nyx* ‘to cause to rest’, *m-pyx* ‘to cool (tr.)’, *m-qym* ‘to raise’, *m-ryš* ‘to wake (tr.)’, *m-ryt* ‘to cause to tremble’, *m-ryx* ‘to smell’, *m-šyl* ‘to listen’, *m-šyš* ‘to rock (child in cradle)’, *m-tym* ‘to finish (tr.)’, *m-tyx* ‘to put out (fire)’, *m-wyš* ‘to dry (tr.)’, *m-zyz* ‘to add (tr.)’.

3.16.4.1. *Present*

m-šyš ‘to rock’

3ms.	<i>mášiš</i>
3fs.	<i>mášiša</i>
3pl.	<i>mášiši</i>
1ms.	<i>mášišna</i>

3.16.4.2. *Past Base*

A single base with the pattern *mCiC-* is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

3ms.	<i>mšišle</i>	‘He shook (him)’
3fs.	<i>mšišále</i>	‘He shook (her)’
3pl.	<i>mšišile</i>	‘He shook (them)’

3ms.	<i>mšiš</i> ~ <i>mášiš</i>	‘He was shaken’
3fs.	<i>mšiša</i>	‘She was shaken’
3pl.	<i>mšiši</i>	‘They were shaken’

3.16.4.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	<i>mšiša</i>
fs.	<i>mšišta</i>
pl.	<i>mšiše</i>

3.16.4.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>mášiš</i>
pl.	<i>mášišmu(n)</i>

3.16.4.5. Infinitive

The infinitive vocalism of the strong verb /*a-o-e*/ is imposed on the weak root resulting in the form:

mášišoe

3.16.5. Verba Tertiae /y/

This category includes *m-bxy* ‘to cause to weep’, *m-kry* ‘to make short’, *m-ndy* ‘to throw’, *m-nty* ‘to raise’, *m-nty* ‘to grant (God)’, *m-qny* ‘to bruise’, *m-qry* ‘to make read’, *m-qry* ‘to cool’, *m-spy* ‘to deliver’, *m-sry* ‘to stink’, *m-šky* ‘to move (tr.)’, *m-šty* ‘to cause to drink’, *m-zdy* ‘to frighten’.

The verb *m-qry* ‘to cool’ is derived historically from a final geminate roots (< **m-qrr*).

3.16.5.1. Present

m-šty ‘to cause to drink’

3ms.	<i>mašte</i>
3fs.	<i>maštya</i>
3pl.	<i>mašten</i>
1ms.	<i>maštena</i>

3.16.5.2. Past Base

Transitive active

3ms.	<i>māštele</i>	‘He made (him) drink’
3fs.	<i>māštyale</i>	‘He made her drink’
3pl.	<i>māštenile</i>	‘He made them drink’

3.16.5.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

ms.	<i>māštya</i>
fs.	<i>māštīta</i>
pl.	<i>māštye</i>

3.16.5.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>māšte</i>
pl.	<i>māštemu(n)</i>

This is the normal pattern for the imperative, but a few verbs form an imperative with the pattern *CəCu*, which has arisen by analogy with one of the patterns used in the imperative of stem I final /y/ verbs. One verb that exhibits this pattern is *m-nty* ‘to raise’

sing.	<i>māntu</i>
pl.	<i>māntumu(n)</i>

3.16.5.5. Infinitive

māštoe

3.16.6. Verba Primae /ʔ/, Tertiae /y/

This category includes *m-ʔby* ‘to inflate’ (tr. and intr.) and *m-ʔry* ‘to freeze (tr.)’. The initial /ʔ/ is elided throughout the inflections.

3.16.6.1. Present

3ms.	<i>mābe</i>
3fs.	<i>mābya</i>
3pl.	<i>māben</i>
1ms.	<i>mābena</i>

3.16.6.2. Past Base

A single base is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

Transitive active

3ms.	<i>mbele</i>	‘He inflated (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>mabyale</i>	‘He inflated it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>mbenile</i>	‘He inflated them’

Intransitive

3ms.	<i>mábe</i>	‘He became inflated’
3fs.	<i>mábya</i>	‘She became inflated’
3pl.	<i>mbén</i>	‘They became inflated’

3.16.6.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the intransitive/passive:

ms.	<i>mabya</i>
fs.	<i>mbita</i>
pl.	<i>mabye</i>

3.16.6.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>mábe</i>
pl.	<i>mábemu(n)</i>

3.16.6.5. Infinitive

máboe

3.16.7. Verba Mediae /w/

This category includes the verb *m-kwš* ‘to bring down’.

3.16.7.1. Present

3ms.	<i>mákuš</i>
3fs.	<i>mákuša</i>

3pl.	<i>măkuši</i>
1ms.	<i>măkušna</i>

3.16.7.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>mkušle</i>	‘He brought (him) down’
3fs.	<i>mkušale</i>	‘He brought her down’
3pl.	<i>mkušile</i>	‘He brought them down’

3.16.7.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	<i>mkuša</i>
fs.	<i>mkušta</i>
pl.	<i>mkuše</i>

3.16.7.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>măkuš</i>
pl.	<i>măkušmu(n)</i>

3.16.7.5. Infinitive

măkoše

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

This category includes the verbs *m-qwy* ‘to make fast, to lock’, *m-rwy* ‘to bring up (child)’ and *m-xwy* ‘to show’. Unlike medial /w/ verbs with otherwise strong consonants (§3.16.7.), the /w/ is retained in all the inflections.

3.16.8.1. Present

m-qwy ‘to lock’

3ms.	<i>maqwe</i>
3fs.	<i>maqwya</i>
3pl.	<i>maqwen</i>
1ms.	<i>maqwéna</i>

3.16.8.2. Past Base

3ms.	<i>məqwele</i>	‘He locked (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>məqwyale</i>	‘He locked it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>məqwenile-</i>	‘He locked them’

3.16.8.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>məqwya</i>
fs.	<i>məqwita</i>
pl.	<i>məqwye</i>

3.16.8.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>máqwe</i>
pl.	<i>máqwemu(n)</i>

3.16.8.5. Infinitive

maqwoe

3.16.9. Verba Tertiae /w/

This category includes *m-klw* ‘to cause to write’, *m-rkw* ‘to cause to mount’

3.16.9.1. Present

3ms.	<i>maklu</i>
3fs.	<i>maklwa</i>
3pl.	<i>maklwi</i>
1ms.	<i>makluna</i>

3.16.9.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>məklule</i>	‘He made (him) write’
3fs.	<i>məklwale</i>	‘He made (her) write’
3pl.	<i>məklwile</i>	‘He made (them) write’

3.16.9.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	<i>məklwa</i>
fs.	<i>məkləwta</i>
pl.	<i>məklwe</i>

3.16.9.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>máklu</i>
pl.	<i>máklumu(n)</i>

3.16.9.5. Infinitive

məklowe

3.16.10. Verba Primae /ʔ/, Tertiae /w/

This category includes *m-ʔrw* ‘to ruin, to mix’. The initial /ʔ/ is elided throughout the inflections. The sequence /əw/ is contracted to /u/ when stressed, as in other final /w/ verbs.

3.16.10.1. Present

3ms.	<i>mǎru</i>
3fs.	<i>marwa</i>
3pl.	<i>marwi</i>
1ms.	<i>mǎrúna</i>

3.16.10.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>mrule</i>	‘He ruined it (m.)’
3fs.	<i>mərwale</i>	‘He ruined it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>mərwile</i>	‘He ruined them’

3.16.10.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mərwə</i>
fs.	<i>mərəwta</i>
pl.	<i>mərwə</i>

3.16.10.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mriwa</i>
fs.	<i>mriwta</i>
pl.	<i>mriwe</i>

3.16.10.5. Imperative

sing.	<i>márəw</i>
pl.	<i>márəwmu(n)</i>

3.16.10.6. Infinitive*mārowe***3.17. WEAK QUADRILITERAL VERBS****3.17.1. Verbal Quartae /y/**

This category includes the verb *ndy* ‘to jump’, *nnty* ‘to rise’, *šřy* ‘to let down (a rope)’.

3.17.1.1. Present

šřy ‘to let down (a rope)’ (tr.), *ndy* ‘to jump’ (intr.)

3ms.	<i>šarše</i>	<i>nande</i>
3fs.	<i>šaršya</i>	<i>nandya</i>
3pl.	<i>šaršen</i>	<i>nanden</i>
2ms.	<i>šaršet</i>	<i>nandet</i>
2fs.	<i>šaršyat</i>	<i>nandyat</i>
2pl.	<i>šaršétun</i>	<i>nandétun</i>
1ms.	<i>šaršéna</i>	<i>nandéna</i>
1fs.	<i>šaršyan, šaršyána</i>	<i>nandyan, nandyána</i>
1pl.	<i>šaršex, šaršéxin</i>	<i>nandex, nandéxin</i>

3.17.1.2. Transitive Past Base

3ms.	<i>šəršele</i>	‘He let it (m.) down’
3fs.	<i>šəršyale</i>	‘He let it (f.) down’
3pl.	<i>šəršenile</i>	‘He let them down’

3.17.1.3. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	<i>nənde</i>
3fs.	<i>nəndya</i>
3pl.	<i>nənden</i>
2ms.	<i>nəndet</i>
2fs.	<i>nəndyat</i>
2pl.	<i>nəndétun</i>
1ms.	<i>nəndéna</i>
1fs.	<i>nəndyan, nəndyăna</i>
1pl.	<i>nəndex, nəndexin</i>

3.17.1.4. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>šəšya</i>	<i>nəndya</i>
fs.	<i>šəšita</i>	<i>nəndita</i>
pl.	<i>šəšye</i>	<i>nəndye</i>

3.17.1.5. Imperative

sing.	<i>šárše</i>	<i>nándu</i>
pl.	<i>šáršemu(n)</i>	<i>nándumu(n)</i>

3.17.1.6. Infinitive

nandoe

3.18. IRREGULAR AND DEFECTIVE VERBS**3.18.1. ‘to go’**

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*. The final /l/ of the 3ms. form is elided in the rest of the paradigm.

3.18.1.1. Present*(i) Irrealis*

The initial laryngal stop /ʔ/ in these forms has shifted to the laryngal fricative /h/:

3ms.	<i>hezəl ~ hezel</i>
3fs.	<i>heza</i>
3pl.	<i>hezi</i>
2ms.	<i>hezət</i>
2fs.	<i>hezət</i>
2pl.	<i>hezətun</i>
1ms.	<i>hezna</i>
1fs.	<i>hezən</i>
1pl.	<i>hezex(in)</i>

(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>gezəl ~ gezel</i>
3fs.	<i>geza</i>
3pl.	<i>gezi</i>
2ms.	<i>gezet</i>
2fs.	<i>gezat</i>
2pl.	<i>gezetun</i>
1ms.	<i>gezna</i>
1fs.	<i>gezan</i>
1pl.	<i>gezex(in)</i>

3.18.1.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	<i>zil</i>	‘He went’
3fs.	<i>zīla</i>	‘She went’
3pl.	<i>zīli</i>	‘They went’

3.18.1.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>zila</i>
fs.	<i>zilta</i>
pl.	<i>zile</i>

3.18.1.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>se</i>
pl.	<i>sému(n)</i>

These forms may be combined with 2nd person L-suffixes. In the singular, genders are distinguished by these suffixes. In the plural a form of suffix is used that is a hybrid of the 2pl. L-suffix and the pl. imperative ending *-mu(n)*:

ms.	<i>sélox</i>
fs.	<i>sélox</i>
pl.	<i>séloxmun</i>

3.18.1.5. Infinitive

zala

There is an additional infinitive form with initial *g-*:

gzala

This is used only in combination with the realis present form of the verb with the *g-* prefix in constructions expressing the progressive aspect (§9.16.2.1.), e.g.

gzala gezəl 'He is going'

3.18.2. 'to want'

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the voiced prefix *g-*. The initial /*a*/ vowel of the irrealis is not historical, the original root being **bʸ*, but has evolved by analogy with initial /*ʔ*/ roots thus:

kxəl → *axəl* : *gbe* (< **k-ba'e*) → *ʔabe*

3.18.2.1. Present**(i) Irrealis**

3ms.	'ābe
3fs.	'āba, 'abya
3pl.	'āben
2ms.	'ābet
2fs.	'ābat
2pl.	'ābetun
1ms.	'ābena
1fs.	'āban, 'ābāna
1pl.	'ābex, 'abéxin

(ii) Realis

3ms.	gbe
3fs.	gba
3pl.	gben
2ms.	gbet
2fs.	gbat
2pl.	gbetun
1ms.	gbna
1fs.	gban
1pl.	gbex(in)

3.18.2.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	'abele	'He wanted (him)'
3fs.	'abyale	'He wanted her'
3pl.	'ābenile	'He wanted them'

3.18.2.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	'abya
fs.	'bita
pl.	'ābye

3.18.2.4. Imperative

sing.	ʔəbu
pl.	ʔəbumu(n)

3.18.2.5. Infinitive

ʔəboe

3.18.3. ʔly ‘to know’

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*. The medial radical /*l*/ of the irrealis is lost in the realis paradigm. Although the historical root **yḏ*^c has initial **y*, the verb is now initial /*ʔ*/.

3.18.3.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	ʔəle
3fs.	ʔəlyə
3pl.	ʔəlen
2ms.	ʔəlet
2fs.	ʔəlyat
2pl.	ʔəletun
1ms.	ʔəlena
1fs.	ʔəlyan, ʔəlyána
1pl.	ʔəlex, ʔəléxin

(ii) Realis

3ms.	kəe
3fs.	kəya
3pl.	kəen
2ms.	kəet
2fs.	kəyat
2pl.	kəetun

1ms.	<i>kǎena</i>
1fs.	<i>kǎyan, kǎyána</i>
1pl.	<i>kǎex, kǎéxin</i>

3.18.3.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>ʔlile</i>	‘He knew (him)’
3fs.	<i>ʔalyale</i>	‘He knew her’
3pl.	<i>ʔlenile</i>	‘He knew them’

3.18.3.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>ʔalya</i>
fs.	<i>ʔlita</i>
pl.	<i>ʔalye</i>

3.18.3.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>ʔǎlu</i>
pl.	<i>ʔǎlumu(n)</i>

3.18.3.5. Infinitive

ʔǎloe

3.18.4. *hwl* ‘to give’

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial syllable *ha-* of the irrealis form. An un-historical final /l/ appears in the 3ms. form of the present and in the imperative but not in other inflections.

3.18.4.1. Present

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	<i>hǎwǎl</i>
3fs.	<i>hǎwa</i>
3pl.	<i>hǎwi</i>

2ms.	<i>hǎwet</i>
2fs.	<i>hǎwat</i>
2pl.	<i>hǎwetun</i>
1ms.	<i>hawna</i>
1fs.	<i>hǎwan</i>
1pl.	<i>hǎwex(in)</i>

(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>kwəl</i>
3fs.	<i>kwa</i>
3pl.	<i>kwi</i>
2ms.	<i>kwet</i>
2fs.	<i>kwat</i>
2pl.	<i>kwetun</i>
1ms.	<i>kəwna</i>
1fs.	<i>kwan</i>
1pl.	<i>kwex(in)</i>

3.18.4.2. Transitive Active Past Base

This transitive active base has a medial long /i/, like medial /y/ verbs:

3ms.	<i>hiwle</i>	‘He gave (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>hiwale</i>	‘He gave it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>hiwile</i>	‘He gave them’

3.18.4.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>hiwa</i>
fs.	<i>hiwta</i>
pl.	<i>hiwe</i>

3.18.4.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>hol</i>
pl.	<i>húlm(u)n</i>

3.18.4.5. Infinitive

hǎwoe

3.18.5. *hyy* ‘to come’

This verb is derived historically from the root ^ʷ*ty*. In all inflections the original medial **t* has been elided.

3.18.5.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the prefix *k-*.

(i) Irrealis

The initial radical is /*h*/ rather than the laryngal stop /^ʰ/ of the historical form of the root:

3ms.	<i>he</i>
3fs.	<i>hiyá</i>
3pl.	<i>hen</i>
2ms.	<i>het</i>
2fs.	<i>hiyát</i>
2pl.	<i>hétun</i>
1ms.	<i>héna</i>
1fs.	<i>hiyán</i>
1pl.	<i>héc(in)</i>

(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>ke</i>
3fs.	<i>kya</i>
3pl.	<i>ken</i>
2ms.	<i>ket</i>
2fs.	<i>kyat</i>
2pl.	<i>kétun</i>
1ms.	<i>kéna</i>
1fs.	<i>kyán</i>
1pl.	<i>kéc(in)</i>

3.18.5.2. Past Base

3ms.	<i>híye</i>	‘He came’
3fs.	<i>híya</i>	‘She came’
3pl.	<i>híyen</i>	‘They went’

3.18.5.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>hiyá</i>
fs.	<i>hitá</i>
pl.	<i>hiyé</i>

3.18.5.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>hal</i>
pl.	<i>hálmu(n)</i>

These forms may be combined with 2nd person L-suffixes. The resulting gemination of the final /l/ is weakened. In the singular genders are distinguished by these suffixes. In the plural a form of suffix is used that is a hybrid of the 2pl. L-suffix and the pl. imperative ending *-mu(n)*:

ms.	<i>hálox</i>
fs.	<i>hálax</i>
pl	<i>hálaxmun</i>

3.18.5.5. Infinitive

<i>hyaa</i>	<i>hǎoe</i>
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An infinitive form *kyaa* with the realis *k-* prefix is used when the infinitive is combined with realis present forms in progressive constructions such as *kyaa kena* ‘I am coming’ (§9.16.2.1.).

3.18.6. *hmy* ‘to bring’

This is historically the *ʼapʼel* of the root *ʼty*. The **t*, however, has been lost and a letter */m/*, which was originally a participial prefix has come to be treated as a radical. The root may be represented as *hmy*.

3.18.6.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the prefix *k-*:

(i) Irrealis

The initial radical is /h/:

3ms.	<i>hǎme</i>
3fs.	<i>hǎmya</i>
3pl.	<i>hǎmen</i>
2ms.	<i>hǎmet</i>
2fs.	<i>hǎmyat</i>
2pl.	<i>hǎmétun</i>
1ms.	<i>hǎména</i>
1fs.	<i>hǎmyan</i>
1pl.	<i>hǎmex(in)</i>

(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>kme</i>
3fs.	<i>kǎmya</i>
3pl.	<i>kmen</i>
2ms.	<i>kmet</i>
2fs.	<i>kǎmyat</i>
2pl.	<i>knétun</i>
1ms.	<i>knéna</i>
1fs.	<i>kǎmyan, kǎmyǎna</i>
1pl.	<i>kméx, kméxin</i>

3.18.6.2. Past Base

The past base is used to express the transitive active. It is not used to express the passive. The initial /h/ is optionally elided:

3ms.	<i>hméle</i>	<i>méle</i>	‘He brought (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>hǎmyále</i>	<i>myále</i>	‘He brought it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>hménile</i>	<i>ménile</i>	‘He brought them’

3.18.6.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>míya</i>
fs.	<i>míta</i>
pl.	<i>míye</i>

3.18.6.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>me</i>
pl.	<i>mému(n)</i>

3.18.6.5. Infinitive*hǎmoe***3.18.7. hwy ‘to be’**

This replaces the copula in certain functional contexts (§10.8.). It is defective in that it lacks a past base, imperative and resultative participle.

3.18.7.1. Present

In the present the realis is distinguished from the irrealis by the unvoiced prefix *k-*, which replaces the initial syllable of the irrealis.

(i) Irrealis

3ms.	<i>hǎwe</i>
3fs.	<i>hawya</i>
3pl.	<i>hǎwen</i>
2ms.	<i>hǎwet</i>
2fs.	<i>hawyat</i>
2pl.	<i>hǎwétun</i>
1ms.	<i>hǎwéna</i>
1fs.	<i>hawyán</i>
1pl.	<i>hǎwéx(in)</i>

(ii) Realis

3ms.	<i>kwe</i>
3fs.	<i>kəwya</i>
3pl.	<i>kwen</i>
2ms.	<i>kwet</i>
2fs.	<i>kəwyat</i>
2pl.	<i>kwétun</i>

1ms.	<i>kwéna</i>
1fs.	<i>kəwyan</i>
1pl.	<i>kwéx(in)</i>

3.18.7.2. Infinitive

hăwoe

3.18.8. *dŎy* ‘to hit, to place’

3.18.8.1. Present

3ms.	<i>dăe, dăel</i>
3fs.	<i>dăya</i>
3pl.	<i>dăen</i>

2ms.	<i>dăet</i>
2fs.	<i>dăyat</i>
2pl.	<i>dăétun</i>

1ms.	<i>dăéna</i>
1fs.	<i>dăyan</i>
1pl.	<i>dăéx(in)</i>

3.18.8.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>dile</i>	‘He hit (him)’
3fs.	<i>diyale</i>	‘He hit her’
3pl.	<i>dinile</i>	‘He hit them’

A passive of this verb cannot be expressed with a past base.

3.18.8.3. Resultative Participle

A single resultative participle is used to express both the transitive active and the passive:

ms.	<i>diya</i>
fs.	<i>dita</i>
pl.	<i>diye</i>

3.18.8.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>du</i>
pl.	<i>dúmu(n)</i>

3.18.8.5. Infinitive

dăoe

3.18.9. *šwl̥t* ‘to throw’

This verb is conjugated like a quadrilateral, but has the weak radical /w/, realized as /o/, in the place of a strong second radical.

3.18.9.1. Present

3ms.	<i>šoləṭ</i>
3fs.	<i>šolṭa</i>
3pl.	<i>šolṭi</i>
2ms.	<i>šoltet</i>
2fs.	<i>šolṭat</i>
2pl.	<i>šoltétun</i>
1ms.	<i>šoláṭna</i>
1fs.	<i>šolṭan</i>
1pl.	<i>šoltéx(in)</i>

3.18.9.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>šoləṭle</i>	‘He threw (it m.)’
3fs.	<i>šolṭale</i>	‘He threw it (f.)’
3pl.	<i>šolṭile</i>	‘He threw them’

3.18.9.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>šolṭa</i>	
fs.	<i>šolṭa</i>	(< *šolatta)
pl.	<i>šolṭe</i>	

3.18.9.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>šoliṭa</i>	
fs.	<i>šoliṭa</i>	(< * <i>šoliṭta</i>)
pl.	<i>šoliṭe</i>	

3.18.9.5. Imperative

sing.	<i>šóləṭ</i>
pl.	<i>šóləṭmu(n)</i>

3.18.9.6. Infinitive

The vocalism of the infinitive has the CCaCa pattern with the /o/ after the second radical:

šolaṭa

3.18.10. mwmy ‘to swear’

This is conjugated like a stem III final /y/ verb, but has the weak radical /w/, realized as /o/ or /u/, after the initial /m/. It is treated as a transitive verb and so has a transitive past base and resultative participle.

3.18.10.1. Present

3ms.	<i>mome</i>
3fs.	<i>momya</i>
3pl.	<i>momen</i>
2ms.	<i>momet</i>
2fs.	<i>momyat</i>
2pl.	<i>mométun</i>
1ms.	<i>moména</i>
1fs.	<i>momyan/momyăna</i>
1pl.	<i>momex/momexin</i>

3.18.10.2. Transitive Active Past Base*mome-*

Examples: *momele* ‘He swore’, *momela* ‘She swore’, *momelu* ‘They swore’.

3.18.10.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle*mumya*

Examples: *tati mumya-y* ‘My father has sworn’, *baxti mumya-y* ‘My wife has sworn’ (§9.13.3.).

3.18.10.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>móme</i>
pl.	<i>mómemu(n)</i>

3.18.10.5. Infinitive

The /w/ is not reflected in the vocalism of the infinitive, which has the regular pattern *CăCoCe*:

*mămoe***3.18.11. *lwly* ‘to beseech’**

This is conjugated like a stem I final /y/ verb, but has the weak radical /w/, realized as /o/, after the initial radical. It is treated as a transitive verb and so has a transitive past base and resultative participle.

3.18.11.1. Present

3ms.	<i>lole</i>
3fs.	<i>lolya</i>
3pl.	<i>lolen</i>
2ms.	<i>lolet</i>
2fs.	<i>lolyat</i>
2pl.	<i>lolétun</i>

1ms.	<i>loléna</i>
1fs.	<i>lolyan/lolyăna</i>
1pl.	<i>lolex/lolexin</i>

3.18.11.2. Transitive Active Past Base

lole-

Examples: *lolele* ‘He beseeched’, *lolela* ‘She beseeched’, *lolelu* ‘They beseeched’.

3.18.11.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>lolya</i>
fs.	<i>lolita</i>
pl.	<i>lolye</i>

3.18.11.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>lôle</i>
pl.	<i>lôlemu(n)</i>

3.18.11.5. Infinitive

The /w/ is not reflected in the vocalism of the infinitive, which has the regular pattern *CăCoCe*. The third radical, however, is treated as /l/ rather than /y/:

lălole

3.18.12. *mștwr* ‘to curse’

This verb is conjugated like a quadriliteral, but has the weak radical /w/, realized as /o/, intervening between the last two radicals.

3.18.12.1. Present

3ms.	<i>maștor</i>
3fs.	<i>maștora</i>
3pl.	<i>maștori</i>

2ms.	<i>măștoret</i>
2fs.	<i>măștorat</i>
2pl.	<i>măștorétun</i>

1ms.	<i>măștorna</i>
1fs.	<i>măștoran</i>
1pl.	<i>măștoréx(in)</i>

3.18.12.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	<i>măștor-</i>
3fs.	<i>măștora-</i>
3pl.	<i>măștori-</i>

When the 3ms. form is combined with L-suffixes, the /l/ assimilates to the /r/ and the resulting gemination of the /r/ is weakened:

<i>măștóre</i>	‘He cursed (him)’
<i>măștorále</i>	‘He cursed her’
<i>măștoríle</i>	‘He cursed them’

3.18.12.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>măștora</i>
fs.	<i>măștorta</i>
pl.	<i>măștore</i>

3.18.12.4. Passive Resultative Participle

3ms.	<i>mășțira</i>
3fs.	<i>mășțirta</i>
3pl.	<i>mășțire</i>

3.18.12.5. Imperative

sing.	<i>măștor</i>
pl.	<i>măștor^mu(n)</i>

3.18.12.6. Infinitive

măștore

3.18.13. *ytw* ‘to sit’

In the conjugation of the present base of this verb, the /w/ radical often assimilates to the medial /t/ radical when in contact with it. The resulting gemination of the /t/ is subsequently lost. Uncontracted forms that preserve the sequence /tw/ are also used by speakers. The sequence /əw/ contracts to /u/ when it is stressed, as is the general rule in final /w/ verbs (§3.14.11.). The initial /y/ of the root is elided when clustering with the following /t/ in the past base, resultative participle and imperative.

3.18.13.1. *Present*

3ms.	<i>yǎtu</i>		
3fs.	<i>yǎta</i>	< * <i>yatta</i>	< <i>yatwa</i>
3pl.	<i>yǎti</i>	< * <i>yatti</i>	< <i>yatwi</i> , etc.
2ms.	<i>yǎtet</i>		
2fs.	<i>yǎtat</i>		
2pl.	<i>yǎtétun</i>		
1ms.	<i>yǎtúna</i>		
1fs.	<i>yǎtan</i>		
1pl.	<i>yǎtéx(in)</i>		

3.18.13.2. *Intransitive Past Base*

3ms.	<i>tiw</i>	‘He sat’
3fs.	<i>tíwa</i>	‘She sat’
3pl.	<i>tíwi</i>	‘They sat’

3.18.13.3. *Resultative Participle*

ms.	<i>tiwa</i>
fs.	<i>tiwta</i>
pl.	<i>tiwe</i>

3.18.13.4. *Imperative*

sing.	<i>tu</i>
pl.	<i>túmu(n)</i>

3.18.13.5. Infinitive

yǎtowe

3.18.14. *m-tw* ‘to place’

This verb is the stem III causative of *ytw*. The initial /y/ is elided in all forms. The /w/ often assimilates to the /t/ when in contact with it in the present base, as in the verb *ytw*, and the resulting gemination of the /t/ is subsequently lost.

3.18.14.1. Present

3ms.	<i>mǎtu</i>		
3fs.	<i>mǎta</i>	< * <i>matta</i>	< <i>matwa</i>
3pl.	<i>mǎti</i>	< * <i>matti</i>	< <i>matwi</i> , etc.
2ms.	<i>mǎtet</i>		
2fs.	<i>mǎtat</i>		
2pl.	<i>mǎtétun</i>		
1ms.	<i>mǎtúna</i>		
1fs.	<i>mǎtan</i>		
1pl.	<i>mǎtéx(in)</i>		

The /w/ is occasionally preserved, e.g. *matwíwale* ‘They would place it’ (B:24).

3.18.14.2. Transitive Active Past Base

In the 3fs. and 3pl. forms the /w/ is optionally assimilated to the preceding /t/:

3ms.	<i>mtu-</i>	
3fs.	<i>mǎtwa-</i>	<i>mǎta-</i>
3pl.	<i>mǎtwi-</i>	<i>mǎti-</i>

Examples: *mtuli* ‘I placed (it m.)’, *mǎtwali/mǎtali* ‘I placed (it f.)’, *mǎtwili/mǎtili* ‘I placed (them)’.

3.18.14.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mətwa</i>
fs.	<i>mtəwta</i>
pl.	<i>mətwe</i>

3.18.14.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>mtiwa</i>
fs.	<i>mtiwtā</i>
pl.	<i>mtiwe</i>

3.18.14.5. Imperative

sing.	<i>mátu</i>
pl.	<i>mátumu(n)</i>

3.18.14.6. Infinitive

mátowe

3.18.15. xØy ‘to see’

In this verb an original medial *z has been reduced to zero (< *xzy).

3.18.15.1. Present

3ms.	<i>xǎe</i>
3fs.	<i>xǎya</i>
3pl.	<i>xǎen</i>
2ms.	<i>xǎet</i>
2fs.	<i>xǎyat</i>
2pl.	<i>xǎétun</i>
1ms.	<i>xǎéna</i>
1fs.	<i>xǎyan</i>
1pl.	<i>xǎéx(in)</i>

3.18.15.2. Past Base

The past base is used to express the transitive active. It is not used to express the passive:

3ms.	<i>xéle</i>	‘He saw (him)’
3fs.	<i>xiyále</i>	‘He saw her’
3pl.	<i>xiyénilé</i>	‘He saw them’

3.18.15.3. Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>xiya</i>
fs.	<i>xita</i>
pl.	<i>xiye</i>

3.18.15.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>xe</i>
pl.	<i>xému(n)</i>

3.18.15.5. Infinitive

xăoe

3.18.16. *xØr* ‘to become’

In this verb an original medial **d* has been reduced to zero (< **xdr*)

3.18.16.1. Present

3ms.	<i>xar</i>
3fs.	<i>xăra</i>
3pl.	<i>xări</i>
2ms.	<i>xăret</i>
2fs.	<i>xărat</i>
2pl.	<i>xărétun</i>
1ms.	<i>xarna</i>
1fs.	<i>xăran</i>
1pl.	<i>xăréx(in)</i>

3.18.16.2. Intransitive Past Base

3ms.	<i>xir</i>	‘He became’
3fs.	<i>xíra</i>	‘She became’
3pl.	<i>xíri-</i>	‘They became’

3.18.16.3. Intransitive Resultative Participle

ms.	<i>xira</i>
fs.	<i>xirta</i>
pl.	<i>xire</i>

3.18.16.4. Imperative

sing.	<i>xur</i>
pl.	<i>xúrmu(n)</i>

3.18.16.5. Infinitive

xǎroe

3.18.17. šØr ‘to send’

In this verb an original medial **d* has been reduced to zero (< **šdr*)

3.18.16.1. Present

3ms.	<i>šar</i>
3fs.	<i>šára</i>
3pl.	<i>šári</i>
2ms.	<i>šāret</i>
2fs.	<i>šārat</i>
2pl.	<i>šārétun</i>
1ms.	<i>šarna</i>
1fs.	<i>šāran, šārāna</i>
1pl.	<i>šārex, šārēxin</i>

3.18.16.2. Transitive Active Past Base

3ms.	šər-
3fs.	šəra
3pl.	šəri-

The /l/ of L-suffixes assimilates to the /r/ of the 3ms. form of the base and the resulting gemination of the /r/ is subsequently weakened:

3ms.	šəre	‘He sent (it m.)’	< *šərre < *šərle
3fs.	šərdle	‘He sent it (f.)’	
3pl.	šərdle	‘He sent them’	

3.18.16.3. Transitive Active Resultative Participle

ms.	šəra
fs.	šərta
pl.	šəre

3.18.16.4. Passive Resultative Participle

ms.	šira
fs.	širta
pl.	šire

3.18.16.5. Imperative

sing.	šar
pl.	šármu(n)

3.18.16.6. Infinitive

šəroe

3.19. PHRASAL VERBS

The dialect contains numerous ‘phrasal verbs’, which consist of a finite inflected verb and a nominal element. These are calques from parallel constructions in Persian and Kurdish. The nominal element is generally retained from the source language with the finite verb being exchanged for an equivalent Aramaic verb. In the majority of cases the verbal element is the ‘light verbs’ ʾwl ‘to do’ or xØr ‘to become’, e.g.

<i>ʿarz ʿwl</i>	‘to say (polite)’	Pers. <i>arz kardan</i> Kurd. <i>arz kirdin</i>
<i>bawař ʿwl</i>	‘to believe’	Kurd. <i>bawař kirdin</i>
<i>daʿwat ʿwl</i>	‘to invite’	Pers. <i>daʿwat kardan</i>
<i>ħāz ʿwl</i>	‘to desire’	Kurd. <i>ħaz kirdin</i>
<i>komak ʿwl</i>	‘to help’	Pers. <i>komak kardan</i>
<i>qānaʿat ʿwl</i>	‘to be content’	Pers. <i>qānaʿat kardan</i>
<i>tāmaša ʿwl</i>	‘to observe’	Kurd. <i>tāmaša kirdin</i>
<i>taħdid ʿwl</i>	‘to threaten’	Pers. <i>taħdid kardan</i>
<i>weł ʿwl</i>	‘to stop’	Kurd. <i>weł kirdin</i>
<i>zəndəgi ʿwl</i>	‘to live’	Pers. <i>zendegi kardan</i>
<i>ʿaxər xØr</i>	‘to come to an end’	Pers. <i>axer šodan</i>
<i>ħali xØr</i>	‘to understand’	Pers. <i>ħali šodan</i>
<i>ħazm xØr</i>	‘to be digested’	Pers. <i>ħazm šodan</i>
<i>jamʿ xØr</i>	‘to gather (intr.)’	Pers. <i>jamʿ šodan</i>
<i>pea xØr</i>	‘to be born’	Pers. <i>peda šodan</i>
<i>rad xØr</i>	‘to pass by’	Pers. <i>rad šodan</i>
<i>rāwana xØr</i>	‘to set off’	Pers. <i>rāwane šodan</i>
<i>warəd xØr</i>	‘to enter’	Pers. <i>ward šodan</i>

In some cases other phrasal verbs occur with other verbal elements, e.g.

<i>ħāwa ʿxl</i>	‘to breathe’	Pers. <i>ħāwa xordan</i>
<i>tařmim dwq</i>	‘to decide’	Pers. <i>tařmim gereftan</i>
<i>tuł grř</i>	‘to last’	Pers. <i>tuł kařidan</i>
<i>ħasrat lbl</i>	‘to envy’	Pers. <i>ħasrat bordan</i>

Occasionally the nominal element of the source language is calqued with an Aramaic equivalent, e.g.

<i>ʿila ʿwl</i>	‘to begin’	Kurd. <i>dast pe-kirdin</i>
<i>reša dØy</i>	‘to visit’	Kurd. <i>sar dān</i>
<i>ʿena dØy</i>	‘to wink’	Pers. <i>čařm zadan</i>

There are various other calqued idiomatic verbal phrases, e.g.

<i>qābul hiti</i>	‘I accept, I agree’	Pers. <i>qābul daram</i>
<i>mən-bayn ʿzl</i>	‘to be destroyed’	Pers. <i>az bayn raftan</i>

3.20. PRONOMINAL OBJECTS

3.20.1. Pronominal Direct Objects on Present Base Verbs

The pronominal direct object of a verb form derived from the present base may be expressed by L-series suffixes in all persons except the 1ms. and 1fs., which take the set of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, without the /l/ element. The forms attached to a 3ms. verb are as follows:

Object Suffix	3ms. verb	
3ms.	<i>gǎrǎšle</i>	‘He pulls him’
3fs.	<i>gǎrǎšla</i>	‘He pulls her’
3pl.	<i>gǎrǎšlu</i>	‘He pulls them’, etc.
2ms	<i>gǎrǎšlox</i>	
2fs.	<i>gǎrǎšlax</i>	
2pl.	<i>gǎrǎšlǎxun</i>	
1s.	<i>gǎrǎšli</i>	
1pl.	<i>gǎrǎšlan</i>	

Note that the stress remains on the verbal base throughout the paradigm. When the final radical of a verb is /l/, /r/ or /n/, the /l/ of the L-suffix that is in contact with this assimilates to it. The gemination of the final radical arising from this assimilation is weakened, according to the usual process. In strong stem I verbs there is usually a consequential resyllabification, e.g.

<i>šáqlē</i>	‘He buys it’	< *šǎqǎlle
<i>zábne</i>	‘He sells it’	< *zǎbǎnne < *zǎbǎnle
<i>báqre</i>	‘He asks it’	< *bǎqǎrre < *bǎqǎrle

Occasionally the /ə/ before the final radical is retained and bears the stress, e.g. *zǎbǎnu* ‘He sells them’ (< *zǎbǎnnu) (A:102).

The /l/ of the suffix assimilates to the /t/ of the 2ms. and 2fs. forms and the resulting gemination of /t/ is weakened. Pronominal suffixes are generally added to the 2pl. form without a change to the verbal base:

Verb 3ms. Object Suffix

2ms.	<i>garšéte</i>	‘You (ms.) pull him’	< <i>garšette</i>	< <i>garšetle</i>
2fs.	<i>garšáte</i>	‘You (fs.) pull him’	< <i>garšatte</i>	< <i>garšatle</i>
2pl.	<i>garšétule</i>	‘You (pl.) pull him’		

Note that the stressed /e/ in the 2ms. suffix in the open syllable resulting from the loss of gemination of the following /t/ is pronounced long, whereas the stressed /a/ in the corresponding position in the 2fs. form is short.

When the L-suffixes are added to a 1pl. verb, an additional /i/ vowel is inserted before the suffix:

garšexile ‘We pull him’

The 1st person singular verb forms express the pronominal object with the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions (§2.3.). The final /a/ of the 1ms. subject suffix *-na* is elided before the pronominal object suffix:

Object Suffix	1ms. verb	
3ms.	<i>gārāšnef</i>	‘I (m.) pull him’
3fs.	<i>gārāšnaf</i>	‘I (m.) pull her’
3pl.	<i>gārāšnu</i>	‘I (m.) pull them’
2ms.	<i>gārāšnox</i>	‘I (m.) pull you (ms.)’
2fs.	<i>gārāšnax</i>	‘I (m.) pull you (fs.)’
2pl.	<i>gārāšnāxun</i>	‘I (m.) pull you (pl.)’

With the 1fs. three variant forms are attested, one retaining the *-an* subject suffix, one reduplicating the suffix and a third eliding the suffix altogether before the object suffix:

3ms.	<i>garšānef</i>	<i>garšānanef</i>	<i>garšef</i>	‘I (f.) pull him’
3fs.	<i>garšānaf</i>	<i>garšānanaf</i>	<i>garšaf</i>	‘I (f.) pull her’
3pl.	<i>garšānu</i>	<i>garšānanu</i>	<i>garšu</i>	‘I (f.) pull them’, etc.

The inflection of the present form of final /y/ verbs with pronominal object suffixes is as follows:

m-šty ‘to cause to drink’

Verb 3ms Object Suffix

3ms.	<i>maštéle</i>	‘He causes him to drink’
3fs.	<i>maštyála</i>	‘She causes him to drink’
3pl.	<i>mašténilu</i>	‘They cause him to drink’, etc.

2ms	<i>maštéte</i>
2fs.	<i>maštyáte</i>
2pl.	<i>maštétule</i>
1ms.	<i>mašténef</i>
1fs.	<i>maštyáne, maštyef</i>
1pl.	<i>maštéxile</i>

Note here the addition of the /i/ vowel between the 3pl. subject inflection and the pronominal object suffix: *mašten* + *le* > *maštenile*.

Attachment of pronominal object suffixes to present base forms with the past tense enclitic *-wa*:

3ms.	<i>gărăšwale</i>
3fs.	<i>garšáwale</i>
3pl.	<i>garšíwale</i>
2ms	<i>garšétwale</i>
2fs.	<i>garšátwale</i>
2pl.	<i>garšétunwale</i>
1ms.	<i>gărăššnawalef, gărăššnawalaf</i>
1fs.	<i>garšánwalef, gărăššnawalaf</i>
1pl.	<i>garšéxwale</i>

The 3rd person singular pronominal suffixes on 1st person singular verb forms are *-lef* and *-laf* by analogy with the suffixes *-ef* and *-af* that are attached to the 1st person forms in the present.

An alternative means of expressing the pronominal direct object is by a prepositional phrase. Such a prepositional phrase is not bonded to the verb like L-suffixes and may be placed either after or before it. When the pronominal object is fronted before the verb, the object pronoun is typically an information focus, which typically expresses contrast.

Prepositional phrases containing the preposition ³əl- with pronominal suffixes are placed either after or before the verb:

<i>gărăšš</i> ³ ələf ¹	‘He pulls him’
<i>gărăšš</i> ³ ələx ¹	‘He pulls you’
³ ələf <i>gărăšš</i> ¹	‘He pulls HIM’
³ ələx <i>gărăšš</i> ¹	‘He pulls YOU’

When the pronominal suffix is fronted before the verb, it may also be expressed by morphologically ‘heavier’ phrases in which the pronominal element is combined with the preposition by means of the genitive particle. When used independently of pronominal suffixes the preposition has the form *həl-* with an initial /h/. Such direct object phrases do not necessarily have narrow focus:

<i>həl-didi gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls me’
<i>həl-didan gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls us’
<i>həl-didóx gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (ms.)’
<i>həl-didáx gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (fs.)’
<i>həl-didǎxún gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (pl.)’
<i>həl-d-ó gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls him/her’
<i>həl-d-óni gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls them’

The *həl-* preposition may be optionally omitted before the genitive particle. This is particularly common before the *did-* phrase with 1st and 2nd person objects:

<i>didí gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls me’
<i>didán gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls us’
<i>didóx gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (ms.)’
<i>didáx gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (fs.)’
<i>didǎxún gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls you (pl.)’
<i>d-ó gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls him/her’
<i>d-óni gǎrǎšʼ</i>	‘He pulls them’

3.20.2. Pronominal Direct Objects on Past Base Verbs

If the pronominal object is 3rd person., it can be expressed by the number and gender agreement of the past base of the verbal form. The default masculine form of the base can always potentially express a 3ms. object, in which case it can be considered to realize the pronominal reference as zero (Ø):

3ms.	<i>grǎš-le</i> (= <i>grǎš-Ø-le</i>)	‘He pulled him’
3fs.	<i>gǎrǎšá-le</i>	‘He pulled her’
3pl.	<i>gǎrǎší-le</i>	‘He pulled them’

As shown above (§3.14.5.2.), the plural form of the past base of final /y/ verbs has the inflection *-eni* with /i/ before the L-suffix, e.g. *plénile* ‘He divided them’, *ménilox* ‘You brought them’.

The 3rd person pronominal objects may be expressed in this way also when the particle *wa* is attached to the past base:

<i>gréšwale</i>	‘He had pulled him’
<i>gəršáwale</i>	‘He had pulled her’
<i>gəršíwale</i>	‘He had pulled them’

When this particle is added to the past base of final /y/ verbs, the plural form has the ending *-eni*, e.g.

<i>xéniwale</i>	‘He had seen them’
-----------------	--------------------

1st and 2nd person pronominal objects are expressed by suffixes. To avoid accumulating two sets of L-series suffixes, the pronominal object is attached to the preposition *’al-/həl-*. When placed before the verb, this prepositional phrase is optionally replaced by a morphologically ‘heavier’ phrase containing the genitive particle. 3rd person pronominal objects may also be expressed in this way rather than by gender and number agreement of the base. The full paradigm of pronominal objects expressed in this way is as follows:

3ms.	<i>grəšle ’alef</i>	<i>’alef grəšle</i>	<i>həl-d-o grəšle</i>	‘He pulled him’
3fs.	<i>grəšle ’alaf</i>	<i>’alaf grəšle</i>	<i>həl-d-o grəšle</i>	‘He pulled her’
3pl.	<i>grəšle ’alu</i>	<i>’alu grəšle</i>	<i>həl-d-oni grəšle</i>	‘He pulled them’
2ms.	<i>grəšle ’alox</i>	<i>’alox grəšle</i>	<i>həl-didox grəšle</i>	‘He pulled you (ms.)’
2fs.	<i>grəšle ’alax</i>	<i>’alax grəšle</i>	<i>həl-didax grəšle</i>	‘He pulled you (fs.)’
2pl.	<i>grəšle ’alāxun</i>	<i>’alāxun grəšle</i>	<i>həl-didāxun grəšle</i>	‘He pulled you (pl.)’
1s.	<i>grəšle ’ali</i>	<i>’ali grəšle</i>	<i>həl-didi grəšle</i>	‘He pulled me’
1pl.	<i>grəšle ’alan</i>	<i>’alan grəšle</i>	<i>həl-didan grəšle</i>	‘He pulled us’

In fast speech these pronominal object phrases are often phonetically reduced. The initial syllable of the phrase with the preposition *’al-* may be elided after the vowel of the L-suffix, e.g.

<i>grəšle-lef</i>	‘He pulled him’	< <i>grəšle ’alef</i>
<i>grəšlu-laf</i>	‘They pulled her’	< <i>grəšlu ’alaf</i>
<i>grəšli-lox</i>	‘I pulled you (ms.)’	< <i>grəšli ’alox</i>

The *həl-* element before forms with the genitive particle may be dropped, e.g.

<i>d-o grəšle</i>	‘He pulled him’
<i>đidi grəšlu</i>	‘They pulled me’
<i>didox grəšli</i>	‘I pulled you (ms.)’

In the text corpus two cases occur of a 1fs. undergoer of the action being expressed by inflection of the past base:

- (1) *ləblánanu bimaristán-e Hăđásà.* | *’ăxonì ləblánanef.* | ‘They took me to Hadasa hospital. My brother took me.’ (C:2)

The inflection of these forms for undergoer + agent parallels the inflection on present base verbs for agent + undergoer, as is the case when the undergoer is 3rd person:

<i>ləblánanef</i>	‘He took me’	<i>lablánanef</i>	‘I take him’
<i>ləblánanu</i>	‘They took me’	<i>lablánanu</i>	‘I take them’
<i>gəršale</i>	‘He pulled her’	<i>garšale</i>	‘She pulls him’
<i>gəršalu</i>	‘They pulled her’	<i>garšalu</i>	‘She pulls them’

When, however, attempts were made to elicit further forms of undergoers that are not 3rd person expressed in the inflection of the past base, informants did not accept their grammaticality.

3.20.2. Pronominal Direct Objects on Imperatives

On imperatives the pronominal object may be expressed by L-suffixes. The plural imperative has the ending *-mu* rather than *-mun* before the L-suffix. The stress is placed on the initial syllable:

Stem I

sing.	<i>grúšle</i>	‘Pull him!’
plural	<i>grúšmule</i>	‘Pull him!’

Stem II

sing.	<i>básəmle</i>	‘Cure him!’
plural	<i>básəmmule</i>	‘Cure him!’

Stem III

sing.	<i>márxəšle</i>	‘Make him walk!’
plural	<i>márxəšmule</i>	‘Make him walk!’

Quadrilateral

sing.	<i>bárbəzle</i>	‘Scatter it!’
plural	<i>bárbəzmule</i>	‘Scatter it!’

When the final radical of the verb is /n/ or /r/, the /l/ of the L-suffix assimilates to this in the singular imperative. The resulting gemination of the final radical is weakened:

<i>šqúle</i>	‘Buy it!’	< *šqulle
<i>bqúre</i>	‘Ask it!’	< *bqurre

In verbs that have the pattern *CāCəC-* in the imperative, the weakening of gemination results in resyllabification, e.g.

<i>zábne</i>	‘Sell it!’	< *zábənnə
<i>lábne</i>	‘Take it!’	< *lábəlle

Alternatively, the pronominal object may be expressed by prepositional phrases. These follow the pattern of the corresponding constructions with present base and past base verbs. Phrases with the preposition *ʔəl-/həl-* are used after the verb, or before to express narrow focus. A fronted pronominal object may also be expressed by a phrase containing the genitive particle:

<i>grúš ʔəlef</i>	<i>ʔəlef grúš</i>	<i>həl-d-o grúš</i>	‘Pull him!’
<i>grúšle ʔəli</i>	<i>ʔəli grúš</i>	<i>didi grúš</i>	‘Pull me!’

3.20.4. Pronominal Direct Objects on Phrasal Verbs

In phrasal verbs, which consist of collocations of a finite verb and a nominal element, pronominal direct objects may be expressed in one of the following ways. The first two are identical to the constructions that are used with simple verbs. The third is particular to phrasal verbs.

3.20.4.1. Suffixes on Verb

The pronominal object may take the form of an L-suffix, e.g.

- (1) *tahdíd koliwalán.*¹ ‘They would threaten us.’ (B:23)
- (2) *hàr ʔáṣər¹ xa-našá daʔwát holàn.*¹ (< *hol-lan*) ‘Every evening a person would invite us.’ (D:6)
- (3) *pirè¹ gbéwa ʔemzà holiwalá.*¹ ‘The elders had to sign it.’ (A:48)
- (4) *ʔóá lá-xárwa gyaná holìl-o.*¹ ‘They could not extinguish that.’ (B:72)

In the case of past base verbs, the pronominal may have the form of an S-suffix inflection of the past base agreeing with the object nominal, e.g.

- (5) *tahdíd wilàle.*¹ ‘He threatened her.’

3.20.4.2. Independent Pronominal Object Phrase

In the text corpus these take the form of phrases consisting of the independent genitive particle, e.g.

- (1) *kúle 'áʒər didán da'wát kolí.* 'Every evening they will invite us.' (D:6)
- (2) *hár-lele xa-našá da'wát didí kòl.* 'Each night a person will invite me.' (D:3)
- (3) *'axtú tāmà didí-u daǎkí da'wát lá kolétun?* 'Why do you not invite me and my mother?' (D:8)

3.20.4.3. A Suffix on the Nominal Element

- (1) *híč kásí da'wátóx lá wilè.* 'Nobody has invited you.' (D:7)
- (2) *bašká da'wătèf holí.* 'Perhaps they would invite him.' (D:7)
- (3) *xá-yoma kwè 'anà da'wătì kolí.* 'A day will come when they will invite me.' (D:8)
- (4) *náše 'o-belá nóšu komǎkáf kolíwa.* 'The people of the house themselves helped her.' (A:66)

In (5) the object is expressed by an independent genitive particle annexed to the nominal element:

- (5) *'anà da'wăt-e didǎxún wilè.* 'I invited you.' (D:8)

3.21. PRONOMINAL INDIRECT OBJECT

A pronominal indirect object of a present base or imperative verb form is expressed by an L-suffix, so long as there is no pronominal direct object in the same verb phrase:

<i>kwílan</i>	'They give us'
<i>húlmulan</i>	'Give (pl.) us!'

1st person singular verbs derived from the present base do not take L-suffixes but rather have the series of pronominal suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, as they do when expressing direct pronominal objects, e.g.

kəwnɛf 'I (m.) shall give him'
kəwnaf 'I (m.) shall give her'

kwǎɛf, kwɛf 'I (f.) shall give him'
kwǎnaf, kwaf 'I (f.) shall give her'

A pronominal indirect object may also be expressed by a phrase containing the preposition *baq-* or *'əl-* with the appropriate pronominal suffix:

kwi baqɛf 'They will give to him'
kwi 'ələf

This is obligatory when the verb has a pronominal direct object expressed by an L-suffix:

kwile baqɛf 'They will give it to him'
kwile 'ələf

When a verb has a past base inflected with L-suffixes, the indirect object is normally expressed by the preposition *baq-* or *'əl-*, the former being the more common:

hiwle baqɛf 'He gave (it) to him'
hiwle 'ələf

hiwale baqɛf 'He gave her to him'
hiwale 'ələf

When the past base verb has a 1st or 2nd person object, which cannot be expressed by the inflection of the past base, the pronominal object is expressed by a *'əl-* phrase and the indirect object by a *baq-* or *'əl-* phrase:

hiwli 'əɫax baqɛf 'I gave you (fs.) to him'
hiwli 'əɫax 'ələf

məʒdǎre 'əli baqox 'He sent me to you'
məʒdǎre 'əli 'əɫox

3.22. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

3.22.1. Positive

The existential particle exists in a present and past form:

hit 'There is/are'
hitwa 'There was/were'

The initial /h/ has arisen by the shift of an initial pharyngal stop *ʕ to a pharyngal fricative (§1.3.3.1.).

3.22.2. Negative

The present and past negative forms of the particle are as follows:

<i>lit</i>	‘There is/are not’
<i>litwa</i>	‘There was/were not’

3.23. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Possessive constructions are formed by combining the existential particles with the L-suffixes. In the present forms the /l/ of the suffixes is regularly assimilated to the final /t/ and the resulting gemination of the /t/ is weakened according to the usual process:

<i>hite</i>	‘He has’	< * <i>hitte</i> < * <i>hitle</i>
<i>lite</i>	‘He has not’	< * <i>litte</i> < * <i>litle</i>
<i>hitwale</i>	‘He had’	
<i>litwale</i>	‘He had not’	

3.24. GENERAL REMARKS ON THE VERBAL STEMS

In a few cases a verbal root has an intransitive stem I and a transitive causative stem II, e.g.

<i>pl̥t</i> I ‘to go out’	<i>pl̥t</i> II ‘to cause to go out’
<i>bsm</i> I ‘to recover’	<i>bsm</i> II ‘to cause to recover, to cure’
<i>ʃpy</i> I ‘to be filtered’	<i>ʃpy</i> II ‘to filter’
<i>ʦ̥ʃy</i> I ‘to hide (intr.)’	<i>ʦ̥ʃy</i> II ‘to hide (tr.)’

This is a marginal historical vestige of the semantic opposition of the original *pəʕal* and *pəʕel* stems. Stem II is not used productively in the present state of the dialect.

Stem III, on the other hand, is used productively to form causatives of stem I verbs, e.g.

<i>ʕrw</i> ‘to be destroyed’	<i>m-ʕrw</i> ‘to destroy’
<i>ʕry</i> ‘to freeze (intr.)’	<i>m-ʕry</i> ‘to cause to freeze’
<i>ʕsq</i> ‘to go up’	<i>m-ʕsq</i> ‘to cause to go up’
<i>bhr</i> ‘to shine’	<i>m-bhr</i> ‘to make shine, brighten’
<i>bxy</i> ‘to weep’	<i>m-bxy</i> ‘to cause to weep’

<i>čyr</i> ‘to turn’	<i>m-čyr</i> ‘to cause to turn’
<i>fhm</i> ‘to understand’	<i>m-fhm</i> ‘to make understand’
<i>gxc</i> ‘to laugh’	<i>m-gxc</i> ‘to make laugh’
<i>ħnq</i> ‘to be asphyxiated’	<i>m-ħnq</i> ‘to asphyxiate, to throttle’
<i>kry</i> ‘to become short’	<i>m-kry</i> ‘to make short’
<i>phr</i> ‘to yawn’	<i>m-phr</i> ‘to cause to yawn’
<i>qlb</i> ‘to turn over’	<i>m-qlb</i> ‘to cause to turn over’
<i>rxš</i> ‘to walk’	<i>m-rxš</i> ‘to cause to walk’
<i>smx</i> ‘to stand, stop’	<i>m-smx</i> ‘to cause to stand, stop’
<i>šxn</i> ‘to become hot’	<i>m-šxn</i> ‘to make hot’
<i>xlṭ</i> ‘to err’	<i>m-xlṭ</i> ‘to cause to err’
<i>yrx</i> ‘to become long’	<i>m-yrx</i> ‘to cause to become long’
<i>zyz</i> ‘to increase (intr.)’	<i>m-zyz</i> ‘to add, to increase (tr.)’

If the second radical belongs to the historical set of **bgdkpt* consonants, the stem III form generally retains the reflex of this that appears in stem I, e.g.

bāxe ‘He weeps’ *mabxe* ‘He causes to weep’

In the case of the verb **lbš*, however, the stem I form exhibits the fricative reflex of **b* whereas stem III has the stop reflex:

loš (< **lawəš* < **labəš*) ‘He dresses’
malbəš ‘He causes to dress’

A few stem III verbs have an intransitive sense in addition to a transitive sense, e.g.

m-skr ‘to become lost (intr.)—to lose (tr.)’
m-ʔby ‘to inflate, swell (intr. and tr.)’

Some are used only with an intransitive sense, e.g.

m-sry ‘to stink; to go off (food)’
m-šṭx ‘to give birth’

A stem I form is not available for all stem III verbs. This applies, for example, to the following:

m-ndy ‘to throw’
m-šyl ‘to listen’

4. NOUNS

4.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Most nouns of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology have in the singular one of the following endings: (i) *-a*, which is the reflex of the masculine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic, (ii) *-ta* or its variants *-da* and *-la*, which are the reflexes of the feminine singular determined state inflection of earlier Aramaic. A classification is given below of the various morphological patterns of nouns in the dialect that have one of these inflectional endings in the singular.

4.2. NOUNS WITH *-a* INFLECTION

4.2.1. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) *CăCa*

<i>ʾāra</i>	‘land’
<i>qāra</i>	‘gourd’
<i>tāra</i>	‘door’
<i>tāpa</i>	‘hill’

(2) *CəCa*

<i>bəza</i>	‘hole’
<i>ləba</i>	‘heart’
<i>qəna</i>	‘kernel’
<i>qəṭa</i>	‘piece’
<i>šəra</i>	‘navel’

<i>təna</i>	‘smoke’
<i>xəma</i>	‘father-in-law’

Nouns of this pattern had a geminated second radical at some earlier period (§1.4.).

(3) *CaCa*

<i>dana</i>	‘seed’
<i>kaka</i>	‘tooth’
<i>kasa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>qala</i>	‘voice’
<i>sala</i>	‘witness’
<i>xala</i>	‘food’
<i>xaşa</i>	‘back’
<i>yala</i>	‘young boy’

(4) *CeCa*

<i>’ewa</i>	‘cloud’
<i>bela</i>	‘house’
<i>dewa</i>	‘gold’
<i>lesa</i>	‘chewing gum’
<i>leša</i>	‘dough’
<i>pela</i>	‘radish’
<i>sema</i>	‘silver’
<i>sera</i>	‘moon’

(5) *CiCa*

<i>’ila</i>	‘hand, arm’
<i>bira</i>	‘well’
<i>rixa</i>	‘smell’
<i>şiwa</i>	‘wood’
<i>ţina</i>	‘clay, mud’
<i>xiwa</i>	‘snake’

(6) *CoCa*

<i>goza</i>	‘walnut’
<i>koza</i>	‘liver’
<i>mola</i>	‘death’

<i>poxa</i>	‘shade’
<i>qoła</i>	‘upper arm’
<i>qoqa</i>	‘water pot’
<i>roxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>toqa</i>	‘skin’
<i>xola</i>	‘rope’
<i>yoma</i>	‘day’

(7) *CuCa*

<i>duša</i>	‘honey’
<i>guša</i>	‘ball of dough’
<i>guza</i>	‘wall’
<i>kura</i>	‘kiln’
<i>nura</i>	‘fire’
<i>šura</i>	‘shirt’
<i>tuna</i>	‘straw’
<i>tura</i>	‘mountain’

(8) *CCaCa*

<i>glala</i>	‘thread’
<i>pyała</i>	‘glass’
<i>ptara</i>	‘stand for cooking pot’
<i>šwawa</i>	‘neighbour’
<i>xmara</i>	‘ass’

(9) *CCiCa*

<i>qlila</i>	‘key’
<i>xmira</i>	‘yeast, leaven’

(10) *CCuCa*

<i>xlula</i>	‘wedding’
<i>xzura</i>	‘pig’

(11) *CaCCa*

<i>’apra</i>	‘soil’
<i>garma</i>	‘bone’
<i>kalba</i>	‘dog’

<i>talya</i>	‘trunk of an animal’
<i>xalwa</i>	‘milk’
<i>yarxa</i>	‘month’

(12) *CəCCa*

<i>bərka</i>	‘knee’
<i>bərqa</i>	‘lightning’
<i>dəm‘a</i>	‘tear’
<i>gərza</i>	‘rat’
<i>məlxa</i>	‘salt’
<i>nəxla</i>	‘rain’
<i>pəsra</i>	‘meat’
<i>pəşla</i>	‘onion’
<i>qəṭra</i>	‘drop’
<i>səkḷa</i>	‘hiccup’
<i>sətwā</i>	‘winter’
<i>ṭəpra</i>	‘fingernail’
<i>xəşka</i>	‘darkness’
<i>xətna</i>	‘son-in-law’

Several forms of this pattern are verbal nouns derived from verbal roots, e.g.

<i>gəxka</i>	‘laughter’
<i>şəxna</i>	‘warmth’
<i>zəmra</i>	‘song’

(13) *CoCCa*

<i>‘orxa</i>	‘road, way’
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(14) *CuCCa*

<i>dugla</i>	‘lie’
<i>gul‘a</i>	‘kernel’
<i>gurma</i>	‘burning coal’
<i>kulya</i>	‘kidney’
<i>qulba</i>	‘bracelet’
<i>xumra</i>	‘bead, ring of necklace’
<i>xumşa</i>	‘pungency, sourness’
<i>xupna</i>	‘handful (with two hands)’

4.2.2. Trisyllabic Patterns with Three Radicals

(1) CăCaCa

<i>dălaka</i>	‘barber’
<i>gănawa</i>	‘thief’
<i>šămaka</i>	‘palate’

(2) CăCăCa

This pattern with a short /ă/ in the penultimate open syllable, is found only in loanwords, e.g.

<i>tăbăqa</i>	‘floor, storey’
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(3) CăCeCa

<i>tăhela</i>	‘spleen’
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(4) CăCiCa

<i>pătîla</i>	‘cooking pot’
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(5) CăCuCa

<i>tănura</i>	‘oven’
<i>băruxa</i>	‘friend’
<i>yătuma</i>	‘orphan’

(6) CiCaCa

<i>’ilana</i>	‘tree’
<i>lišana</i>	‘tongue’

(7) Other Patterns

<i>t^ukana</i>	‘shop’
<i>bo‘ina</i>	‘blockage’

4.2.3. Trisyllabic Patterns with Four or Five Radicals

These have a variety of patterns:

<i>ʾaqubra</i>	‘mouse’
<i>ʾaspagla</i>	‘quince’
<i>ʾərbala</i>	‘sieve’
<i>ʾurədxa</i>	‘long needle’
<i>darmana</i>	‘drug’
<i>panjāra</i>	‘window’
<i>pərtaʿna</i>	‘flea’
<i>pəšpara</i>	‘omelette’

4.3. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-ta*

In words of Aramaic stock the *-ta* ending is preceded either by a consonant or a vowel. It should be noted, however, that the patterns in which the ending is preceded by a vowel originally had a consonant before the feminine ending at an earlier historical period: *šata* < **šattā* ‘year’, *beta* < **beʿtā* ‘egg’, *rota* < **arab̄tā* ‘Friday’, *skita* < **skintā* ‘knife’, *ʾarmota* < **ʾarmontā* ‘pomegranate’.

4.3.1. Bisyllabic Patterns

(1) *Cata*

<i>šata</i>	‘year’
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(2) *Ceta*

<i>beta</i>	‘egg’
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(3) *Cota*

<i>rota</i>	‘Friday’
<i>ʾota</i>	‘goodness’

(4) *CaCta*

<i>ʾamta</i>	‘paternal aunt’
<i>ḥašta</i>	‘work’
<i>karta</i>	‘load’
<i>yalta</i>	‘young girl’

(5) *CəCta*

<i>kəsta</i>	‘bag’
<i>məsta</i>	‘hair’
<i>qəwta</i>	‘strength’

(6) *CoCta*

<i>dolta</i>	‘wealth’
<i>molta</i>	‘delay, moratorium’
<i>nopta</i>	‘fever’
<i>tolta</i>	‘worm’
<i>tomta</i>	‘seed (eaten as a snack)’

(7) *CuCta*

<i>gupta</i>	‘cheese’
<i>nuqta</i>	‘spot’

(8) *CCata*

<i>brata</i>	‘girl’
<i>šrata</i>	‘lamp’
<i>xmata</i>	‘needle’

(9) *CCita*

<i>skita</i>	‘knife’
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(10) *CCota*

<i>zbota</i>	‘finger’
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(11) *CCaCta*

<i>gwarta</i>	‘sock’
<i>škayta</i>	‘complaint’
<i>syamta</i>	‘shoe’
<i>šwawta</i>	‘neighbour’
<i>zyarta</i>	‘cemetery’

(12) CCəCta

<i>skə̌lta</i>	'hiccup'
<i>sqə̌lta</i>	'ring'
<i>tkə̌lta</i>	'trouser cord'
<i>xšə̌lta</i>	'jewelry'
<i>zmərta</i>	'turban'

(13) CCiCta

<i>klifta</i>	'amulet'
<i>kništa</i>	'synagogue'

(14) CCoCta

<i>ḫloxta</i>	'lentil'
<i>zmorta</i>	'song'

(15) CCuCta

<i>xmurta</i>	'small bead'
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(16) CCeCta

<i>gwentta</i>	'eyebrow'
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4.3.2. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Two Radicals

(1) CăCeta

<i>xăleta</i>	'gift'
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(2) CăCota

<i>bălota</i>	'throat'
<i>mărota</i>	'courage'

4.3.3. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Three Radicals

(1) CăCaCta

<i>ʾasarta</i>	‘festival of Shavuot’
<i>gānawta</i>	‘thief (f.)’
<i>zāḥamta</i>	‘trouble’

(2) CăCəCta

<i>qāləmta</i>	‘louse’
<i>mārəmta</i>	‘trouble’

(3) CăCiCta

<i>bāširta</i>	‘grape’
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(4) CăCoCta

<i>ʾāqolta</i>	‘ankle’
<i>nāšoqta</i>	‘kiss’
<i>mārorta</i>	‘bile, gall-bladder’

(5) CăCuCta

<i>bāruxta</i>	‘friend (f.)’
<i>hālušta</i>	‘plum’
<i>qānušta</i>	‘broom’
<i>yātumta</i>	‘orphan girl’

(6) CaCCeta

<i>sanʿeta</i>	‘profession, craft’
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(7) CaCCota

<i>ʾarmota</i>	‘pomegranate’
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4.3.4. Trisyllabic Patterns Containing Four Radicals

These have various patterns, the most common being *CVCCVCta*:

<i>hangəłta</i>	‘armpit’
<i>pərsaxta</i>	‘sweet pastry’
<i>qorqorata</i>	‘Adam’s apple’

4.4. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-da*

The ending *-da*, which is a voiced variant of *-ta*, is found in nouns whose base ends in one of the sonorant consonants /l/, /n/ or /r/, e.g.

<i>ʾarməlda</i>	‘widow’
<i>kaldə</i>	‘bride’
<i>qardə</i>	‘cold’
<i>šənda</i>	‘sleep’

This variant of the feminine marker is found only in a limited number of words. In the majority of words where the aforementioned phonetic condition exists, the regular *-ta* form is found, e.g. *xšəłta* ‘jewelry’, *gwentə* ‘eyebrow’, *tortə* ‘cow’.

4.5. NOUNS WITH THE FEMININE ENDING *-la*

The ending *-la* is derived historically from **-tā*. It is found in nouns whose base ends in a vowel or the sonorant consonants /w/ and /m/, e.g.

<i>ʾaklela</i>	‘hen’
<i>ʾilamla</i>	‘wife of husband’s brother’
<i>dəmʿela</i>	‘a tear’
<i>dnəwla</i>	‘fly’
<i>ksila</i>	‘hat’
<i>ktəwla</i>	‘a thorn’
<i>kxəwla</i>	‘star’
<i>lila</i>	‘fat of a sheep’s tail’
<i>šala</i>	‘fever’
<i>šwila</i>	‘bed’
<i>təpla</i>	‘drop’
<i>xmala</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>zātīla</i>	‘flat bread’
<i>zdela</i>	‘fear’

The fact that many of the nouns listed above form plurals by replacing only the final *-a* with a plural ending suggests that the /l/ in these cases has come to be interpreted as a radical, e.g. *šwile* ‘beds’, *ṭəple* ‘drops’ (§4.15.1.1.). Indeed some words have acquired an additional *-ta* feminine ending in the singular as a consequence of the re-interpretation of the /l/ as a radical, e.g.

<i>tkəlta</i>	‘belt’	cf. Barwar <i>təkθa</i>
<i>sqəlta</i>	‘ring’	cf. Barwar <i>ʾisəqθa</i>
<i>šālolta</i>	‘prayer’	cf Barwar <i>šloθa</i>
<i>ʾaklelta</i>	‘hen’	cf. Barwar <i>kθeθa</i>

Conversely the feminine gender of words such as *ʾela* ‘festival’, *xlula* ‘wedding’ and *pəšla* ‘onion’ may have resulted from the interpretation of the /la/ as the feminine ending, although historically part of the root. The same applies to *ptīla* ‘wick’, in which a historical *l is now pronounced emphatic.

4.6. NOUNS WITH THE ENDINGS *-ila* and *-ilta*

These affixes are variants of the feminine ending *-la* and have arise by analogy with forms from final weak roots such as *ksila* ‘hat’ and *šwila* ‘bed’, e.g.

<i>nunila</i>	‘fish’
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The ending *-ilta* has evolved by combining the *-ila* ending with the normal allomorph of the feminine ending *-ta*, e.g.

<i>nunilta</i>	‘fish’
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4.7. THE ENDING *-e*

A few singular nouns of Aramaic stock end in *-e*:

<i>lele</i>	‘night’
<i>gare</i>	‘roof’
<i>geraq^wše</i>	‘rainbow’

The final *-e* in the forms *gare* and *geraq^wše* (< **gera-quše*) was historically a plural ending, but now the forms are treated as singulars.

4.8. THE ENDING *-i*

One noun of Aramaic stock falling into this category has been identified:

<i>susi</i>	‘horse’
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4.9. THE ENDING *-u*

One noun of Aramaic stock falling into this category has been identified:

qaṭu 'cat'

4.10. NOUNS OF ARAMAIC STOCK WITH NO

INFLECTIONAL ENDING

Nouns falling into this category include:

'orxel f. 'water-mill'

māndix m. 'thing'

Also the names of the days of the week Monday–Thursday:

trúšab 'Monday'

təlḥúšab 'Tuesday'

'arbúšab 'Wednesday'

xamšúšab 'Thursday'

4.11. LOANWORDS

A large proportion of nouns in the dialect are loanwords. Most of these come from Kurdish or Persian, some originating ultimately from Arabic. They are sometimes adapted to Aramaic morphology by adding the *-a* ending, e.g.

<i>masta</i>	'yoghurt'	< Kurd. <i>māst</i>
<i>pāra</i>	'feather'	< Kurd. <i>pař</i>
<i>sārīna</i>	'pillow, cushion'	< Kurd. <i>sarīn</i>
<i>zāḥamta</i>	'trouble'	< Kurd./Pers. <i>zaḥmat</i>

If the Kurdish/Persian word ends in *-u* or *-i*, these are replaced by the glides /w/ and /y/ respectively before the *-a* ending, e.g.

šwətya 'watermelon' < Kurd. *šūti*

When the loanword ends in *-a* in the source language, this vowel is treated in one of two ways:

(i) The final *-a* vowel is treated as part of the base of the word and the Aramaic plural inflectional ending is added after it, e.g.

<i>'ašna</i>	<i>'ašnae</i> (pl.)	'acquaintance'	< Pers. <i>'ašnā</i>
<i>darya</i>	<i>daryae</i> (pl.)	'sea'	< Pers. <i>daryā</i>

(ii) The *-a* is treated as if it were an Aramaic singular inflectional ending and is replaced by the Aramaic plural ending, e.g.

<i>maška</i>	<i>maške</i> (pl.)	‘churn’	< Kurd. <i>maška</i>
<i>panjāra</i>	<i>panjäre</i> (pl.)	‘window’	< Kurd./Pers. <i>panjāra</i>

The ending *-ta* is attached to some loanwords that are of feminine gender, both those that end in a consonant and those that end in a vowel, e.g.

<i>xiyarta</i>	‘cucumber’	< Kurd. <i>xayār</i>
<i>ħālušta</i>	‘plum’	< Kurd. <i>ħalūja</i>

Conversely, a /t/ that belongs to the original form of the loanword in the source language has sometimes come to be interpreted as part of the Aramaic feminine ending *-ta*. This is reflected by the fact that the /t/ is elided in the plural, e.g.

<i>dašta</i>	<i>dašyale</i> (pl.)	‘field’	< Kurd. <i>dašt</i>
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Many loanwords are unadapted to Aramaic nominal morphology and are left in their original form without a final Aramaic inflectional ending, e.g.

<i>ʿasən</i> (Pers.)	‘iron’
<i>kāsbi</i> (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘earning, gain’
<i>kawšdoz</i> (Kurd.)	‘cobbler’
<i>ķālašēr</i> (Kurd.)	‘cock, rooster’
<i>fəšār</i> (Pers.)	‘pressure’
<i>saxtmani</i> (Pers.)	‘construction’
<i>tarz</i> (Pers.)	‘method’

4.12. GENDER

4.12.1. Feminine Nouns of Aramaic Stock Ending in *-a*

Nouns of Aramaic stock that end in *-ta* or its phonetic variants are feminine and most words that end in *-a* are masculine. Several nouns ending in *-a*, however, are feminine in gender. Some of these can be classified into semantic categories as follows:

4.12.1.1. *Parts of the Body*

<i>ʿaqla</i>	‘leg, foot’
<i>ʿila</i>	‘hand’

<i>bərka</i>	‘knee’
<i>bqara</i>	‘neck’
<i>kasa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>koza</i>	‘liver’
<i>kulya</i>	‘kidney’
<i>lələ</i>	‘lung’
<i>māmona</i>	‘breast’
<i>šāmaka</i>	‘palate’
<i>šəra</i>	‘navel’
<i>šərma</i>	‘buttocks’
<i>tāhela</i>	‘spleen’
<i>təpra</i>	‘finger nail’
<i>təqna</i>	‘beard’
<i>quṭa</i>	‘vagina’
<i>xana</i>	‘lap’
<i>xupna</i>	‘handful’

Parts of the body ending in *-a* that are masculine include *garma* ‘bone’, *kaka* ‘tooth’, *kāpana* ‘shoulder’, *ləba* ‘heart’, *lišana* ‘tongue’, *moxa* ‘brain’, *pəma* ‘mouth’, *poqa* ‘nose’, *reša* ‘head’, *šalma* ‘face’, *xəša* ‘back’, *māra-mila* ‘penis’, *guna* ‘penis of young boy’.

4.12.1.2. Locations

<i>’aḥra</i>	‘town’
<i>’āra</i>	‘land’
<i>’orxa</i>	‘road, way’
<i>bira</i>	‘well’
<i>t^wka</i>	‘place’
<i>t^wkana</i>	‘shop’
<i>karma</i>	‘vineyard’
<i>kura</i>	‘kiln’
<i>mala</i>	‘village’
<i>qora</i>	‘grave’
<i>tura</i>	‘mountain’

4.12.1.3. Insects and small animals

<i>’aqubra</i>	‘mouse’
<i>’ərba</i>	‘sheep’
<i>pərta’na</i>	‘flea’
<i>qaṭu</i>	‘cat’

4.12.1.4. *Fruits and Vegetables*

ʾapša	‘gallnut’
goza	‘walnut’
qāra	‘gourd’
təla	‘mulberry’
šeza	‘almond’
maša	‘black lentil’

4.12.1.5. *Verbal Nouns*

ḥqaa	‘speech’
šəxna	‘warmth’
zəmra	‘song’

4.12.1.6. *Other Nouns*

There is a residue of feminine nouns that cannot be grouped together into clear semantic categories. These include the following:

ʾərbala	‘sieve’
ʾurədxə	‘long needle’
gərsa	‘groat’
gul‘a	‘kernel’
guša	‘ball of dough’
kepa	‘stone’
maḷa	‘trowel’
msərqa	‘comb’
pəsra	‘meat’
pəšpara	‘omelette’
ptara	‘stand for a cooking pot’
qəna	‘kernel’
qoqa	‘water pot’
roxa	‘wind’
sera	‘moon’
šura	‘shirt’
šəmša	‘sun’
talga	‘snow’
tānura	‘oven’
ta‘na	‘load’
təna	‘smoke’

Some feminine nouns lacking a feminine morpheme end in the syllable /ta/ or /la/, the /t/ and /l/ being a radical. The feminine gender may have arisen due to the resemblance of this final syllable to the feminine ending, e.g.

<i>ʿela</i>	‘festival’
<i>pəʒla</i>	‘onion’
<i>qlila</i>	‘key’
<i>xlula</i>	‘wedding’
<i>xmata</i>	‘needle’

The names of Jewish festivals are treated as feminine, no doubt due to the feminine gender of the word *ʿela* ‘festival’. These include names that are plural in form, which take feminine singular agreement:

<i>ħānukáe</i>	‘Hanukkah’
<i>lelange</i>	‘Purim’
<i>pātire</i>	‘Passover’
<i>reša šata</i>	‘New Year’
<i>təšʿa ba-ʿAb</i>	‘Ninth of Ab’

Some nouns are used with both genders. This applies, for example, to the following:

<i>qəṭma</i> m./f.	‘ash’
<i>lele</i> m./f.	‘night’

4.12.2. The Gender of Loanwords

The dialect contains numerous loanwords from Sorani Kurdish and Persian. These source languages do not have grammatical gender distinctions in nouns, so the gender assignment of these loans is internal to the Neo-Aramaic dialect. Some of the loans from Kurdish and Persian are ultimately derived from Arabic, which has grammatical gender in nouns. The original historical gender of the words in Arabic, however, is not relevant for their gender assignment in the Neo-Aramaic dialect.

The majority of Kurdish and Persian loanwords referring to inanimate objects, body parts, small animals and flora are assigned to the feminine gender. These include words of ultimately Arabic origin that were originally masculine in Arabic, e.g.

<i>ʿotaxa</i> f. (Pers.)	‘room’
<i>bayaquš</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘owl’
<i>burtāqāl</i> f. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘orange’

<i>čort</i> f. (Pers.)	‘abacus’
<i>čuča</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘sweet pastry’
<i>dasta</i> f. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘handle’
<i>gaļa</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘leaf’
<i>gəlka</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘index finger’
<i>haḷwa</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘pockmark’
<i>hanga</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘bee’
<i>jām</i> f. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘mirror, glass’
<i>joga</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘stream’
<i>kaḷāka</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘melon’
<i>kuzi</i> f. (Pers.)	‘pot container for meat’
<i>maška</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘churn’
<i>qaspa</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘date’
<i>qurbaqa</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘frog’
<i>roxana</i> f. (Pers.)	‘river’
<i>sandali</i> f. (Pers.)	‘chair’
<i>sārīna</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘pillow, cushion’
<i>štāḷwa</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘peach’
<i>tāla</i> f. (Pers.)	‘mouse trap’
<i>taxtaband</i> f. (Kurd.)	‘wooden bed’
<i>zardena</i> f. (Pers.)	‘yoke’

Many loanwords that originated as masculine nouns in Arabic are treated as feminine after having been transmitted to the Neo-Aramaic dialect through Kurdish or Persian, e.g.

<i>ḥāmām</i> f. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘baths’
<i>ktāb</i> f. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘book’
<i>kursi</i> f. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘(heated) seat’

The grammatical gender of nouns referring to humans or large animals correspond to natural gender, e.g.

<i>šiḡa</i> f. (Pers.)	‘temporary wife, concubine’
<i>kawšdoz</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘cobbler’
<i>čarči</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘peddler’
<i>‘ākās</i> m. (Pers.)	‘photographer’
<i>sarbāz</i> m. (Pers.)	‘soldier’
<i>qalašer</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘cock’
<i>zargar</i> m. (Pers.)	‘goldsmith’
<i>nokar</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘servant’
<i>tajər</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘merchant’

There is a residue of inanimate loans that are construed as masculine in gender. The gender assignment of these appears to have a semantic basis, in that most of the nouns in question either denote (i) a long, thin entity, (ii) fabrics, (iii) a collective or non-solid entity or (iv) a non-tangible, abstract entity:

(i) *Long, Thin Entities*

<i>čin</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘lock of hair’
<i>danda</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘rib’
<i>darz</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘chink’
<i>dāsa</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘handle’
<i>dawri</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘plate’
<i>dujka</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘tail’
<i>gogərd</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘match’
<i>klum</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘beam used to lock door’
<i>lula</i> m. (Pers.)	‘pipe’
<i>pāra</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘feather’
<i>qayči</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘scissors’
<i>qfəl</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘lock’
<i>řag</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘vein, artery’
<i>saqa</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘trunk (of tree); shin’
<i>saqf</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘ceiling’
<i>sim</i> m. (Pers.)	‘wire’
<i>stun</i> m. (Pers.)	‘pillar’
<i>šābuba</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘pipe, flute’
<i>tāši</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘spindle’
<i>ṭābaq</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘tray, platter’
<i>xat</i> m. (Pers.)	‘line’
<i>zanjir</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘chain’

(ii) *Fabrics*

<i>čačaw</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘woman’s head cover’
<i>dāmaqopān</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘baggy trousers’
<i>došak</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘mattress’
<i>farš</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘bedding’
<i>fret</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘thread (on fringe of carpet)’
<i>grawa</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘sacking material’
<i>ḥāšir</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘mat’
<i>jəns</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	‘material, stuff’

<i>lă'efa</i> m. (Kurd.)	'quilt'
<i>ləfka</i> m. (Kurd.)	'loofah'
<i>parča</i> m. (Kurd.)	'cloth'
<i>păro</i> m. (Kurd.)	'rag'
<i>səfra</i> m. (Kurd. < Arab.)	'cloth spread on ground'
<i>tor</i> m. (Pers.)	'net'
<i>yaraq</i> m. (Kurd.)	'decorative cover of a horse'

(iii) *Collectives or Non-solid Entities*

' <i>alat</i> m. (Kurd.)	'pepper'
<i>darai</i> m. (Pers.)	'property'
<i>buq</i> m. (Kurd.)	'steam'
<i>gaj</i> m. (Pers.)	'chalk'
<i>gard-u-xāk</i> (Pers.)	'dust'
<i>hāwa</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'air, weather'
<i>kāra</i> m. (Pers.)	'butter'
<i>mewa</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'fruit'
<i>naft</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'oil'
<i>parəšt</i> m. (Kurd.)	'cracked wheat'
<i>šākar</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'sugar'
<i>šawnam</i> m. (Kurd.)	'fog'
<i>xorma</i> m. (Pers.)	'dates'
<i>xoša</i> m. (Pers.)	'bunch, cluster'
<i>zoxāl</i> m. (Pers.)	'coal'

(iv) *Non-tangible, Abstract Entities*

' <i>aql</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'mind, intelligence'
<i>bad-baxti</i> m. (Pers.)	'ill-fortune'
<i>be-čarāgi</i> m. (Pers.)	'desperation'
<i>čara</i> m. (Kurd.)	'solution'
<i>fəkr</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'thought'
<i>hāl</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	'condition'
<i>nāz</i> m. (Kurd.)	'indulgence, coquetry'
<i>rās</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	'truth'
<i>saxti</i> m. (Pers.)	'difficulty'
<i>šoġl</i> m. (Pers.)	'profession'
<i>talxi</i> m. (Pers.)	'bitterness'
<i>xarman</i> m. (Pers.)	'harvest'
<i>xāṭā'</i> m. (Pers. < Arab.)	'sin'

<i>xiyāl</i> m. (Kurd./Pers. < Arab.)	‘thought’
<i>xoš</i> m. (Kurd./Pers.)	‘goodness’
<i>zwān</i> m. (Kurd.)	‘language’

4.13. FUNCTION OF THE FEMININE MARKER SUFFIXES

When a corresponding masculine form of a word exists, the addition of the feminine endings *-ta* or *-da* and *-la* serves various functions.

4.13.1. Marking Female Gender

In the case of animate referents, it may designate the female counterpart of the masculine form, e.g.

<i>tora</i>	‘ox’	<i>torta</i>	‘cow’
<i>yala</i>	‘young boy’	<i>yalta</i>	‘young girl’
<i>šwawa</i>	‘neighbour (m.)’	<i>šwawta</i>	‘neighbour (f.)’
<i>gānawa</i>	‘thief (m.)’	<i>gānawta</i>	‘thief (f.)’
<i>bāruxa</i>	‘friend (m.)’	<i>bāruxta</i>	‘friend (f.)’

In the pair of kinship terms *’əлма* : *’ilamlə* the relationship is more complex:

<i>’əлма</i>	‘husband’s brother’	<i>’ilamlə</i>	‘wife of husband’s brother’
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4.13.2. Marking the Singular of Collectives

The feminine ending may be used to express a single item of an entity that is usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural, e.g.

<i>’aklela</i>	‘a hen’	<i>’akle</i>	‘hens’
<i>bāširta</i>	‘a grape’	<i>bāšire</i>	‘grapes’
<i>gwartə</i>	‘a sock’	<i>gware</i>	‘socks’
<i>haļušta</i>	‘a plum’	<i>haļuje</i>	‘plums’
<i>kālanta</i>	‘a pastry’	<i>kālane</i>	‘pastries’
<i>kāmerta</i>	‘a pear’	<i>kāmere</i>	‘pears’
<i>məzdanta</i>	‘a gift’	<i>məzdane</i>	‘gifts’
<i>pəlkanta</i>	‘a stair’	<i>pəlkane</i>	‘stairs’
<i>pərsaxta</i>	‘a pastry’	<i>pərsaxe</i>	‘pastries’
<i>qāləmta</i>	‘a louse’	<i>qalme</i>	‘lice’
<i>qāložta</i>	‘a rubber shoe’	<i>qālože</i>	‘rubber shoes’
<i>skəłta</i>	‘a hiccup’	<i>səkļe</i>	‘hiccups’
<i>syamta</i>	‘a shoe’	<i>syame</i>	‘shoes’

<i>šiłanta</i>	‘an apricot’	<i>šiłane</i>	‘apricots’
<i>tolta</i>	‘a worm’	<i>tole</i>	‘worms’
<i>tomta</i>	‘a seed’	<i>tome</i>	‘seeds’
<i>tkelta</i>	‘a trouser cord’	<i>takle</i>	‘trouser cords’
<i>ṭloxta</i>	‘a lentil’	<i>ṭloxe</i>	‘lentils’
<i>xāmušta</i>	‘an apple’	<i>xāmuše</i>	‘apples’
<i>xuṭmanta</i>	‘a chickpea’	<i>xuṭmane</i>	‘chickpeas’

In a few cases the feminine ending *-ta* is added onto a plural ending, e.g.

<i>nāḥalta</i>	‘an ear’	<i>nāḥale</i>	‘ears’
<i>šukyalta</i>	‘a testicle’	<i>šukyale</i>	‘testicles’

The form *dām‘ela* ‘a tear’ appears to have been derived from the plural form in *-e* by adding the feminine suffix *-la* without replacing the plural ending:

<i>dām‘ela</i>	‘a tear’	<i>dām‘e</i>	‘tear’
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In some cases the singular form with the feminine ending exhibits syllabic restructuring:

<i>kxəwla</i>	‘a star’	<i>kəxwe</i>	‘stars’
<i>ktəwla</i>	‘a thorn’	<i>kətwe</i>	‘thorns’
<i>dnəwla</i>	‘a fly’	<i>dənwe</i>	‘flies’

Some of the nouns listed above also have singular masculine singular forms with the ending *-a*, e.g.

<i>nāḥala</i>	‘an ear’	<i>nāḥale</i>	‘ears’
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4.13.3. Verbal Nouns

In some cases the feminine ending is added to an infinitive to form a verbal noun that expresses a specific perfective occurrence of the action denoted by the verbal root, e.g.

<i>’āroqta</i>	‘fleeing’	< <i>’āroqe</i> (<i>’rɔq</i>)
<i>maqlobta</i>	‘vomiting’	< <i>maqlobe</i> (<i>m-qlb</i>)
<i>maṣṭorta</i>	‘curse’	< <i>maṣṭorta</i> (<i>mṣṭwr</i>)
<i>maxlopta</i>	‘exchange’	< <i>maxlope</i> (<i>xlp</i>)
<i>nāšoqta</i>	‘kiss’	< <i>nāšoqe</i> (<i>nšq</i>)
<i>šwaqta</i>	‘permission’	< <i>šwaqa</i> (<i>šwq</i>)
<i>tāpoltta</i>	‘sneeze’	< <i>tāpole</i> (<i>tpl</i>)

The root *bxy* ‘to cry’ has a verbal noun with the ending *-ila*, which can be interpreted as a variant of the feminine ending *-la*:

bāxila ‘crying’ < *bāxoe* (*bxy*)

It appears that verbal nouns cannot be derived productively from all verbal roots.

4.13.4. Diminutive

In a few isolated cases a form with the feminine ending is used to express the diminutive of the entity expressed by the corresponding form without the ending, e.g.

xumra ‘bead’ *xmurta* ‘small bead’

4.14. DERIVATIONAL AFFIXES OF ARAMAIC

BACKGROUND

4.14.1. *m-*, *ma-*

Derivational prefixes beginning with *m-* can be identified in some words, e.g.

magreta ‘shaving knife’
momyanta ‘oath’
msərqa ‘comb’

In the word *xmata* ‘needle’ the *m-* has metathesized with the following /x/ (< **mxata*; cf. *xyt* ‘to sew’).

4.14.2. *-ula*

This suffix is derived historically from **-ūtā* and nouns with the suffix are feminine in gender. It generally expresses an abstraction or an intangible phenomenon. Such abstract nouns are derived in principle from existing nouns, adjectives or particles, including loanwords, e.g.

’āxonula ‘brotherhood’ < *’āxona* ‘brother’
’ayzula ‘goodness’ < *’ayza* ‘good’
bāruḫula ‘friendship’ < *bāruḫa* ‘friend’
bāsimula ‘goodness, joy’ < *bāsima* ‘fine, pleasant’
bāṣorula ‘dearth, lack’ < *bāṣor* ‘a few, less’

<i>băurula</i>	‘brightness, light’	< <i>băura</i> ‘bright’
<i>komula</i>	‘blackness’	< <i>koma</i> ‘black’
<i>kpinula</i>	‘hunger’	< <i>kpina</i> ‘hungry’
<i>salula</i>	‘testimony’	< <i>sala</i> ‘witness’
<i>tatula</i>	‘fatherhood’	< <i>tata</i> ‘father’
<i>xwarula</i>	‘whiteness’	< <i>xwara</i> ‘white’
<i>yalula</i>	‘childhood’	< <i>yala</i> ‘child’
<i>zorula</i>	‘smallness’	< <i>zora</i> ‘small’

The ending *-ula* may be extended by combining it with the element */an/*. This is attested in forms with weak or elided radicals, e.g.

<i>səḥyanula</i>	‘thirst’	< <i>səḥya</i> ‘thirsty’
<i>rūwanula</i>	‘bigness’	< <i>rūwa</i> ‘big’
<i>xəlyanula</i>	‘sweetness’	< <i>xəlya</i> ‘sweet’
<i>zoanula</i>	‘excess’	< <i>bi-zoa</i> ‘more’

The ending *-ula* is used to express concepts such as a language, a profession and an institution, e.g.

<i>hulaula</i>	‘the Jewish language’	< <i>hulaa</i> ‘Jew’
<i>ma‘ləmula</i>	‘profession of teacher’	< <i>ma‘ləm</i> ‘teacher’
<i>qāraula</i>	‘Rabbinic school’	< <i>qara</i> (Heb.) ‘Rabbinic teacher’

The ending is occasionally used to refer to a concrete mass or collectivity, e.g.

<i>denula</i>	‘fat’	< * <i>dehna</i> + <i>ula</i>
<i>xwarula</i>	‘white of an egg’	< <i>xwara</i> ‘white’
<i>yāruqula</i>	‘vegetation’	< * <i>yāruqa</i> ‘green’

Note also the following forms, where the base to which the *-ula* ending is added is a phrase:

<i>‘ela-brixula</i>	‘festival blessing’	< <i>‘ela brixā</i> ‘blessed festival’
<i>bāraxa toranjula</i>	‘the ceremony of blessing the etrog’	< <i>bāraxa toranj</i> ‘the blessing of the etrog’
<i>‘alḥa-hiwula</i>	‘divinely given produce’	< <i>‘alḥa hiwa</i> ‘God given’

4.14.3. *-ana*

This suffix is used productively to form active participles from the present base of verbs. The feminine form is *-anta*, e.g.

<i>‘axlana</i>	‘(big) eater’	< <i>‘xl</i> ‘to eat’
<i>‘axlanta</i>	‘(big) eater (f.)’	

<i>qaryana</i>	‘reader’	< <i>qry</i> ‘to read’
<i>yālpāna</i>	‘learner’	< <i>ylp</i> ‘to learn’
<i>malpāna</i>	‘teacher’	< <i>m-lp</i> ‘to teach’
<i>maqryana</i>	‘teacher’	< <i>m-qry</i> ‘to teach’
<i>maxlpāna</i>	‘exchanger’	< <i>m-xlp</i> ‘to exchange’
<i>maxlṭāna</i>	‘one causing to err’	< <i>m-xlṭ</i> ‘to cause to err’

The form *zālana* ‘goer’ is irregular, in that it is derived from the infinitive (*zala*) rather than the present base (*gezəl*, *hezəl*) of the verb:

<i>zālana</i>	‘goer’	< ’zl ‘to go’
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Such participles may refer to abstract entities, e.g.

<i>monyanta</i>	‘oath’	< <i>mwm</i> ‘to swear’
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In the case of the following, the derivative form has an idiomatic meaning

<i>gaxkana</i> , <i>gaxkanta</i>	‘dimple’	< <i>gax</i> ‘to laugh’
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The suffix *-ana* (*-anta*) is occasionally found also in other nouns, e.g.

<i>tʰkana</i>	‘shop’
<i>kāpāna</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>bšəlmāna</i>	‘Muslim’
<i>bšəlmānta</i>	‘Muslim woman’
<i>mšəlmāna</i>	‘Muslim convert from Judaism’
<i>mšəlmānta</i>	‘Muslim woman convert from Judaism’
<i>xālifānta</i>	‘picnic’
<i>məzdānta</i>	‘gift’

The affix has the form *-na* after a vowel in the following word:

<i>zardena</i>	‘yoke’	< <i>zarde</i> (Pers.)
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4.14.4. *-ona*

This suffix, which is a diminutive in origin, is found in the following kinship terms:

<i>brona</i>	‘son’
ʾāxona	‘brother’
ʾat-xona	‘wife of brother’
<i>bar-ʾamona</i>	‘paternal cousin (m.)’
<i>temona</i>	‘wife of paternal uncle’

It also occurs in the following word:

<i>māmona</i>	‘breast’	cf. Barwar <i>maməkka</i>
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4.14.5. *-əsta*

The suffix *-əsta*, which is also a diminutive in origin, is found in the following kinship term:

xäləsta ‘sister’ cf. Barwar *xaθa*

4.14.6. *-aa*

This is a gentile ending found in the words for ‘Jew’ and ‘Christian’. The nuclei of the two contiguous vowels merge to a certain extent and the stress is usually placed on the first nucleus (*-áa* cf. §1.5.3.). Its feminine form is *-alta*, which has developed by the combination of the two feminine morphemes *-la* and *-ta*:

huláa m. *hulalta* f. ‘Jew’
suráa m. *suralta* f. ‘Christian’

4.15. PLURAL FORMS

The plural of most nouns is formed by replacing the singular inflections *-a* and *-ta* (and its allomorphs *-da* and *-la*) with a plural inflection without any other changes to the morphology of the noun. There is no one-to-one correspondence between singular inflections and plural inflections and so the plural form of a singular noun is not predictable. Some nouns have more than one plural form.

4.15.1. Plural Ending *-e*

This is the most common plural ending and is attached to a variety of singular forms.

4.15.1.1. Plurals in *-e* from Singulars in *-a*

The singulars are of both genders:

Singular	Plural	
ʔára f.	ʔäre	‘land’
ʔila f.	ʔile	‘hand’
ʔilana m.	ʔilane	‘tree’
ʔurədxə f.	ʔurədxə	‘long needle’
<i>bela</i> m.	<i>bele</i>	‘house’
<i>brona</i> m.	<i>brone</i>	‘son’

<i>dəm'a</i> m.	<i>dəm'e</i>	'tear'
<i>goza</i> m.	<i>goze</i>	'walnut'
<i>guza</i> m.	<i>guze</i>	'wall'
<i>kalba</i> m.	<i>kalbe</i>	'dog'
<i>mala</i> f.	<i>male</i>	'village'
<i>pātiļa</i> m.	<i>pātiļe</i>	'cooking pot'
<i>pela</i> m.	<i>pele</i>	'radish'
<i>qoqa</i> f.	<i>qoqe</i>	'water pot'
<i>qulba</i> f.	<i>qulbe</i>	'bracelet'
<i>sala</i> m.	<i>sale</i>	'witness'
<i>sārīna</i> f.	<i>sārīne</i>	'pillow'
<i>tāra</i> m.	<i>tāre</i>	'door'
<i>tura</i> m.	<i>ture</i>	'mountain'
<i>xiwa</i> m.	<i>xiwe</i>	'snake'

In the following nouns the *-e* replaces the final *-a* of the feminine marker *-ta*, as if the /t/ of this marker were a radical:

<i>'amta</i> f.	<i>'amte</i>	'paternal or maternal aunt'
<i>bālota</i> f.	<i>bālote</i>	'throat'
<i>gupta</i> f.	<i>gupte</i>	'cheese'
<i>kništa</i> f.	<i>knište</i>	'synagogue'
<i>magreta</i> f.	<i>magrete</i>	'shaving knife'
<i>srota</i> f.	<i>srote</i>	'ladle'
<i>xāleta</i> f.	<i>xālete</i>	'gift'

Likewise the /l/ of the variant feminine ending *-la* is in many cases treated like a radical and retained in the plural, e.g.

<i>ksila</i> f.	<i>ksile</i>	'hat'
<i>kxəwla</i> f.	<i>kxəwle</i>	'star'
<i>šwila</i> f.	<i>šwile</i>	'bed'
<i>xmala</i> f.	<i>xmale</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>zdela</i> f.	<i>zdele</i>	'fear'

Some of these words have other plurals, in which the feminine ending *-la* is replaced by a plural ending, e.g. *kəxwe*, *ksiye*.

4.15.1.2. Plurals in *-e* from Singulars in *-ta*

Singular	Plural	
<i>škayta</i>	<i>škaye</i>	'complaint'
<i>skita</i>	<i>skiye</i>	'knife'

<i>šrata</i>	<i>šrae</i>	‘lamp’
<i>tqənta</i>	<i>təqne</i>	‘beard’
<i>xālifanta</i>	<i>xālifane</i>	‘picnic’

To be included here are also nouns referring to entities that are usually referred to as a collectivity in the plural (§4.13.2.):

<i>bāširta</i>	<i>bāšire</i>	‘grape’
<i>kāmerta</i>	<i>kāmere</i>	‘pear’
<i>nāḥalta</i>	<i>nāḥale</i>	‘ear’
<i>tolta</i>	<i>tole</i>	‘worm’
<i>xāmušta</i>	<i>xāmuše</i>	‘apple’

4.15.1.3. Plurals in *-e* from Singulars in *-la*

This is found in the following two nouns:

Singular	Plural	
ʾaklela	ʾakle	‘hen’
dəmʿela	dəmʿe	‘tear’

In ʾaklela the /e/ is originally part of the base (cf. Syriac *kdaytā*) but is treated as a plural ending after the removal of the singular feminine marker *-la*. The singular form *dəmʿela*, conversely, has been formed by adding the feminine morpheme *-la* to the plural ending.

4.15.1.4. Plurals in *-e* from Singulars in *-u* or *-i*

In such cases the plural ending is attached without replacing the final vowel of the singular. A glide /w/ or /y/ occurs between the two vowels

Singular	Plural	
<i>qaṭu</i>	<i>qaṭuwe</i>	‘cat’
<i>susi</i>	<i>susiye</i>	‘horse’

4.15.2. The Plural Ending *-ale*

4.15.2.1. Plurals in *-ale* from Singulars in *-a*

In all case the noun is feminine in gender. The ending *-ale* has developed historically from the plural ending **-āṭā*.

Singular	Plural	
ʾaḥra f.	ʾaḥrale	‘town’

ʾila f.	ʾilale	‘hand’
ʾorxa f.	ʾorxale	‘way, road’
bārka f.	bārkaale	‘knee’
karma f.	karmale	‘vineyard’
šura f.	šurale	‘shirt’

4.15.2.2. Plurals in *-ale* from Singulars in *-da*

Singular	Plural	
kalda	kālale	‘bride’

4.15.2.3. Plurals in *-ale* from Singulars in *-ela* or *-el*

Singular	Plural	
ʾaklela	ʾaklale	‘hen’
ʾorxel f.	ʾorxale	‘water-mill’

4.15.3. The Plural Ending *-áe*

This is a rare alternative historical reflex of the original ending **-ātā*, which has developed by the elision of the consonant between the vowels: *-ae* < **-ale* < *-ātā*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
loʿa	loʿáe	‘room’

4.15.4. The Plural Ending *-ǎwae*

4.15.4.1. Plurals in *-ǎwae* from Singulars in *-a*

This is found predominantly with nouns containing two strong radicals referring to inanimate entities. The nouns may be of either gender.

Singular	Plural	
ʾela f.	ʾelǎwae	‘festival’
bela m.	belǎwae	‘house’
mala f.	malǎwae	‘village’
maška f.	maškǎwae	‘churn’
šata f.	šatǎwae	‘year’
yoma m.	yomǎwae	‘day’

4.15.4.2. Plurals in *-āwae* from Singulars in *-e*

Singular	Plural	
<i>lele</i>	<i>lelāwae</i>	‘night’
<i>gare</i>	<i>garāwae</i>	‘roof’

4.15.5. The Plural Ending *-āwale*

This is found in masculine kinship terms ending in *-a*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾāxona</i>	<i>ʾāxonāwale</i>	‘brother’
<i>bāruxa</i>	<i>bāruxāwale</i>	‘friend’
<i>tata</i>	<i>tatāwale</i>	‘father’

4.15.6. The Plural Ending *-ane*

This is found in nouns ending in *-a* of either gender that refer to inanimate entities:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾaħra</i> f.	<i>ʾaħrane</i>	‘town’
<i>ʾāra</i> f.	<i>ʾārane</i>	‘land’
<i>ʾaṣar</i>	<i>ʾaṣrane</i>	‘evening’
<i>bəqāta</i> f.	<i>bəqātane</i>	‘morning’
<i>guzā</i>	<i>guzane</i>	‘wall’
<i>qora</i> f.	<i>qorane</i>	‘grave’
<i>ṣura</i> f.	<i>ṣurane</i>	‘shirt’
<i>tāra</i>	<i>tārane</i>	‘door’
<i>təqna</i> f.	<i>təqnane</i>	‘beard’
<i>ṭura</i> f.	<i>ṭurane</i>	‘mountain’
<i>xabra</i>	<i>xabrane</i>	‘word’

This plural ending is used also with the noun *məndix* ‘thing’, which has no singular inflectional ending:

<i>məndix</i>	<i>məndixane</i>	‘thing’
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An exception to the normal restriction of this plural ending to nouns referring to inanimate entities is the nominalized adjective *rūwa* ‘dignitary, important person’:

<i>rūwa</i>	<i>rūwane</i>	‘dignitary’
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Many nouns forming plurals in *-ane* may form plurals also in *-e*.

4.15.7. The Plural Ending *-ye*

4.15.7.1. Plurals in *-ye* from Singulars in *-ta*

This is the normal plural ending for singulars ending in the feminine marker:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾāqolta</i>	<i>ʾāqolye</i>	‘ankle’
<i>bāruxta</i>	<i>bāruxye</i>	‘friend (f.)’
<i>bšəlmanta</i>	<i>bšəlmanye</i>	‘Muslim woman’
<i>dargušta</i>	<i>dargušye</i>	‘cradle’
<i>gwentā</i>	<i>gwenye</i>	‘eyebrow’
<i>hangəłta</i>	<i>hangəlye</i>	‘armpit’
<i>hulalta</i>	<i>hulalye</i>	‘Jewish woman’
<i>kəsta</i>	<i>kəsyē</i>	‘bag’
<i>sqəłta</i>	<i>sqəlye</i>	‘ring’
<i>torta</i>	<i>torye</i>	‘cow’
<i>xələsta</i>	<i>xələsyē</i>	‘sister’

In some words the plural ending is preceded by an /n/, which does not appear in the singular form:

<i>ʾarmota</i>	<i>ʾarmonye</i>	‘pomegranate’
<i>zbota</i>	<i>zbonye</i>	‘finger’

In *ʾamota* the original /n/ in the singular has been assimilated to the /t/ of the feminine marker. In *zbota*, on the other hand, the /n/ is non-etymological, in that the singular derives historically from **šboʿta* rather than *šbonta* (cf. J. Amedia, J. Betanure *šəboʿta*, Qaraqosh *šubəʿθa*). The /n/ must have arisen by analogy with forms such as *ʾamota*.

In some cases the plural ending *-ye* replaces a final *-ta* in a noun in which the /t/ is historically a radical but has been interpreted as part of the feminine marker. This applies to the following, in which, moreover, the /t/ is a weakened reflex of an original emphatic *ṭ:

<i>xmata</i>	<i>xmaye</i>	‘needle’	< <i>*mḥaṭa</i> m.
<i>sita</i>	<i>siye</i>	‘span’	< <i>*siṭa</i> m.

4.15.7.2. Plurals in *-ye* from Singulars in *-la*

The *-ye* plural also replaces the variant of the feminine marker *-la*, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>zātila</i>	<i>zatiye</i>	‘flat bread’
<i>ksila</i>	<i>ksiye</i>	‘hat’

4.15.7.3. Plurals in *-ye* from Singulars in *-a*

The ending is used with a few feminine nouns that end in *-a* rather than a feminine marker:

Singular	Plural	
<i>šura</i> f.	<i>šurye</i>	‘shirt’
<i>xlula</i> f.	<i>xlulye</i>	‘wedding’

4.15.8. The Plural Ending *-yale*

This ending has arisen by a coalescence of the endings *-ye* and *-ale* and is used to express the plural of some feminine singulars in *-ta*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>dašta</i>	<i>dašyale</i>	‘field’
<i>ħašta</i>	<i>ħajyale</i>	‘work’

In the loanword *dašta* the /t/, in fact, belongs historically to the base of the word in the source language (Kurd. *dašt*) but has come to be interpreted as part of the feminine marker.

4.15.9. The Plural Ending *-yane*

This ending is attested in a variant plural of *ħašta*:

Singular	Plural	
<i>ħašta</i>	<i>ħajyane</i>	‘work’

4.15.10. Plural of Unadapted Loanwords

When a loanword is not adapted to Aramaic morphology in the singular by the addition of a singular inflectional ending, the plural is generally formed by adding the plural ending *-e* directly to the base of the word, e.g.

Singular	Plural	
<i>ʾaskuk</i>	<i>ʾaskuke</i>	‘thimble’
<i>čin</i>	<i>čine</i>	‘lock of hair’
<i>ğārib</i>	<i>ğāribe</i>	‘foreigner’
<i>markan</i>	<i>markāne</i>	‘pot for kneading dough’
<i>bayaquš</i>	<i>bayaquše</i>	‘owl’
<i>ḵālašer</i>	<i>ḵālašere</i>	‘cock’
<i>mez</i>	<i>meze</i>	‘table’
<i>xat</i>	<i>xāte</i>	‘line’

In some cases the base of the loanword may itself be a plural form in the source language, e.g.

<i>məšnayote</i>	Mishnas	< Heb. <i>mišnayot</i>
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If the singular base ends in a vowel, this vowel is generally retained.

Singular	Plural	
<i>gāla</i>	<i>gālae</i>	‘leaf’
<i>ga</i>	<i>gae</i>	‘poor’
<i>paro</i>	<i>paroe</i>	‘snow shovel’
<i>mlāgo</i>	<i>mlāgoe</i>	‘bud’

In some cases a final *-a* that occurs in the singular of the source form is interpreted as the Aramaic inflectional ending and is replaced by *-e* in the singular, e.g.

<i>tika</i>	<i>tike</i>	‘piece’ (Kurd. <i>tika</i>)
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If the base ends in *-i*, a glide /y/ is inserted before the plural inflection *-e*, e.g.

<i>gari</i>	<i>gariye</i>	‘cart’
<i>kuzi</i>	<i>kuziye</i>	‘container for meat’
<i>mriči</i>	<i>mričiye</i>	‘small bird’
<i>qori</i>	<i>qoriye</i>	‘teapot’

4.15.11. Irregular Plurals

Singular	Plural	
<i>baxta</i>	<i>ʾanše</i>	‘woman’
<i>bela</i>	<i>bate</i>	‘house’
<i>brata</i>	<i>blane</i>	‘daughter’
<i>gora</i>	<i>gure</i>	‘man’
<i>šata</i>	<i>šāne</i>	‘year’

Some of these nouns also form regular plurals, e.g. *bela* (pl. *bele*, *belāwae*), *šata* (pl. *šatāwae*).

4.15.12. Pluralia Tantum

<i>bole</i>	‘nasal mucus, snot’
<i>ḥānukae</i>	‘Hanukkah’
<i>jole</i>	‘urine’
<i>lelange</i>	‘Purim’
<i>māe</i>	‘water’
<i>miye</i>	‘intestines’
<i>mone</i>	‘cracked wheat’
<i>pātire</i>	‘Passover’
<i>puše</i>	‘straw’
<i>šame</i>	‘sky’
<i>šīšme</i>	‘sesame’
<i>xəre</i>	‘excrement’

4.16. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

As is the case with most other trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects, the Kurdish suffix *-āke* is used as a definite article. When this suffix is attached, the final inflectional vowel of the noun is removed. In cases where the singular and plural forms are distinguished only by the final vowels, this distinction is lost, e.g.

<i>kalba</i>	‘dog’	<i>kalbāke</i>	‘the dog’
<i>kalbe</i>	‘dogs’	<i>kalbāke</i>	‘the dogs’

If the noun ends in *-i*, this is replaced by the glide /y/ before the definite article suffix, e.g.

<i>susi</i>	‘horse’	<i>susyāke</i>	‘the horse’
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4.17. THE INDEFINITE SUFFIX

The Kurdish indefinite suffix *-ek* is attested in a few isolated cases, e.g.

(1) *’ājāb bronèk-ye.*¹ ‘He is a wonderful boy’ (A:17)

(2) *bróna rába* ‘*ayzèk-yele.*¹ ‘He was a very fine lad.’ (A:14)

4.18. NOUNS IN THE ABSOLUTE STATE

There are a few isolated cases of a noun being used without the nominal inflectional ending *-a* outside of annexation constructions. We shall refer to these as nouns in the absolute state. They are mostly nouns that occur in adverbial phrases. The attested cases are the following:

<i>'ay-šo</i>	'this week'	< <i>šo</i>	'week'
<i>xa-šo</i>	'a week'	< <i>šo</i>	'week'
<i>'əzyo</i>	'today'	< <i>yoma</i>	'day'

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *xá-šo qámē Purim^l šatá Mošē Rābénu* 'alaw ha-šalòm-yela.^l 'A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him.' (B:52)
- (2) *čún 'əzyo šalòm la-xár hamrét.^l* 'because today you must not make a greeting' (B:48)

We may also perhaps include here the form *lag* 'side' in adverbial expressions such as the following:

- (3) *gezálwa mǎ'únwa g-à-y-lag,^l g-ò-lag.^l* 'He would go and look this side and that side.' (A:108)
- (4) *šoltáli l-d-o-làg.^l* 'I threw it to one side.' (A:24)

This should be contrasted with the form *laga* with the inflectional vowel, which is used as a preposition.

The noun *naša* 'man, person' is occasionally used in the absolute form *nāš* when indefinite, e.g.

- (5) *xá-nāš lága màe^l* 'One man (went) to the water (= sea shore)' (E:15)
- (6) *mà kéle hól^l xa-nāš ké gə̀nè?^l* 'What can a man who is asleep do?' (E:66)

4.19. ANNEXATION OF NOUNS

The most common way of annexing one nominal to another in a genitive relationship is simply to juxtapose the two. The Aramaic particle *d-*, which regularly occurs in such constructions in some NENA dialects, is rarely used in the J. Sanandaj dialect. Examples:

<i>bela bāruxi</i>	‘the house of my friend’
<i>šəma ʾāxonaf</i>	‘the name of her brother’
<i>brona Jāhān</i>	‘the son of Jāhān’
<i>lišana bšəlmane</i>	‘the language of the Muslims’
<i>pəsra reša</i>	‘the meat of the head’
<i>bəqāta šəbat</i>	‘the morning of Sabbath’
<i>lele xlula</i>	‘the night of the wedding’
<i>hulae Kurdəstān</i>	‘the Jews of Kurdistan’

In many cases the stress of the head nominal is retracted, which is a prosodic feature characteristic of non-final position (§1.6.1.), e.g.

- (1) ʾéa bróna Jāhān-ye.¹ ‘This is the son of Jāhān’. (A:17)

On many occasions the Iranian *izafe* particle with the form *-e* connects the head noun to the dependent noun in annexation constructions. In the text corpus this is found most frequently when the head noun is an unadapted loanword that ends in a consonant rather than in a nominal inflectional vowel. The stress remains on the head noun and is not moved onto the suffixed particle, e.g.

<i>ʾásər-e šəbāt¹</i>	‘the eve of Sabbath’ (A:51)
<i>šəməš-e kništā¹</i>	‘the beadle of the synagogue’ (A:43)
<i>rāb-e kništān¹</i>	‘the rabbi of our synagogue’ (A:73)
<i>háft-e xlulā¹</i>	‘the week of the wedding’ (A:34)
<i>ʾáql-e Šlómo ha-mélex</i>	‘the intelligence of King Solomon’ (A:92)
<i>xa-müddát-e trè-yarxe¹</i>	‘a period of two months’ (A:30)
<i>ʾaxór-e páyiz</i>	‘the end of autumn’ (A:81)

In fast speech the /e/ vowel is sometimes pronounced centralized in the region [ə], e.g. *maʾlám-e* [maʾlɪm-ə] *kništá* ‘the rabbi of the synagogue’ (B:51). The transcription of the particle has, however, been normalized as *-e*.

The *izafe* particle is also used to mark a connection of apposition between two nominals, e.g.

<i>ʾaǵá-e Dáryuš Xān¹</i>	‘the honourable Mr Daryuš’
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The *izafe* particle is occasionally used also when the head noun has an Aramaic nominal inflectional vowel. In careful speech the particle follows the final inflectional vowel without coalescence, e.g.

<i>belá-e bāruxi</i>	‘the house of my friend’
<i>baté-e bāruxi</i>	‘the houses of my friend’

In fast speech, however, the particle often coalesces with an /a/ or /e/ inflectional vowel. When the head noun ends in *-e*, therefore, this is indistinguishable from simple juxtaposition, e.g.

<i>bele bāruxi</i>	‘the house of my friend’
<i>bate bāruxi</i>	‘the houses of my friend’

The Aramaic genitive particle *d* is used only when the dependent component of an annexation construction contains a demonstrative pronoun. The *d* is attached to the demonstrative rather than to the preceding head noun, e.g.

<i>belā d-o naša</i>	‘the house of that man’
<i>qalā d-áy zorná</i>	‘the sound of this pipe’ (A:45)

The head noun in such cases may have the *izafe* particle. This is found particularly when the head noun is an unadapted loanword, e.g.

<i>fāšár-e d-o-màel</i>	‘the pressure of the water’ (A:59)
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The use of the *d* particle before a demonstrative used attributively at the beginning of the dependent component is not obligatory and it may be omitted, e.g.

<i>belā ’o naša</i>	‘the house of that man’
<i>nāše ’o-belá</i>	‘the people of that house’ (A:66)

When, however, the demonstrative is an independent pronoun, the *d* particle is obligatory:

<i>belā d-o</i>	‘the house of that one (= his house)’
<i>belā d-ay</i>	‘the house of this one’

Constructions such as these stand in a paradigmatic relationship with phrases containing the independent genitive particle *did-* with 1st or 2nd person suffixes:

<i>belā d-o</i>	‘his house’
<i>belā didox</i>	‘your (ms.) house’
<i>belā didi</i>	‘my house’

The head noun may take the *izafe* particle:

<i>belá-e d-o</i>	‘his house’
<i>belá-e didox</i>	‘your (ms.) house’
<i>belá-e didi</i>	‘my house’

In a few closely-knit phrases the Aramaic nominal inflectional ending *-a* is removed from the first nominal. This applies to the phrase *reš-šata* ‘beginning of the year (= New Year)’. In such cases the word *belā*

'beginning of the year (= New Year)'. In such cases the word *bela* 'house, family' is further shortened to *be*, e.g.

<i>be-xəme</i>	'house/family of his parents-in-law'
<i>be-kalda</i>	'house/family of the bride'

The first and, sometimes, also the second component in such contracted constructions in several cases does not correspond to a noun that can be used independently in the dialect. Some of these are fossilized archaic components that are now found only in these fixed phrases, e.g.

<i>'at-xona</i>	'wife of a brother' (cf. <i>baxta</i> 'wife', <i>'āxona</i> 'brother')
<i>temona</i>	'wife of paternal uncle' (cf. <i>baxta</i> 'wife', <i>mama</i> 'uncle')
<i>'at-e baba</i>	'step-mother' (cf. <i>baxta</i> 'wife', <i>tata</i> 'father')
<i>bab-ena</i>	'door of the eye, forehead' (cf. <i>tāra</i> 'door')
<i>bar 'amona</i>	'son of uncle' (cf. <i>brona</i> 'son', <i>mama</i> 'uncle')
<i>bat 'amona</i>	'daughter of uncle' (cf. <i>brata</i> 'daughter')
<i>ma'lela</i>	'eve of a festival' (<i>ma'le</i> + <i>'ela</i> 'festival')

Note also the form *mare* 'owner', which corresponds to the construct form of the word in earlier Aramaic and is used only in annexation constructions, e.g.

<i>mare bela</i>	'householder'
<i>mare t^wkana</i>	'shopkeeper'

4.20. NOUN + ADJECTIVE COMPOUND

A compound phrase may be formed from an inseparable sequence of a noun and an adjective. This applies to the following:

<i>təqna-xwara</i>	'old man'	<	<i>təqna</i>	'beard'	+	<i>xwara</i>	'white'
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The plural is formed by attaching the plural inflection to the end of the phrase only: *təqna-xware* 'old men'.

5. ADJECTIVES

5.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Adjectives of Aramaic stock and loanwords that have been adapted to Aramaic morphology are inflected for gender and number. In addition to the basic masculine singular form they are inflected for the feminine singular and the plural. They exhibit a relatively small number of morphological patterns. Many of the loanwords, however, are not adapted to Aramaic morphology and are invariable in form, without inflection for gender or number.

Adjectives are closely related morphologically to nouns and most can, indeed, stand independently and function as nouns, in which case they become referential rather than attributive expressions.

5.2. ARAMAIC ADJECTIVAL PATTERNS

(1) *CaCa*, fs. *CaCta*, pl. *CaCe*

<i>xala</i>	‘new’	<i>xalta</i> (fs.)	<i>xale</i> (pl.)
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The adjective *rūwa* ‘big’ is irregular, in that the fs. has the pattern of *CaCta*, whereas the ms. and pl. are formed on the base *rūw-*. Judging by other NENA dialects, the fs. form is more conservative of the original form of the adjective:

<i>rūwa</i>	‘big’	<i>rābta</i> (fs.)	<i>rūwe</i> (pl.)
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(2) *CoCa*, fs. *CoCta*, pl. *CoCe*

<i>koma</i>	‘black’	<i>komta</i> (fs.)	<i>kome</i> (pl.)
<i>koša</i>	‘low’	<i>košta</i> (fs.)	<i>koše</i> (pl.)
<i>zora</i>	‘small’	<i>zorta</i> (fs.)	<i>zore</i> (pl.)

(3) *CCaCa*, fs. *CCaCta*, pl. *CCaCa*

<i>xwara</i>	'white'	<i>xwarta</i> (fs.)	<i>xware</i> (pl.)
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(4) *CCoCa*, fs. *CCoCta*, pl. *CCoCe*

<i>smoqa</i>	'red'	<i>smoqta</i> (fs.)	<i>smoqe</i> (pl.)
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(5) *CCoa*, fs. *CCota*, pl. *CCoe*

This is the equivalent of pattern (4) from final weak roots:

<i>ntoa</i>	'high'	<i>ntota</i> (fs.)	<i>ntoe</i> (pl.)
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(6) *CCiCa*, fs. *CCiCta*, pl. *CCiCe*

This is the pattern of the intransitive or passive resultative participle and can be used productively from verbal roots to create attributive expressions denoting a resultant property:

<i>kpina</i>	'hungry'	<i>kpinta</i> (fs.)	<i>kpine</i> (pl.)
<i>qtila</i>	'killed'	<i>qtilta</i> (fs.)	<i>qtile</i> (pl.)
<i>skira</i>	'inebriated'	<i>skirta</i> (fs.)	<i>skire</i> (pl.)
<i>twira</i>	'broken'	<i>twirta</i> (fs.)	<i>twire</i> (pl.)
<i>xmiša</i>	'pickled'	<i>xmišta</i> (fs.)	<i>xmiše</i> (pl.)
<i>xriwa</i>	'bad'	<i>xriwta</i> (fs.)	<i>xriwe</i> (pl.)

(7) *CiCa*, fs. *CiCta*, pl. *CiCe*

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from middle /y/ and initial /ʔ/ (1) (§3.14.1.) roots:

<i>ʔiqa</i>	'narrow'	<i>ʔiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʔiqe</i> (pl.)
<i>kipa</i>	'bent'	<i>kipta</i> (fs.)	<i>kipe</i> (pl.)
<i>mila</i>	'dead'	<i>milta</i> (fs.)	<i>mile</i> (pl.)
<i>wiša</i>	'dry'	<i>wišta</i> (fs.)	<i>wiše</i> (pl.)
<i>xila</i>	'eaten'	<i>xilta</i> (fs.)	<i>xile</i> (pl.)

(8) *CəCCa*, fs. *CCita*, pl. *CCiCe*

This is the equivalent of pattern (6) from final /y/ roots. In the ms. and pl. forms the original syllabification **CCiya* and **CCiye* has been restructured. The occurrence of the stop /t/ after the vowel in the feminine pattern *CCita*

seems to have arisen by analogy with the occurrence of the stop in adjectival patterns that end in a consonant.

<i>ʾəwya</i>	‘thick’	<i>ʾwita</i> (fs.)	<i>ʾəwye</i> (pl.)
<i>jəhya</i>	‘tired’	<i>jhita</i> (fs.)	<i>jəhye</i> (pl.)
<i>kərya</i>	‘short’	<i>krita</i> (fs.)	<i>kərye</i> (pl.)
<i>qənya</i>	‘blue’	<i>qnita</i> (fs.)	<i>qənye</i> (pl.)
<i>rəpya</i>	‘thin (liquid)’	<i>rpita</i> (fs.)	<i>rəpye</i> (pl.)
<i>səhya</i>	‘thirsty’	<i>shita</i> (fs.)	<i>səhye</i> (pl.)
<i>ṭəmya</i>	‘unclean’	<i>ṭmita</i> (fs.)	<i>ṭəmye</i> (pl.)
<i>xəlyā</i>	‘sweet’	<i>xlita</i> (fs.)	<i>xəlye</i> (pl.)

The word *xəlyā* ‘sweet’ has the variant fs. form *xəlta*.

(9) *CəCCa*, fs. *CCəCta*, pl. *CəCCe*

The pattern *CəCCa* is attested in strong roots only marginally:

<i>nəqla</i>	‘thin’	<i>nqalta</i> (fs.)	<i>nəqle</i> (pl.)
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(10) *CăCiCa*, fs. *CăCiCta*, pl. *CăCiCe*

<i>bāsima</i>	‘pleasant’	<i>bāsinta</i> (fs.)	<i>bāsime</i> (pl.)
<i>dāqiqa</i>	‘thin, fine’	<i>dāqiqta</i> (fs.)	<i>dāqiqe</i> (pl.)
<i>mārira</i>	‘bitter’	<i>mārirta</i> (fs.)	<i>mārire</i> (pl.)
<i>pāšixa</i>	‘merry’	<i>pāšixta</i> (fs.)	<i>pāšixe</i> (pl.)
<i>qārira</i>	‘cold’	<i>qārirta</i> (fs.)	<i>qārire</i> (pl.)
<i>rākixa</i>	‘soft’	<i>rākixta</i> (fs.)	<i>rākixe</i> (pl.)
<i>šāmīna</i>	‘fat’	<i>šāmīnta</i> (fs.)	<i>šāmīne</i> (pl.)
<i>šāxina</i>	‘hot’	<i>šāxinta</i> (fs.)	<i>šāxine</i> (pl.)
<i>tālila</i>	‘wet’	<i>tālilita</i> (fs.)	<i>tālīle</i> (pl.)
<i>yārixa</i>	‘long’	<i>yārixta</i> (fs.)	<i>yārixē</i> (pl.)

(11) *CăCuCa*, fs. *CăCuCta*, pl. *CăCuCe*

<i>ʾāquša</i>	‘thick (liquid)’	<i>ʾaqušta</i> (fs.)	<i>ʾāquše</i> (pl.)
<i>gārusa</i>	‘broad; coarse’	<i>gārusta</i> (fs.)	<i>gāruse</i> (pl.)
<i>jāmūza</i>	‘cold’	<i>jāmuzta</i> (fs.)	<i>jāmūze</i> (pl.)
<i>mālūxa</i>	‘salty’	<i>mālūxta</i> (fs.)	<i>mālūxe</i> (pl.)
<i>pāṭuxa</i>	‘wide’	<i>pāṭuxta</i> (fs.)	<i>pāṭuxe</i> (pl.)
<i>qālūla</i>	‘light’	<i>qālūlta</i> (fs.)	<i>qālūle</i> (pl.)
<i>rādūxa</i>	‘boiling’	<i>rādūxta</i> (fs.)	<i>rādūxe</i> (pl.)

<i>xāmuṣa</i>	‘sour’	<i>xāmuṣta</i> (fs.)	<i>xāmuṣe</i> (pl.)
<i>yāqura</i>	‘difficult’	<i>yāqurta</i> (fs.)	<i>yāqure</i> (pl.)

(12) *CăuCa*, fs. *CăuCta*, pl. *CăuCe*

This is equivalent to pattern (11) and is found in the following form, which is derived historically from a root with an original medial laryngal *h:

<i>băura</i>	‘bright’	<i>băurta</i> (fs.)	<i>băure</i> (pl.)
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(13) *CayCa*, fs. *CayCta*, pl. *CayCe*

This pattern is attested in the following loanwords that have adapted to Aramaic inflectional morphology:

‘ <i>ayza</i>	‘good’	‘ <i>ayzta</i> ~ ‘ <i>asta</i> (fs.)	‘ <i>ayze</i> (pl.)
<i>zayra</i>	‘yellow’	<i>zayrta</i> (fs.)	<i>zayre</i> (pl.)

5.3. ADJECTIVES WITH AFFIXES

5.3.1. *-ana* (fs. *-anta*, pl. *-ane*)

Adjectives with this affix include:

‘ <i>alyana</i>	‘upper’	‘ <i>alyanta</i> (fs.)	‘ <i>alyane</i> (pl.)
<i>texana</i>	‘lower’	<i>texanta</i> (fs.)	<i>texane</i> (pl.)

Forms ending in *-ana* listed in §4.14.3. as active participles often function as attributes of nouns and may be included here, e.g.

<i>baxyana</i>	‘weepy’	< <i>bxy</i> ‘to weep’
<i>fahmana</i>	‘understanding’	< <i>fhm</i> ‘to understand’
<i>maqlana</i>	‘burning’	< <i>m-ql</i> ‘to burn’

Several adjectives are derived from nouns by means of this affix, e.g.

<i>dewana</i>	‘made of gold’	< <i>dewa</i> ‘gold’
<i>jagrana</i>	‘angry’	< <i>jagr</i> ‘anger’
<i>řangana</i>	‘colourful’	< <i>řang</i> ‘colour’
<i>semana</i>	‘made of silver’	< <i>sema</i> ‘silver’
<i>tinana</i>	‘earthenware’	< <i>tina</i> ‘earth, clay’

The *-ana* affix is sometimes added to a passive resultative participle. The effect is to add a greater intensity to the attribute, with regard to its extent or its permanence, e.g.

<i>bəzyana</i>	‘riddled with holes’	< <i>bəzya</i> (<i>bzy</i> ‘to make a hole’)
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5.4. ADJECTIVES OF INVARIABLE FORM

5.4.1. Forms with final *-a*

Some adjectives with a final *-a* vowel are of invariable form, in that they have the same form irrespective of gender and number. This applies to *qarwa* ‘near, nearby’ and *zmaṭa* ‘full’:

<i>bela</i> (m.) <i>qarwa</i>	‘a nearby house’
<i>mala</i> (f.) <i>qarwa</i>	‘a nearby village’
<i>malāwae</i> (pl.) <i>qarwa</i>	‘nearby villages’
<i>bela</i> (m.) <i>zmaṭa</i>	‘a full house’
<i>karma</i> (f.) <i>zmaṭa</i>	‘a full vineyard’
<i>karmale</i> (pl.) <i>zmaṭa</i>	‘full vineyards’

5.4.2. *xet*

The category of invariable adjectives include the non-attributive modifier *xet* ‘other’:

’o <i>gora xet</i> (ms.)	‘the other man’
’o <i>baxta xet</i> (fs.)	‘the other woman’
’o <i>naše xet</i> (pl.)	‘the other people’

5.4.3. Unadapted Loanwords

Many adjectives that are loans from Kurdish or Persian are unadapted to Aramaic morphology and are of an invariable form. Some examples of these are as follows:

’ <i>abi</i>	‘blue’
<i>gwərj</i>	‘fast’
<i>kwər</i>	‘blind’
<i>qaway</i>	‘brown’
<i>quḷ</i>	‘deep’
<i>qurs</i>	‘heavy’
’ <i>rut</i>	‘naked’
<i>sāf</i>	‘smooth’
<i>səft</i>	‘hard’
’ <i>šet</i>	‘mad’
<i>xošhāl</i>	‘happy’
<i>zyadi</i>	‘excessive’

This category includes gentilic adjectives ending in *-i*, e.g.

<i>sanandaji</i>	‘from Sanandaj’
<i>bijari</i>	‘from Bijar’
<i>sāqəzi</i>	‘from Sāqəz’

5.5. COMPOUNDS

Some attributive expressions are compound forms consisting of two components. The most common types of compounds are those that begin with the elements *mare-* (literally: ‘master of’) or *be-* ‘without’. These are all invariable in form, even when the second element has an Aramaic nominal ending, e.g.

<i>mare-qəwta</i>	‘strong’
<i>mare-dolta</i>	‘rich’
<i>be-‘aql</i>	‘stupid’
<i>be-čara</i>	‘with no solution, hopeless, desperate’
<i>be-ḥaya</i>	‘shameless’
<i>be-mara</i>	‘ownerless, abandoned’
<i>be-təm‘a</i>	‘tasteless’
<i>be-qəwta</i>	‘weak’

Other attested forms have a preposition or numeral as their first component, e.g.

<i>ba-təm‘a</i>	‘tasty’
<i>tre gyane</i>	‘pregnant’ (literally: two souls)

6. NUMERALS

6.1. CARDINALS

6.1.1. Numerals 1-10

These numerals are of invariable form and are not inflected for gender. They derive historically from the form used with masculine nouns in earlier Aramaic:

1	<i>xa</i>
2	<i>tre</i>
3	<i>təlḥa</i>
4	<i>ʾarba</i>
5	<i>xamšā</i>
6	<i>ʾəšta</i>
7	<i>šoʾa</i>
8	<i>tmanyā</i>
9	<i>ʾəčʿa</i>
10	<i>ʾəsra</i>

The pharyngal /ḥ/ in *təlḥa* has developed from an original **t*. This must have been conditioned by the original presence of suprasegmental pharyngalization in the word (**tlātā* cf. J. Urmi ⁺*taha*, C. Urmi ⁺*tla*). After the weakening of the pharyngalization elsewhere in the word a vestige was left in the form of the pharyngal segment /ḥ/. The preservation of the historical pharyngal /ʿ/ in *ʾəčʿa* must, likewise, have been conditioned by a suprasegmental pharyngalization at some stage of its development.

6.1.2. Numerals 11-19

These also are invariable and derive historically from the form that was originally used with masculine nouns:

11	<i>xesar</i>
12	<i>tresar</i>
13	<i>təlḥasar</i>
14	ʔ <i>arbasar</i>
15	<i>xamsar</i>
16	ʔ <i>əštasar</i>
17	<i>šoasar</i>
18	<i>tmaʿnisar</i>
19	ʔ <i>əčʿasar</i>

The presence of the unetymological pharyngal /ç/ in *tmaʿnisar* was conditioned by the present of suprasegmental pharyngalization in the word at an earlier period (§1.3.3.4.), which is still found in some NENA dialects, e.g. J. Urmi +*tmanessar*, C. Urmi +*tmanissar*. The form *xamsar* has arisen by syncope of the first of two syllables beginning with a sibilant (< **xamšasar*)

6.1.3. Tens

20	ʔ <i>asri</i>
30	<i>ṭlai</i>
40	ʔ <i>arbi</i>
50	<i>xamšī</i>
60	ʔ <i>əšti</i>
70	<i>šoi</i>
80	<i>tmaʿni</i>
90	ʔ <i>əčʿi</i>

The pharyngal /ħ/, which is found in *təlḥa* and *təlḥasar*, is absent in *ṭlai*. The form *tmaʿni* contains an unetymological /ç/ as in *tmaʿnisar*, reflecting the original pharyngalization of the word.

6.1.4. Hundreds

100	ʔ <i>ama</i>
200	<i>tre</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>tré-me</i>
300	<i>təlḥa</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>təlḥá-me</i>
400	ʔ <i>arba</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , ʔ <i>arbá-me</i>
500	<i>xamša</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>xamšá-me</i>
600	ʔ <i>ašta</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>xamšá-me</i>
700	<i>šoá</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>šoá-me</i>
800	<i>tmanya</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , <i>tmanyá-me</i>
900	ʔ <i>əčʿa</i> ʔ <i>ame</i> , ʔ <i>əčʿá-me</i>

The form *ʼama* lacks the gemination of the /m/ that is found in other NENA dialects (*ʼamma*). This is due to the general weakening of consonant gemination in J. Sanandaj. In fast speech the ‘hundred’ element is combined with the preceding numeral in the same stress group, with the stress falling on the first numeral.

6.1.5. Thousands

1,000	<i>ʼalpa</i>
2,000	<i>tre ʼalpe</i>
3,000	<i>təlḥa ʼalpe</i>
4,000	<i>ʼarba ʼalpe</i>
5,000	<i>xamša ʼalpe</i>

6.1.6. Combination of Numerals

The numerals are combined in descending order, with each item linked by the conjunction *u*, e.g. *ʼasri-u ʼarba* ‘24’, *ʼarbi-u xamša* ‘45’, *ʼama-u ʼasri-u təlḥa* ‘123’, *ʼalpa-u ʼəčʼá-me-u ʼəčʼi-u xa* ‘1991’.

6.1.7. Cardinal Numerals with Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the cardinals 2–10 to form partitive expressions. In such cases the numerals have the following forms:

1pl. Suffix

<i>xayan, xánan</i>	‘one of us’
<i>tárgan, tárgan</i>	‘two of us’
<i>təlḥánan</i>	‘three of us’
<i>ʼarbánan</i>	‘four of us’
<i>xamšánan</i>	‘five of us’
<i>ʼəštánan</i>	‘six of us’
<i>šoánan</i>	‘seven of us’
<i>tmányánan</i>	‘eight of us’
<i>ʼəčʼánan</i>	‘nine of us’
<i>ʼəsránan</i>	‘ten of us’

2pl. Suffix

<i>xayáxun</i>	‘one of you’
<i>tərnáxun, tənáxun, tráxun</i>	‘two of you’

<i>təlḥǎxun</i>	‘three of you’
’ <i>árbǎxun</i>	‘four of you’
<i>xámšǎxun</i>	‘five of you’
’ <i>ǎštǎxun</i>	‘six of you’
’ <i>šóǎxun</i>	‘seven of you’
<i>tmányǎxun</i>	‘eight of you’
’ <i>ǎč’ǎxun</i>	‘nine of you’
’ <i>ǎsrǎxun</i>	‘ten of you’

3pl. Suffix

<i>xayu, xayau</i>	‘one of them’
<i>tónu, tráu, trawau</i>	‘two of them’
<i>təlḥau, təlḥawau</i>	‘three of them’
’ <i>árbau, ’arbawau</i>	‘four of them’
<i>xámšau, xamšawau</i>	‘five of them’
’ <i>ǎštau, ’ǎštawau</i>	‘six of them’
’ <i>šóau, šoawau</i>	‘seven of them’
<i>tmányau, manyawau</i>	‘eight of them’
’ <i>ǎč’au, ’ǎč’awau</i>	‘nine of them’
’ <i>ǎsrau, ’ǎsrawau</i>	‘ten of them’

The forms with 1pl. suffixes may be contractions of phrases consisting of the cardinal and the preposition *mən* ‘from’. The stress is placed on the final syllable of the cardinal, preceding the pronominal suffix. This would correspond to the stress pattern of the original stress group:

təlḥǎnan < **təlḥá-mənan* cf. J. Urmi +*tahamnan*

In the form *xayan* the 1pl. suffix is attached to the numeral base with a separating glide /y/.

The forms with 2pl. suffixes have the suffixes attached directly to the numeral base, the numeral *xa* having a separating glide.

The paradigm with 3pl. suffixes has the 3pl. suffix *-u* attached directly to the numeral but with retention of the final *-a*. Alternative forms are used for most items in which the final syllable is reduplicated. The *-a* vowel of the numerals 1 and 3–10 has been extended by analogy to the numeral 2.

6.2. ORDINALS

Ordinals are formed by attaching the ending *-min* to the cardinal forms. These forms either remain invariable or are inflected for gender and number

in agreement with the noun they qualify. The cardinal *xa* ‘one’ is an exception in that it does not usually form an ordinal in this way but rather is replaced by the invariable loan form *’āwaļ*. The numeral *tre* ‘two’ is optionally replaced by the loan form *du-*. The ordinal is placed either before or the head noun. When following the noun, the noun may be connected to it by the *izafe* particle.

‘The first man’	<i>’āwaļ gora</i>	<i>gora ’āwaļ</i>	<i>gorá-e ’āwaļ</i>
‘The first woman’	<i>’āwaļ baxta</i>	<i>baxta ’āwaļ</i>	<i>baxtá-e ’āwaļ</i>
‘The first people’	<i>’āwaļ naše</i>	<i>naše ’āwaļ</i>	<i>našé-e ’āwaļ</i>
‘The second man’	<i>tremín gora</i> <i>dumín gora</i>	<i>gora tremín</i> <i>gora dumín</i>	<i>gorá-e tremín</i> <i>gorá-e dumín</i>
‘The second woman’	<i>tremín baxta</i> <i>tremínta baxta</i> <i>dumín baxta</i>	<i>baxta tremín</i> <i>baxta tremínta</i> <i>baxta dumín</i>	<i>baxtá-e tremín</i> <i>baxtá-e tremínta</i> <i>baxtá-e dumín</i>
‘The second people’	<i>tremín naše</i> <i>tremíne naše</i> <i>dumín naše</i>	<i>naše tremín</i> <i>naše tremíne</i> <i>naše dumín</i>	<i>našé-e tremín</i> <i>našé-e tremíne</i> <i>našé-e dumín</i>
‘The third man’	<i>təlḥamín gora</i>	<i>gora təlḥamín</i>	<i>gorá-e təlḥamín</i>
‘The third woman’	<i>təlḥamín baxta</i> <i>təlḥamínta baxta</i>	<i>baxta təlḥamín</i> <i>baxta təlḥamínta</i>	<i>baxtá-e təlḥamín</i> <i>baxtá-e təlḥamínta</i>
‘The third people’	<i>təlḥamín naše</i> <i>təlḥamíne naše</i>	<i>naše təlḥamín</i> <i>naše təlḥamíne</i>	<i>našé-e təlḥamín</i> <i>našé-e təlḥamíne</i>
‘The fourth man’	<i>’arbamín gora</i>	<i>gora ’arbamín</i>	<i>gorá-e ’arbamín</i>
‘The fourth woman’	<i>’arbamín baxta</i> <i>’arbamínta baxta</i>	<i>baxta ’arbamín</i> <i>baxta ’arbamínta</i>	<i>baxtá-e ’arbamín</i> <i>baxtá-e ’arbamínta</i>
‘The fourth people’	<i>’arbamín naše</i> <i>’arbamíne naše</i>	<i>naše ’arbamín</i> <i>naše ’arbamíne</i>	<i>našé-e ’arbamín</i> <i>našé-e ’arbamíne</i>

6.3. FRACTIONS

Special words for fractions exist only for ‘half’ and ‘quarter’:

‘half’	<i>pəlga</i>
‘quarter’	<i>čarak, rob’</i>

When combined with a cardinal numeral, the word *pəlga* has the ending *-e*, which is a vestige of an archaic form of the 3ms. pronominal suffix, e.g. *tre-u pəlge* ‘two and a half’ (originally: ‘two and its half’).

6.4. DAYS OF THE WEEK

<i>xšaba</i>	‘Sunday’
<i>trúšab</i>	‘Monday’
<i>təlḥúšab</i>	‘Tuesday’
<i>’arbúšab</i>	‘Wednesday’
<i>xamšúšab</i>	‘Thursday’
<i>rotá</i>	‘Friday’
<i>šábát</i>	‘Saturday’

The days Sunday—Thursday are derived historically from the phrases **xa b-šaba* ‘the first in the week’, **tre b-šaba* ‘the second in the week’, etc. The words for ‘Monday’—‘Thursday’ are in the absolute state without the final nominal inflectional vowel *-a*.

6.5. SEASONS

<i>sətwa</i>	‘Winter’
<i>bahār</i>	‘Spring’
<i>qeṭa</i>	‘Summer’
<i>payiz</i>	‘Autumn’

7. PARTICLES

7.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The term ‘particle’ is used in a broad sense to include all items that do not fall into the categories of noun, pronoun, adjective or verb. Some of the particles take nouns as their complement to express relations between elements in a clause, others take clauses as their complement to express relations between clauses. These two classes of particle are termed ‘prepositions’ and ‘clausal conjunctions’ respectively. The large residue of particles that do not fall into one of these two classes have various disparate functions, including adverbs, quantifiers, determiners, connectives and interrogative particles. Apart from the prepositions, most particles are uninflected.

7.2. ADVERBS

There is no productive adverbial inflectional ending that can be used freely to create adverbs from nouns or adjectives.

A feature that is exhibited by some adverbs is the default position of the stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g. *rāba* ‘much’, *qóme* ‘tomorrow’, *xáre* ‘backwards, afterwards’, *qáme* ‘forwards’. If such a form is trisyllabic, the stress may be retracted to the antepenultimate syllable in non-pausal contexts, e.g. *bəqáta* (default)—*báqata* (non-pausal) ‘in the morning’. Many adverbs, however, exhibit the stress patterns of nouns, with the default position on the final syllable and retraction in non-pausal contexts (§1.6.2.).

Some adverbials of Aramaic origin are nouns in the absolute state without a nominal inflectional ending. This applies, for example, to *’ázyo* (< *’ad-yom), *’ay-šo* ‘this week’.

We present below a list of the adverbial particles that are used in the dialect.

7.2.1. Spatial Adverbs

<i>lāxa</i>	‘here’
<i>doka</i>	‘there’
<i>lá‘el, m-lá‘el</i>	‘above’
<i>tex, m-tex</i>	‘below’
<i>warya</i>	‘outside’
<i>lo‘a</i>	‘inside’
<i>qáme</i>	‘forwards’
<i>xáre</i>	‘backwards’

7.2.2. Temporal Adverbs

<i>’āta</i>	‘now’
<i>’ózyo</i>	‘today’
<i>támal</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>láḥmal</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>batal-láḥmal</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>batal-batal-láḥmal</i>	‘four days ago’
<i>támal lele</i>	‘last night’
<i>qóme, qáwme</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>báro</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>bóro</i>	‘in two days time’
<i>batal-bóro</i>	‘in three days time’
<i>bəqáta, bəqátef-o</i>	‘in the morning’
<i>sālāt</i>	‘early’
<i>bəqáta sālāt</i>	‘early in the morning’
<i>drága</i>	‘late’
<i>kora</i>	‘(at) midday’
<i>qáme-o</i>	‘formerly, in the past’
<i>qabla</i>	‘formerly, in the past’
<i>bár-d-o</i>	‘afterwards, then’
<i>xáráe</i>	‘in the end, afterwards’
<i>šátqa, šata qāmaynta</i>	‘last year’
<i>tálda</i>	‘two years ago’
<i>taltálda</i>	‘three years ago’
<i>la-‘olam</i>	‘never’
<i>hič ka</i>	‘never’
<i>’áy-ka</i>	‘this time’

7.2.3. Interrogative Adverbs

<i>léka, lekane</i>	‘where? whither?’
<i>m-léka</i>	‘whence?’
<i>héka</i>	‘where’ (rare)
<i>loma</i>	‘when?’
<i>dax, ma-jor</i>	‘how?’
<i>čakma</i>	‘how many? how much?’
<i>tá-ma, baqa ma</i>	‘why?’
<i>mo</i>	‘why?’ (used when the opposite is expected)

7.2.4. Adverbs of Manner

<i>’āxa</i>	‘thus’
<i>háya, gurj</i>	‘quickly’
<i>yāwāš, yāwāš yāwāš</i>	‘slowly’
<i>’ayza</i>	‘well’
<i>zāe</i>	‘badly’

7.3. QUANTIFIERS

<i>rāba</i>	‘much, many’
<i>kūle</i>	‘all’
<i>kul</i>	‘each, every’
<i>xanči</i>	‘a little quantity of’
<i>xan</i>	‘a little quantity of’
<i>xāšti</i>	‘a little quantity of’
<i>xa-bašor</i>	‘a little quantity of’
<i>xa-riza</i>	‘a little quantity of’
<i>xa-’āda</i>	‘a few (from a group)’
<i>hič</i>	‘no, none’

7.4. PREPOSITIONS

Prepositions are combined with nominals or pronominal suffixes. In some cases they may also be attached to adverbs. They are often combined with their complement in the same stress group, especially when they are monosyllabic. This is obligatory in the case of vowelless prepositions such as *b-* and *m-*.

When the complement of a preposition is a demonstrative pronoun or a nominal phrase with an initial demonstrative, it is the norm in the case of several prepositions for them to be connected to the complement with the annexation particle *d-* attached to the demonstrative. This annexation particle is not used when there is no demonstrative. In some cases prepositions are connected to a noun with the *izafe* particle *-e*. The pronominal suffixes that are attached to prepositions are the same as those that are attached to nouns (§2.3.). Examples of prepositions include the following.

7.4.1. *ba-*, *b-* ‘in, at, with’

These are variants of the same preposition. The long form *ba-* is combined with *d-* when the complement opens with a demonstrative pronoun:

<i>ba-pătirê^l</i> (A:67)	‘at Passover’
<i>ba-tănurà^l</i> (A:67)	‘in the oven’
<i>ba-d-ó mudătà^l</i> (A:68)	‘at that period’
<i>ba-d-áy jóra</i> (A:103)	‘in that way’

It does not take pronominal suffixes. A pronominal complement must be expressed by an independent demonstrative (3rd person) or the independent genitive particle with a suffix (1st, 2nd person):

<i>ba-d-o</i>	‘in it’
<i>ba-d-onye</i>	‘in them’
<i>ba-didi</i>	‘in me’
<i>ba-didox</i>	‘in you’

The short form *b-* is generally not combined with *d-* when followed by a demonstrative:

<i>b-šəmə</i> (A:41)	‘by the name (of)’
<i>b-Israyél</i> (A:62)	‘in Israel’
<i>b-ay-kujăwáe</i> (A:45)	‘in these streets’
<i>b-o skita</i>	‘with that knife’

The short form *b-* is not used before independent demonstratives or the independent genitive particle.

7.4.2. *bar* ‘after, behind’

This is used in both a temporal and a spatial sense. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives:

<i>bár pólga-lele</i> (A:100)	‘after midnight’
<i>bar xa-šo</i>	‘after a week’
<i>bar d-o gora</i>	‘behind that man’
<i>bar-d-o</i>	‘after that’
<i>bar d-éa</i>	‘after this’
<i>bar d-ənyexáe</i>	‘after these’
<i>bar didi</i>	‘after me’

It may take pronominal suffixes:

<i>baref</i>	‘behind him’
<i>baraf</i>	‘behind her’

It may be combined with the preposition *m-*:

<i>m-bàraf</i> (A:46)	‘behind her’
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7.4.3. *baqa* ‘to, for’

This is combined with *d-* before demonstratives and may take pronominal suffixes:

<i>baqa tati</i>	‘to, for my father’
<i>baqa d-o gora</i>	‘to, for that man’
<i>baqa d-o</i>	‘to, for him’
<i>baqa d-onye</i>	‘to, for them’
<i>baqa d-éa</i>	‘to, for this’
<i>baqa didi</i>	‘to, for me’
<i>baqef</i>	‘to, for him’
<i>baqi</i>	‘to, for me’

7.4.4. *bayn* ‘between’

This particle is regularly connected to its complement by the *izafe* element *-e*:

<i>bayn-e tati-u daăki</i>	‘between my father and my mother’
<i>bayn-e ’o gora-u ’o-baxta</i>	‘between that man and that woman’

It may take plural pronominal suffixes:

<i>baynan</i>	‘between us’
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7.4.5. *be* ‘without’

be-puḷe ‘without money’

Before demonstratives it is combined with the particle *d-*:

be d-o ‘without that’

be d-o puḷe ‘without that money’

7.4.6. *dawr, ba-dawr* ‘around’

This particle is regularly connected to its complement by the *izafe* element *-e*. The annexation particle *d-* is added before an independent demonstrative but not normally before an attributive demonstrative.

dawr-e mez ‘around the table’

ba-dawr-e qat ‘around the bed’

ba-dawr-e ’o bela ‘around that house’

ba-dawr-e d-o ‘around that one, around him’

ba-dawr-e didi

It may take pronominal suffixes:

dawran ‘around us’

A variant form is used that exhibits reduplication of the base of the preposition:

dawrandawr-e Sanandāj ‘around Sanandaj’

7.4.7. *ga-, g-* ‘in (spatial)’, ‘at, on (temporal)’

Before nouns that are not preceded by demonstratives and before pronominal suffixes the preposition has the long form *ga-*:

ga-bela ‘in the house’

gaef ‘in it’

gau ‘in them’

When it takes an independent demonstrative as its complement, it has the long form *ga-* and is connected to the demonstrative by the annexation particle *d-*:

ga-d-óá ‘in that’

ga-d-éá ‘in this’

When the complement is a nominal phrase opening with an attributive demonstrative, the preposition may have the long form followed by the annexation particle *d-*:

ga-d-o tʷka 'in that place'

In most cases in the text corpus, however, the annexation particle is omitted in this context and the /a/ vowel of the preposition is elided before the vowel of the demonstrative, e.g.

g-o-belàl (A:74) 'in that house'

g-ay-belál (A:71) 'in this house'

g-ò-lelel (A:88) 'on that night'

g-ó waxtára-čl (A:29) 'at that time'

7.4.8. *ġer ʿaz* 'apart from'

This is a loan from Persian. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives. It may be combined with the independent genitive particle but not with pronominal suffixes:

ġer ʿaz tati 'apart from my father'

ġer ʿaz d-o gora 'apart from that man'

ġer ʿaz d-o 'apart from him'

ġer ʿaz d-onye 'apart from them'

ġer ʿaz d-éa 'apart from this'

ġer ʿaz didi 'apart from me'

7.4.9. *həl-, ʿəl-* 'to, for; object marker'

This preposition has the basic form *həl-* before nouns and *ʿəl-* before pronominal suffixes. The form *həl* is used before a demonstrative pronoun, combined with *d-*, and before the independent genitive particle. In principle the form *həl-* has the meaning of object marker, whereas *ʿəl-* may have the sense of 'to, for' and object marker:

həl-tati ġärəš 'He pulls my father'

həl-d-o gora ġärəš 'He pulls that man'

həl-d-o ġärəš 'He pulls him/her'

həl-d-onye ġärəš 'He pulls them'

həl-didi ġärəš 'He pulls me'

kwile ʿəlef 'They give it to him'

kwile ʿəli 'They give it to me'

The form *həl-* is sometimes phonetically reduced. After vowels the initial *hə-* may be elided. In such cases the preposition is still represented as *həl-* in the transcription for the sake of orthographic consistency, e.g.

- (1) *markwíwala həl-d-ó* [l-d-o:] *susi*.¹ ‘They would cause her to mount the horse’. (A:46)
- (2) *’áy baxtá-u ’áy goràl bǎxeļi lablíwa həl-d-áy* [l-d-aj] *góra xét* ‘The woman and man envied the other man’ (A:103)

Before demonstratives and the independent genitive particle *həl-* may be omitted altogether, e.g.

d-o gǎrǎš ‘He pulls him/her’
didi gǎrǎš ‘He pulls me’

- (3) *šoļtáli d-o-làg*.¹ ‘I threw it to that side.’ (A:24)

7.4.10. *laga* ‘at the home of, by the side of, with’

laga tati ‘at my father’s home’
laga d-o gora ‘at the home of that man’
laga d-o ‘at the home of that one, at his/her home’
lagef ‘at his home’

Before a noun, the preposition *laga* is sometimes shortened to *lā*. Note that this has a long final vowel, which distinguishes it from the negative particle *la*, e.g.

- (1) *kúle hulaé lā-lǎxle yelú*.¹ ‘All the Jews were close to one another.’ (A:44)
- (2) *dasgiraní yǎtá lā-’ilì*.¹ ‘My betrothed sits by my side.’ (A:25)
- (3) *lā-’ǎlhá lolenawa-ò*.¹ ‘I was beseeching God’ (literally: in the presence of God).

7.4.11. *mangal, mangol* ‘like’

mangal tati ‘like my father’
mangal d-o ‘like that one, like him’
mangal d-o gora ‘like that man’
mangalef ‘like him’

This particle is occasionally used with the *izafe* particle:

mangol-e tati ‘like my father’

7.4.12. *mən, m-* ‘from’

Before nouns without a demonstrative it normally has the full form *mən*, the short form *m-* being only marginally attested:

<i>mən-bela</i>	‘from the house’
<i>m-ṭurane</i>	‘from the mountains’

Before a noun with a demonstrative or before an independent demonstrative, the preposition in most cases has its full form and is connected to the demonstrative by the annexation particle *d-*:

<i>mən d-o-tʷka</i>	‘from that place’
<i>mən-d-óa</i>	‘from that one’
<i>mən-d-éa</i>	‘from this one’

Occasionally a demonstrative is combined with the short form *m-* without the *d* particle, e.g. *m-éa* ‘from this’ (B:51).

The preposition may take pronominal suffixes. With suffixes the form *mən-* may have the sense of ‘with’ in addition to ‘from’. Before nouns ‘with’ is expressed by the extended form *məntáke* (§7.4.13.):

<i>mənef</i>	‘from/with him’
<i>mənaf</i>	‘from/with her’

7.4.13. *məntáke* ‘with’

The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

<i>məntáke tati</i>	‘with my father’
<i>məntáke ’o naša ~ d-o naša</i>	‘with that man’
<i>məntáke d-o</i>	‘with that one’
<i>məntáke d-onye</i>	‘with those’
<i>məntákef</i>	‘with him’

7.4.14. *pliyaw, ga-pliyaw* ‘amid, between’

<i>pliyaw tati-u daǎki</i>	‘between my father and my mother’
<i>pliyaw d-o gora-u d-o-baxta</i>	‘between that man and that woman’
<i>pliyaw d-oni</i>	‘between them’
<i>pliyawan</i>	‘between us’

7.4.15. *qáme, qam* ‘before, in front of’

This is used in both a temporal and a spatial sense. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

<i>qáme/qam molef</i>	‘before his death’
<i>qáme/qam tati</i>	‘in front of my father’
<i>qáme/qam ’o naša ~ d-o naša</i>	‘in front of that person’
<i>qáme/qam d-o</i>	‘in front of that one, in front of him’
<i>qámef</i>	‘in front of him’

It may be combined with the preposition *m-*:

<i>m-qáməf</i>	‘in front of him’
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7.4.16. *reša, reš* ‘upon’

This preposition is used either with or without the nominal inflectional vowel *-a*. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

<i>reša mez, reš mez</i>	‘on the table’
<i>reša ’o-mez, reš ’o-mez</i>	‘on that table’
<i>reša d-o mez, reš d-o mez</i>	‘on that table’
<i>reša d-o, reš d-o</i>	‘on that one, on it’
<i>rešef</i>	‘on him, on it’

7.4.17. *ta* ‘to, for; at (time); until’

The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is not used before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun. The preposition does not take pronominal suffixes:

<i>ta-broni</i>	‘to, for my son’
<i>ta ’o naša</i>	‘for that man’
<i>ta-d-o</i>	‘to, for him’
<i>ta-didan</i>	‘to, for us’

When used in the sense of ‘until’ a period of time, it may be followed by the subordinating particle *ge*, e.g.

- (1) *báqāta gezéxwa kništà^l xét là kexwá-o belá^l har-tá-ge lelè.^l* ‘In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night.’ (B:74)

7.4.18. *tʷka* ‘in place of, instead of’

This is a noun used adverbially. It is combined with *d-* before demonstratives and may take pronominal suffixes:

<i>tʷka tati</i>	‘instead of my father’
<i>tʷka d-o gora</i>	‘instead that man’
<i>tʷka d-o</i>	‘instead him’
<i>tʷka d-onye</i>	‘instead them’
<i>tʷka didi</i>	‘instead me’
<i>tʷkef</i>	‘instead him’
<i>tʷki</i>	‘instead me’

7.4.19. *txela, txel* ‘under’

The preposition is used either with or without the nominal inflectional vowel *-a*. The annexation particle *d-* is obligatory before an independent demonstrative, but is optional before an attributive demonstrative qualifying a noun:

<i>txela mez, txel mez</i>	‘under the table’
<i>txela d-o mez, txel d-o mez</i>	‘under that table’
<i>txela ’o mez, txel ’o mez</i>	‘under that table’
<i>txela d-o, txel d-o</i>	‘under that one’
<i>txelaf</i>	‘under it (f.)’

7.5. MISCELLANEOUS UNINFLECTED PARTICLES

These may operate within a clause or may function as clausal conjunctions. The majority are loanwords.

<i>’ăgar</i>	‘if’
<i>’ăgar-nam</i>	‘if not’
<i>’aşlan</i>	‘in particular’
<i>’ăwăġlan</i>	‘at first’
<i>’ăyane</i>	presentative particle
<i>’enşafan</i>	‘indeed, in truth’
<i>-ăč, -č</i> (after vowel)	‘too, also; as for’
<i>’əqra</i>	‘so much; so many’
<i>’i</i>	‘yes’
<i>’inke</i>	subordinating particle
<i>ba-</i>	deontic particle
<i>ba’dan</i>	‘afterwards, then’
<i>baška, baškam</i>	‘perhaps’

<i>bāz, bāz-ham</i>	‘still, again’
<i>biš</i>	‘more (preceding adjectives)’
<i>čānānče</i>	‘if, whether’
<i>čun</i>	‘because; when’
<i>da</i>	‘now (combined with imperative)’
<i>daxom</i>	‘even, even if’
<i>dubāra</i>	‘again’
<i>fāqat</i>	‘only’
<i>ger ʿaz</i>	‘apart from’
<i>ha</i>	‘presentative particle’
<i>halbāta</i>	‘of course’
<i>ham</i>	‘also’
<i>ham-čonin</i>	‘also the same’
<i>hāmeša</i>	‘always’
<i>har</i>	‘just; still; each’
<i>har-či</i>	‘everything that; although’
<i>heštan</i>	‘still, yet’
<i>hič, hiči</i>	‘none, nothing’
<i>ja</i>	‘now (connective)’
<i>jya</i>	‘on one side; separate’
<i>ke</i>	subordinator (§12.1.1.2., §12.5.1.)
<i>la</i>	‘no, negator’
<i>maʿmulan</i>	‘generally’
<i>māgar</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>mar</i>	deontic particle
<i>māsālan</i>	‘for example’
<i>maxšušan</i>	‘especially’
<i>pas</i>	‘then, so’
<i>rajəʿ ba-</i>	‘concerning’
<i>rasi</i>	‘in truth, in fact’
<i>šayad</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>tanha</i>	‘alone, only’
<i>wa</i>	presentative particle
<i>wāle</i>	‘but’
<i>xan</i>	‘a little’
<i>xéta</i>	filler for word not remembered
<i>xor</i>	‘still, yet’
<i>ya</i>	‘or’; relative particle
<i>yani</i>	‘that means, that is’
<i>zoa</i>	‘more’

8. THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

8.1. THE EXPRESSION OF INDEFINITENESS

The cardinal numeral ‘one’ (*xa*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal, i.e. when the speaker assumes that the hearer is not able to identify the referent of the nominal. The particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the pragmatic level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in an English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

The particle *xa* may also be combined with the word *dana*, a Kurdish word literally meaning ‘grain’, to express indefiniteness, e.g. *xa-dána tórta* ‘a cow’ (A:81).

The distribution of the indefinite marker *xa* in comparison with zero marking will first be examined and subsequently the motivation for the use of the marker *xa-dana* rather than *xa* will be considered.

8.1.1. *xa*

In general, the marker *xa* tends to occur with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way, whereas it tends to be omitted when these features are absent.

One factor that determines the individuation or salience of an indefinite nominal is whether the speaker is using it to refer to a specific referent in the class of items denoted by the word or whether it is being used in a less specific sense to refer to any item in the class. Referentially specific usages of indefinite nominals occur more frequently, as one would expect, in narratives than in expository discourse concerning general customs.

In narrative and other contexts the specific referents of such indefinite nominals introduced by *xa* often play an important role in the following

context, which is reflected by the fact that they are referred to in subsequent clauses. This, therefore, is a factor that further enhances the salience of the referent. Examples:

- (1) *xa-gorà hitwá.¹ 'éa gezálwa ga-pliyáw jangà!¹ 'ilanè gardóqwa-u!¹ knèwalu!¹ ga-³ahrá zăbênwalu.¹* 'There was a man. He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.' (A:98)
- (2) *xà šwáwa hítwale!¹ rāba dawlamán-yele!¹ tajər-yele!¹* 'He had a neighbour, who was very rich. He was a merchant.' (A:100)
- (3) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx!¹ rába zărif,¹ rába 'ayztà,¹ mən-xanăwadè 'ayztá.¹ familù rába 'ayzá-y!¹ 'ăxonăf 'ayzá.¹* 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)

An indefinite nominal referring to a period that functions as an adverbial is typically combined with the particle *xa* when the reference is to one specific time. This is often found at the beginning of a narrative section, where the adverbial sets the temporal frame of what follows, e.g.

- (4) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u!¹ mîre báqef!¹ mîre flánakas!¹ 'át ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kár mayayòx kxál?¹* 'One day he went to him (the neighbour). He said to him, he said "So-and-so, what use is this life to you?" (A:103)
- (5) *xà yomá!¹ 'ay-baxtí 'ătá ya-xăetà!¹ xiyâli.¹* 'One day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)

A nominal with a specific referent that is described further in an adjacent relative clause typically has the particle, e.g.

- (6) *'áy gbéwa hezál baqá xá-t^wka kəmriwala qăšăb-xanà.¹* 'He had to go to a place called the "butcher's shop.'" (A:73)

The particle tends to be omitted before a nominal with a specific referent when this referent plays an incidental role in the text and is not the centre of concern of the speaker. In (7), for example, the 'horse' does not have a central role in the following foreground narrative, but is only a component of the preliminary background. In (8) the 'pharmacy' is, likewise, part of a section giving background information about the bride's brother and is not central to the foreground narrative about the wedding. Example (9) is from

a section concerning butchers and butchers shops in general and not concerning the Jewish butcher in particular:

- (7) *'aná xa-yomá réša susi-yeli.*¹ 'One day I was on a horse.' (A:17)
 (8) *'áxoní dawaxanè-hitwale.*¹ 'My brother had a pharmacy.' (A:27)
 (9) *qǎšáb hitwalan b-šamá 'Aziz-Xān.*¹ *hulāa-yele.*¹ 'We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew.' (A:74)

There is a tendency to omit the particle when the nominal does not refer to a specific referent but rather to an unspecified representative of the class designated by the nominal, e.g.

- (10) *čarčí 'ò-yele! ya-'aspāl mātúwa réša xmarà.*¹ 'A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey.' (A:70)
 (11) *ja-'ātà! ba-rajš' ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.*¹ 'Now, let me tell you about a wedding.' (A:30)
 (12) *jám kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà.*¹ 'They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.' (A:45)
 (13) *pəštì hitwalan! dǎéxwalu ba-guzà.*¹ 'We had a back-support, which we put on the wall.' (A:56)
 (14) *yomá 'əmə šéqel pulé tǎhèt.*¹ 'You will make 100 shekels in money a day (= on any particular day).' (A:104)

Contrast (15) in which the nominal 'story' without the particle does not refer to a specific story with (16) in which the nominal 'story' with the particle refers specifically to the story that the speaker goes on to narrate:

- (15) *tatí yǎtùwa! 'əlhá mǎnixà! dāstán ḥǎqéwa baqàn.*¹ 'My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story.' (A:92)
 (16) *xa-waxtǎrá tatí yǎtùwa! xá ḥǎkayát ḥǎqéwa baqàn.*¹ *hitwa-u litwa!*¹ 'Once my father sat and told us a story. There was, there was not ...' (A:98)

In certain circumstances, however, nominals with unspecified referents are combined with the particle. This is found in the following contexts where the referent has some kind of individuation or prominence.

The particle often occurs before a nominal with an unspecified referent but one whose description is specified by an adjective, e.g.

- (17) *mən-taxtá trəṣwalu*,¹ *xa-taxtá rüwà*.¹ ‘They made it out of a board, a large board.’ (A:9)
- (18) *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šawénwa rüwà*,¹ *mən-d-ày-lag reš-ay-belá*¹ *ta-reš-o-belá*.¹ ‘On New Year’s Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house.’ (A:65)
- (19) *gbéwa xa-párčá zayrá dāén ba-lāxàu*¹ *b-lá səngù*¹ *ké ’álén ’ənyexáe hulaèn*.¹ ‘They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.’ (A:78)
- (20) *xa-xwán rába rabtá taršéxwa* ‘We made a big tray.’ (A:87)

Likewise the particle occurs in contexts where the nominal is specified by an adjacent relative clause, e.g.

- (21) *’ay-bšəlmanè*¹ *ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn*¹ *’ay-xalwà*¹ *mən-d-ó tortà*¹ *yá mən-d-ó ’ərbá dəwqà-y*¹ *ga-xa-pāṭilà dəwqà-y*¹ *ké pāṭiláké mumkán-ye pəsrá bāšla-hāwélú gāef*.¹ ‘Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.’ (A:64)

A nominal with an unspecified referent is sometimes marked with the particle when the referent has discourse prominence and is the centre of concern in what follows, e.g.

- (22) *xa-pašór képa komtā-yela*.¹ *kménwala ga-txéla-’aqlù*¹ *ke-’aqlú sàf xári*.¹ ‘A “foot washer” was a black stone. They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.’ (A:38)

A nominal with an unspecified referent may be given heavier morphological coding by adding the particle to act as end-weighting at the closure of a discourse section. This appears to be the motivation for the occurrence of the particle in (23) with the noun *jām* (‘mirror’) at the end of the passage but not with the noun *yaraq* ‘decorative cover’ in the preceding discourse:

- (23) *šámáš-e kništà*¹ *gezəlwa susì kméwa*.¹ *’ay-susí qāšáng marzənwale-ò*.¹ *yaraq dāélwa báef*.¹ *parčané ’ayzé dāélwa ba-susiyākè*.¹ *qāšáng marzənwale-wò*.¹ *xa-jām dāélwa qám babenèf*.¹ ‘The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.’ (A:43)

Likewise in (24) the use of the particle with the second mention of the nominal *tʷka* ‘place’ but not the first is a strategy to add end-weighting to the closure of the passage. The coding of the second mention of the nominal is made even heavier by expressing the attribute as a relative clause rather than an adjective:

- (24) *kəmriwale qawurmà.¹ nātènwale¹ ga-tʷká qārirá mātīwale.¹ yaxčāl litwalan xor-o-waxtārā.¹ mātīwale ga-xá-tʷka qārirà háwé¹ péš ta-sətwà.¹* ‘They called this *qawurma*. They took it and placed it in a cool place. We still did not have a fridge at that time. They put it in a place that was cool for it to remain until winter.’ (A:83)

An indefinite nominal that is predicative, the function of which is to assign the subject of the clause to a class rather than refer to a specific referent, generally lacks *xa*, e.g.

- (25) *hulàa-yele.¹* ‘He was a Jew.’ (A:74)
 (26) *tajər-yele.¹* ‘He was a merchant.’ (A:100)
 (27) *wa-maxwíwala našé xət-či ke-ga-dokèn¹ ke-ʔälén ʔay-bratà¹ bātulà xirté-ya.¹* ‘They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl was a virgin’ (A:50)

The particle is occasionally used to give the predicate particular prominence. In (28), for example, the speaker wishes to draw particular attention to the fact that the proposed bride’s brother is a doctor, which is presented as powerful grounds for marrying her:

- (28) *ʔaxonáf xa-duktər-ye.¹* ‘Her brother is a doctor.’ (A:6)

The particle is regularly used when functioning as a cardinal numeral (29–30) and when combined with units of measure as in (31–32):

- (29) *ga-ʔIràn¹ ya-ga-tāṁāṁ-e mamlākāté ke-xarəj m-Israyel-yén¹ lelé pätiré trè lelé-ya.¹ b-Israyél xà lelé-ya.¹* ‘In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights, but in Israel it is one night.’ (A:62)
 (30) *hár-kas gezólwa ba-ʔānazé nòšef,¹ xa-nāfàr-ye,¹ trè nāfàrén,¹ təlḥà nāfàrén,¹ ʔarbà nāfàrén g-o-belà¹ ba-ʔānazé nòšu pəsrá šaqlīwa.¹* ‘Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.’ (A:74)

(31) *xá kílò xéta holì, mastà holì.* ‘Give me one kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt.’ (A:79)

(32) *xăletéf xa-dásá lăbās-yela.* ‘His gift was a set of clothes.’ (A:51)

8.1.2. Pronominal Use of *xa*

The particle *xa* may be used independently with the function of an indefinite pronoun with specific reference, e.g.

(1) *xá ʔlile-òl xá lá ʔlile-òl* ‘One recognized him and another did not recognize him.’ (D:14)

8.1.3. *xa dana*

The phrase *xa-dana* expresses individuation with heavier morphological coding than the particle *xa* alone. It tends to be used to express a greater degree of distinctness of the referent of the nominal.

One context in which it is typically used is where the nominal marked by the phrase has a referent that has particular discourse prominence, in that it plays an important role in what follows, e.g.

(1) *xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá ba-rešăf-yela. rešăf ksêwala-u ʔăwăš mən-rešăf gəršăli šoltáli d-o-lăg.* ‘A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side.’ (A:24)

(2) *hár xanăwadé ta-nòšef, hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef, gezəlwa xa-dána tórta šăqəlwala. kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef. rában kéwa dăbəḥwal-ó baqəf. tāmís kòlwala.* ‘Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. Our rabbi would come and slaughter if for them.’ (A:81-82)

In (3) the metal can plays a central role in the narrative as an emblem of good life of the protagonist before he became a merchant:

(3) *xa-dána pút ḥălabí dóqwala ba-ʔiləf-u dăélwa gəaf-u* ‘He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum).’ (A:99)

In (4) the *xa-dana* expression is used before the nominal *mangəl* ‘brazier’ but not before *lă‘efa* ‘quilt’ since the ‘brazier’ is the crucial distinctive feature of the warm seat known as the *kursi*:

(4) *ʔaxní măsălàn! xá-mđi hitwalán b-šəmə kursi. mangəl d-áy šulḥàn! təlḥa kărâte d-éa, ʔarbà kărâte d-éa, biš ntóta xančì. xá lă‘éfa*

*dāénwa ba-rešâf.¹ txelâf¹ xá-dana mangâl-yela,¹ har-ga-ʔără
čəgyàwalu.¹ ga-dóka zoxâl dārènwá.¹ zoxâl dārènwá gâaf.¹ gogórd
dāénwa ba-zuxačákè¹ malqíwale ga-dokà¹ ʔo-kursi šaxnàwa.¹* ‘We had
something called a *kursi* “seat,” like this table, three times (the
size) of this, four times (the size) of this, it was a bit higher. We
would put a quilt on top of it. Under it there was a brazier, which
they had dug in the ground. They put coals there. They put coals
in it. They put a match to the coals and they ignited them there
and the seat became warm.’ (A:90)

The phrase may be used independently of a noun with the function of
an indefinite pronoun, e.g.

- (5) *mangól lăxá là-yele¹ hezî xa-dána šaqî.¹* ‘It was not the case that
they went to buy one, as (they do) here.’ (B:76)
- (6) *ga-doká hár kništá xà-dana hitwalá.¹* ‘There every synagogue had
one.’ (B:80)

Elsewhere the expression *xa dana* is used with the literal sense of ‘a
seed of’ before nouns denoting grains, such as *xa dana garsa* ‘a
groat seed/a single groat’.

8.1.4. Indefinite Suffix *-ek*

In a few isolated cases a nominal is given the Kurdish indefinite inflectional
ending *-ek*. This is found mainly on nominals in predications expressing ex-
clamation. It may be compared to the use of *xa* in predications to express
prominence (see §8.1.1. example 28):

- (1) *bróna rába ʔayzèk-yele.¹* ‘He was a very fine lad.’ (A:14)
- (2) *ʔájáb bronèk-ye.¹* ‘He is a wonderful boy.’ (A:17)

It is occasionally used elsewhere, e.g.

- (3) *qoqé xa-zárf, zrífek-yelu mán ʔápre smoqà.¹* ‘Pots were a container,
containers made of red clay.’ (A:84)

8.1.5. Indefinite Suffix *-e*

There are sporadic occurrences of an indefinite suffix with the form *-e*,
which is presumably a shortened form of *-ek*, e.g.

- (1) *gurané qārèxin¹ ga-har-çî belê¹* ‘We shall sing songs in every house.’ (E:67)
- (2) *bâqa ‘ây xâṭā’î¹ hit xá jwabê¹* ‘For this fault of mine I have an answer.’ (E:62)

8.2. THE DEFINITE ARTICLE –*âke*

The Kurdish definite suffix *-âke* is used extensively in the dialect. It does not occur, however, on all nouns that are definite in status. Many nouns whose referents the speaker considers to be identifiable by the hearer do not have the suffix. Just as is the case with the indefinite article *xa*, the definite article *-âke* tends to be restricted to definite nouns that have some kind of textual salience.

One reflection of this textual salience is that a noun with the *-âke* suffix has usually been mentioned previously in the preceding context, e.g.

- (1) *râsm ga-dokâ ‘âxâ-yele.¹ ga-yomâ¹ reş-şatâ,¹ baqa-xatnâ¹ mæn-be-kaldâ xwân¹ kwiwa.¹ ... xwanâké kmenwalâ-u¹ gezîwa bâqa bêla nõşu.¹* ‘The custom there was like this. On New Year’s day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. ... They delivered the table, then went to their homes.’ (A:9–11)
- (2) *‘afsârê¹ ‘artêş¹ rakwîwa susî.¹ susî kwiwâlu.¹ xa-nâfar-êç mangâl nokâr,¹ xa-sarbâz,¹ lâpâlwa ba-şonêf rêşa susî xêt.¹ susyâké mæn-sarbâzخانê kmewale qam-târâ.¹* ‘Officers, in the army, would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse. Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse. He would bring the horse (for the officer) from the barracks to the door.’ (A15–16)
- (3) *xalêstâ râbta şarbât mêla baqî.¹ ... bâr-d-o xét yâwâş yâwâş¹ hîya,¹ şarbâtâké mêla baqî¹* ‘The elder sister brought me sherbet. ... Then after a while, she slowly came and brought the sherbet to me.’ (A:23–24)
- (4) *hâmâm-e turkî mâ-jor-îla?¹ ... hâmamâké maşxniwalâ.¹* ‘What is a Turkish bath like? ... They used to heat the bath.’ (A:37)
- (5) *bâr-d-o¹ gbêwa hezîwa zârâ şaqlî,¹ zârâké hâmênwale-o¹ ga-bêla dâna dâna gâbênwale,¹ tâmîz holîwale.¹* ‘Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house, clean it.’ (A:58)

Previous mention does not automatically condition the suffix *-ǎke*. Consider the passage in (6):

- (6) *lǎxmà*¹ *hàr-kas*¹ *ga-təlḥà xanǎwadé*¹ *ʔarbà xanǎwadé*¹ *ḥatmán ga-belé*¹ *tǎnurà-hitwa*¹ *čǎkmá lelé qǎme pǎtirè*¹ *baxtá hulálta hitwa*¹ *kyàwa*¹ *lǎxmǎké kolawalè-o*¹ *náše ʔo-belá nóšu komǎkáf kolíwa*¹ *lǎxmǎké kolíwàle-o*¹ *xa-báxta xét dǎyáwale ba-tǎnurà*¹ *tǎnurǎké ba-šiwè malqíwala*¹. 'As for bread—in (every) three families, in (every) four families there was sure to be somebody who had an oven in his house. A few days before Passover, there was a Jewish woman who came and opened out the bread (dough). The people of the house helped her. They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven. They heated the oven with wood.' (A:66-67)

The nouns *lǎxma* 'bread' and *tǎnura* 'oven' are introduced with indefinite status at the beginning of this passage. Both subsequent occurrences of *lǎxma* have the *-ǎke* suffix, whereas the second occurrence of *tǎnura* is without the suffix. The explanation appears to be that down to the second mention of *tǎnura* it is the bread that is the main concern rather than the oven. This is reflected by the fact that the passage opens with the noun *lǎxma* '(as for) bread'. In the last clause of the passage, however, the noun *tǎnura* has the suffix. This clause supplies an elaboration on the functioning of the oven and so expresses background to the foreground of the discourse. In this background section, it is the oven that is the centre of concern. So, topical prominence in a particular section of discourse is also a factor that conditions the use of the suffix.

On some occasions the *-ǎke* suffix is attached to a noun that is definite in status due to its association with the situation described in the preceding discourse without it being explicitly mentioned. This applies to examples such as the following:

- (7) *ʔarqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʔotàq*¹ *ta-nóšaf tǎrǎké mǎzra ba-réša-nóšaf*¹ *tǎra mǎzra ba-réša nóšaf*¹ *zílawa tíwa ga-dokà*¹. 'She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her). She closed the door behind her and went and sat there.' (A:22)
- (8) *lelǎwáe sǎtwá yǎtèxwa*¹ *dáwre lǎxle*¹ *lelé sǎtwá ga-doká yǎrixà-yele*¹ *qardè-č-yela*¹ *báqa d-óa belǎké mašxniwale*¹ *xa-ʔadá buxarì hitwálu*¹ *ba-šiwè malqíwalá*¹ *ʔo-béla mašxniwale*¹. 'During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle. A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house. Some peo-

ple had a stove, which they would fuel by wood and they would heat the house.’ (A:89)

In (7) the ‘door’ is definite since the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify this as the door of the room mentioned in the preceding clause. In (8) the ‘house’ is definite since it is inferable from the situation described in what precedes. The speaker assumes that the hearer can infer that the act of sitting together was taking place in a house. The crucial motivating factor for the use of the definite suffix in these examples appears to be the prominence which the speaker wishes to give to the clause in which it is used. This is reflected by the fact that the contents of the clause are reiterated in the subsequent discourse.

In some cases the clause is given prominence by the additional coding of the suffix not primarily on account of the clause’s intrinsic content but rather due to its occurrence at a boundary in the discourse. In (9) and (10), for example, the clause in which the heavily coded noun is used occurs at a point where there is a shift of subject:

(9) *mírwala Mórza Xǎnǎká xá-gora gbelòx.*¹ *la-káyan mǎni-ye.*¹ *Xǎnǎká-č mǎn-panjǎrǎké m’ine-ò¹ hǎl-didí xèle.*¹ ‘She said “Mǎrza Xǎnǎka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.” Xǎnǎka looked from the window and saw me.’ (A:21)

(10) *bǎqǎtef-o qúmna zína dokà.*¹ *híya ga-balkonǎkè,*¹ *kǎmrá baqì¹ bališaná bšǎlmanè¹* ‘The next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me in the language of the Muslims ...’ (A:20)

In tightly knit phrases consisting of two conjoined nouns the suffix *-ǎke* is attached only to the second noun, e.g. *tate-ú daǎkǎkè¹* (A:2) ‘the fathers and mothers’. If the noun is qualified by an attribute, the suffix is placed on the attribute rather than on the head noun, e.g. *báxta bšǎlmantǎkè* ‘the Muslim woman’ (B:22).

8.3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

8.3.1. Deictic Function

The demonstratives may be used deictically to point out referents that are visible in the speech situation. In principle the near deixis form is used to refer to items near to the speaker and the far deixis form to refer to items

distant from the speaker. Physical distance, however, is not the alone factor that conditions the choice between these two sets of demonstrative. Close emotional engagement or interest in a referent can motivate the use of a near deixis form to point out a referent that is spatially distant from the speaker. This is seen in the direct speech of (1) and (2) in which the near deixis demonstrative is most idiomatically translated by a far deixis demonstrative in English:

- (1) *mən-lāḥāl* 'o-xiyàli.¹ *míru* 'éa *xāləstá* *Xanākè-ya*.¹ 'I saw her from afar. They said "That is the sister of Xanāka.'" (A:14)
- (2) 'ána *xa-yomá* *réša* *susì-yeli*¹ 'áy-u *xaləstáf* *rád* *xāri*,¹ *xaləstáf* *kəmrá* *baqàf*¹ 'éa *bróna* *Jāhān-ye*.¹ 'One day I was on a horse. She and her sister passed by and her sister said to her "That is the son of Jāhān.'" (A:17)

8.3.2. Anaphoric Function

In the text corpus the majority of the demonstrative pronouns have an anaphoric function. They do not point to a referent in the extralinguistic situation but rather signal that the referent of the nominal is identifiable in the surrounding context, typically in what precedes. Such anaphoric demonstratives are often translated most idiomatically by the English definite article. Both the near deixis and the far deixis sets of pronouns are used anaphorically.

In some cases, particularly in expository discourse, the two degrees of deixis may be used to express different degrees of textual distance of their anaphor in the preceding discourse, the near deixis pronoun referring to the nearer anaphor, e.g.

- (1) 'āgār *šomá* *šəhyón* *lāpəl* *yomá* *šəbət*¹ *lá* *doqəxile*.¹ *mandəxile* *yomá* *xšabà*.¹ 'āgār *šomá* *Lelangè*,¹ *Purim*,¹ *lāpəl* *yomá* *šəbət*,¹ *là* *doqəxile*.¹ *xamšūšab* *doqəxile*.¹ *tá-ma* 'é *xamšūšab* *doqəxile*! 'ó *xšabà*?¹ 'If the fast of Zion (9th of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. If the fast of *Lelange*, *Purim*, falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We keep it on the Thursday. Why do we hold this one on Thursday but that one on Sunday?' (B:73)

In the majority of cases, however, textual distance is not the crucial factor that conditions the choice between the two sets of demonstratives.

The near deixis forms are generally used with nominals whose referents are the centre of attention at a particular point in the discourse, e.g.

- (2) *xàl bronàl híye ba-‘olàm̄l káčàl-yele.* ... *’áy bronàl bǎruxá litwale.* ‘A boy came into the world who was bald. ... This boy (the protagonist of the story) did not have a friend.’ (D:1)
- (3) *šámáš-e kništàl gezólwa susì kméwa.* *’ay-susí qášáng marzənwale-ò.* *yaráq dǎèlwa báef.* *parčané ‘ayzé dǎèlwa ba-susiyákè.* *qášáng marzənwale-wò.* *xa-jám dǎèlwa qám babeněf.* *məntáke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornàl geziwa baqá kaldá hāmeníla be-xətnà.* ‘The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead. The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bring the bride to the house of the groom.’ (A:43–44)
- (4) *gbé het-ó ’ay-bratá goretà.* ‘You must go back and marry the girl.’ (A:18)
- (5) *dušà mǎtíwa.* *kǎrà mǎtíwa.* *guptà mǎtíwa.* *mastà mǎtíwa.* *’ənyexáe kúle mǎtíwalu tāmám-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne.* ‘They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these things out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.’ (A:65)

A speaker may use near deixis forms anaphorically to express some kind of emotional engagement with referents, as in (6), in which the demonstratives convey negative attitude:

- (6) *má kul-yóma gezét ’ay-jangàl ’ay-kúle zaḥamtá garšəta-u?* ‘Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble?’ (A:105)

The far deixis demonstrative is used anaphorically in a more neutral sense, without expressing a prominent near perspective, e.g.

- (7) *málka Šǎbà gwirté-ya.* *’ó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.* ‘He married the Queen of Sheba. She also became very rich.’ (A:97)
- (8) *qášáb hítwalan b-šəmə ’Aziz-Xān.* *hulàa-yele.* *’ó pəsráké kméwale ga-tʰkanè.* ‘We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops.’ (A:74)
- (9) *čəkmá ’aksé ntenilan.* *’onyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.* ‘We took a few photographs. They have remained as a reminder (of the event).’ (A:29)

- (10) *gbéwa xá-‘əda mən-náše pìre^l xanāwadà^l hezí baqà^l xosté xlulà,^l yáni hamrí ‘ijazá húlmu báqa xanāwadé kaldà^l hamrí ‘ijazá húlmu^l ke-‘axní xlulà holéx.^l ‘óni-č xa-basór kəmriwa hàya-u^l* ‘A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride “Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding.” They (the family of the bride) would say “It is a little too soon.” (A:30–31)
- (11) *gogórd dāenwa ba-zuxalākè^l malqíwale ga-dokà^l ‘o-kursí šaxnàwa.^l* ‘They struck a match to the coals and they ignited them there and the seat became warm.’ (A:90)
- (12) *náše ‘o-belá nóšu komākáf kolíwa.^l* ‘The people of the house helped her.’ (A:66)

The neutral anaphoric demonstrative may be used with nouns whose referent has not been explicitly invoked in the preceding discourse but is only associated with it. This is the case in (13) in which the ‘house’ is associated with the people buying the meat and in (14), where the ‘burnt ash’ (*qila*) is associated with the act of burning of the rags:

- (13) *hár-kas gezólwa ba-‘ānazé nòšef,^l xa-nāfàr-ye,^l trè nāfàrén,^l təlḥà nāfàrén,^l ‘arbà nāfàrén g-o-belà^l ba-‘ānazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlíwa.^l* ‘Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.’ (A:74)
- (14) *xór darmanè-č lítwa ‘o-waxtára darmáne dāen.^l pəroé maqlíwa^l ‘o-qilà,^l qilé pəroè^l mātíwa réša ‘o-milà.^l* ‘They did not have medicines at that time to apply. They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags.’ (A:76)

The neutral demonstrative is frequently used with anaphoric adverbials, e.g.

- (15) *‘o-waxtára ‘aráq rába rasmi-yela.^l* ‘At that time arak was legal’ (A:11)
- (16) *‘o-lelé xa-šám mfāšál híwlu baqàn-u^l* ‘That night they gave us a copious dinner.’ (A:26)
- (17) *‘óni-č qemí hár ‘o-yomà^l sangākì,^l ləxmá sangākí taršíwa.^l* ‘On that same day they would make loaves of bread.’ (A:88)

- (18) *ba-d-ó mudätä^l ga-d-ó šoa-yomè^l lá guptà^l lá mastà^l hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxləxwale^l*. ‘At that period, on those seven days (of Passover), we did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.’ (A:68)
- (19) *bàr-d-o^l kénwa tănurà^l*. ‘After that they would come to the oven.’ (B:18)
- (20) *leläwáe sətwa yätəxwa^l dáwre ləxle^l lelé sətwa ga-doká yärixà-yele^l qardè-č-yela^l báqa d-óa beläké mašxniwalè^l*. ‘During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle. A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house.’ (A:89)
- (21) *tănurá gbəwa^l qǎme-o^l maqlīwala^l ké tănurá ḥaméš là hawýá^l*. ‘They had to heat the oven beforehand so that the oven did not contain leaven.’ (B:18)

Apparently by analogy with expressions such as *bar-d-o* ‘afterwards’ and *qǎme-o* ‘beforehand’, a demonstrative is also suffixed to other anaphoric temporal expressions such as the following:

- (22) *zīlex dokà-u^l širiní híwlu baqàn^l ’u-xét xíra ba-dasgirani^l xíra ba-dasgirani^l bəqǎtef-o qímna zína dokà^l*. ‘We went there and they gave us sweets and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there.’ (A:20)
- (23) *leléf-o zīlex baqà^l širiní ḥāmex-ó^l*. ‘On that night we went to fetch the sweets.’ (A:19)
- (24) *mən-’əšref-o^l sá’ət xamšà bar-korá^l xalà kəxlíwa^l*. ‘That evening at five o’clock in the afternoon they would eat food.’ (B:45)
- (25) *wǎle g-áy ’axər-ò^l bár qrawá-e benulmälälí ’ǎwà^l našé máre doltá xiri-u^l*. ‘But in recent times, after the First World War, people became rich.’ (B:56)

In (26) contrast the use of the neutral pronoun in the anaphoric adverbial *qǎme d-o* ‘before that’ with the near deixis pronoun in the adverbial *qǎme d-ea*, which refers deictically to the present moment of the speech situation:

- (26) *’ána tatí mən-’olám zilwa^l qǎme təlḥá-šəne qǎme d-ò^l tatí-u ’ǎxoná rūwì^l ’ay-’ǎxonì^l ya-xáet ’akséf ga-lǎxà-ay^l ’ó ’əštá šoá šəné qǎme-d-ea mən-’olám zíl^l*. ‘My father had passed away three years previ-

ously, my father and my elder brother—this brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years ago.’ (A:19)

The neutral anaphoric demonstrative is used on the head of a relative clause to bind its reference to the identifying description of the following subordinate clause rather than to the preceding context, e.g.

(27) *lelé xlulà^l mən-be-xətnà^l ’o-našé ya-da’wāt kolíwalu,^l familù yelú,^l bāru-xù-yelu.^l* ‘The people whom they invited on the night of the wedding from the family of the groom were relatives, were friends.’ (A:42)

(28) *’onyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen^l yáni xárəj m-’Isráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.^l* ‘Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights.’ (A:62)

(29) *zargàr rába hitwalán,^l zargàr,^l ’onyexáe ya-dewà^l pašri-ò,^l déwa taršì.^l* ‘We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would smelt gold and make gold.’ (A:70)

(30) *’onyexáe ya-šì’á-yelu^l* ‘those who are Shi’ites’ (A:77)

In narrative contexts the near deixis anaphoric demonstratives may be used with all protagonists to express equal prominence, as in (31):

(31) *’áy baxtá-u ’áy gorà^l bāxeḷi lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét.^l* ‘The woman and the man were jealous of the other man.’ (A:103)

The participants are sometimes distinguished by the use of different types of demonstratives, expressing different degrees of perspective. Consider the following:

(32) *mìre báqeḫ^l ... ’ó míre ṭòb.^l zíl lagèḫ-u^l méle mtùle-u^l ’ay-zíl jáns ləblé,^l jənsáké ləblé mātùle ga-xá t[”]kaná zabnè.^l ’áy-əḫ xír mangàl d-ó.^l* ‘He (the neighbour) said to him ... He (the neighbour) said “Fine (that is agreed).” He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He (the family man) became like him (the neighbour).’ (A:105)

In this passage there are two participants, the neighbour and the family man. It is the family man who is the main protagonist and the centre of attention of the narrative and it is he who is referred to by the near deixis

pronoun. The neighbour, on the other hand, is referred to by the neutral form.

This strategy is used to express spatial separation in constructions such as (33):

- (33) *gezálwa má'ínwa g-à-y-lag,| g-ò-lag.* 'He would go and look this side and that side.' (A:108)

8.3.3. Demonstratives with *xa* element

The independent demonstrative pronouns may be combined with a *xa* element. This can be identified as the cardinal numeral 'one'. The original meaning of *xa* is clear in the singular forms, which are used in a speech situation to pick out one referent from a set that is given in the speech situation or discourse. If, for example, there are two people in the distance, you may point to them in turn and say to your interlocutor:

- (1) *'óxa bǎruxì-ye| wǎle 'óxa bǎruxí là-y.* 'That one is my friend, but that one is not my friend.'

The same applies to the near deixis form *'éxa*:

- (2) *'éxa bǎruxì-ye| wǎle 'éxa bǎruxí là-y.* 'This one is my friend, but this one is not my friend.'

Note the use of the form *'óxa* to mark a distinction between referents in (3) and (4):

- (3) *xá-naša m-d-à-y-lag| mən-'aprá-e 'Iràn| 'óxa m-d-ò-lag| mən-'aḥrā-e Temàn.* 'One person (came) from this direction from the dust of Iran. That (other) one from that side from the city of Yemen.' (E:3)

- (4) *xá 'áqla qǎpì| 'óxa ba-syamè.| xá ba-dǎmaqopàn| 'óxa ba-šərwalè.* 'One (came) barefooted, that one with shoes. One with baggy pants, one with trousers.' (E:5)

The form *'éxa* is used idiomatically in a related way to express the sense of 'and other things', 'and so forth', e.g.

- (5) *'áy 'āsasiyā-u| 'èxa-u| kúle mēlan.* 'This furniture and so forth—we brought it all.' (C:10)

This usage occurs frequently in the narrative of informant D, e.g.

- (6) *ba-xá dāsá jəle zìl-u^l ga-pəlgə našáké tìw-u^l hqéle mánun-u^l 'exà-u^l* 'He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth.' (D:16)

The plural forms *'ənyexáe* and *'onyexáe* are used anaphorically without the implication of extraction from a given set, e.g.

- (7) *duxwà taršíwa.^l haḷwà taršíwa.^l xurma-u-rùn taršíwa.^l dušà mǎtíwa.^l kǎrà mǎtíwa.^l guptà mǎtíwa.^l mastà mǎtíwa.^l 'ənyexáe kúle mǎtíwalu tǎmám-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra mǎndixàne.^l* 'They made *duxwa*. They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.' (A:65)
- (8) *xá ṭǎbǎqa xèt-əç xirén^l bíš tex-ò,^l 'onyexàe^l tajarát xírlalu mǎntáke xaràj.^l* 'There was another class, which was lower. Those had business abroad.' (B:6)

8.3.4. Demonstratives with *dana*

A demonstrative pronoun may be combined with the individuating element *dana*. This construction is found in (1) below, where the effect appears to be to give the descriptive content of the nominal prominence

- (1) *dáx zíla mǎnǎni^l 'áy-dana frištà?^l* 'How did this angel (= this language of ours) escape from us?' (E:29)

8.3.5. Demonstratives with Pronominal Suffixes

A noun with a demonstrative may take a pronominal suffix, e.g. *'áy 'ǎxonì^l* 'this brother of mine' (A:27); *'áy jǎlan* 'these clothes of ours' (C:11).

8.4. PRESENTATIVE PARTICLES

In addition to demonstrative pronouns, the dialect uses a number of presentative particles to draw attention to referents or situations.

8.4.1. *wa*

The presentative particle *wa*, which is combined with the far deixis demonstrative pronouns, is used to draw attention either to a referent or to a situation in the extralinguistic environment, e.g.

Referent

- (1) *wá 'ða.* | 'There he is.'
- (2) *wá 'onyè.* | 'There they are.'
- (3) *wá 'ó našè.* | 'There are those people.'
- (4) *wá 'ăxonì.* | 'There is my brother.'
- (5) *wá 'ăxonăwalì.* | 'There are my brothers.'

Situation

- (6) *wá 'oà-y.* | 'Look it is him.'
- (7) *wá 'ó răxăš.* | 'Look he is walking.'
- (8) *wá 'oní raxšì.* | 'Look they are walking.'
- (9) *wá mătèxin.* | 'Look we are arriving' (= 'We are about to arrive')

8.4.2. 'ayane*Referent*

- (1) 'ăyané 'ăxonawalì. | 'There are my brothers.'

Situation

- (2) 'ăyané 'ăxoní hìye. | 'Look my brother has come.'
- (3) 'ăyané hìyèna. | 'Look I have come.'

8.4.3. ha

This presentative particle is combined with the copula in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *ga-lăxá xa-našà há-y.* | 'There is somebody here.'
- (2) 'ay-tără hulef-ò, *xá našà há-y.* | 'Open the door, there is somebody there.'
- (3) 'ó lăxá hà-ya. | 'It (fs.) is here.'

- (4) *há-ya ga-lǎxè-ya.*¹ ‘Here, it (fs.) is here.’
- (5) *našé bašór ga-lǎxà háen.*¹ ‘There are a few people here.’
- (6) *čǎkmá šǎné ga-Sanandǎj ha-yélox?*¹ ‘How many years were you in Sanandaj?’

8.4.4. Near Deixis Demonstrative

The independent near deixis demonstrative *’ea* may be used as a discourse presentative in constructions such as (1):

- (1) *’éa xábra ħǎqènox.*¹ ‘Now, I shall tell you a story.’ (B:60)

8.5. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The reflexive pronoun *noš-*, which is inflected with pronominal suffixes, occurs in various syntactic positions in the clause.

8.5.1. Subject

When used in subject position or extraposition at the front of the clause, the reflexive pronoun either expresses contrastive assertion (‘he himself, etc.) or exclusive assertion denoting that the subject referent is acting alone (‘by himself, etc.). The pronoun either stands independently or is used in apposition to a noun or personal pronoun (e.g. *ana noši* ‘I myself’):

- (1) *nóšu lablíwale ’orxèl.*¹ ‘They would themselves take it to the mill.’ (A:58)
- (2) *gbé zǎrà¹ nóšu taršile,¹ nóšu tamíz holile,¹ nóšu taxnile.*¹ ‘They had to make flour themselves, clean it themselves, grind it themselves.’ (A:60)
- (3) *čún ’áxni nóšan là kewalán¹ xalwǎké ħǎmèxile.*¹ ‘because we could not fetch milk ourselves’ (A:63)
- (4) *gbéwa hezǎlwa ga-dóka nóšef dǎbǎħwalu-ò.*¹ ‘He had to go there and slaughter them himself.’ (A:73)
- (5) ^{H)}*áz^H zǎlawa¹ mírwala baqá ’ǎxonǎf-u¹ nóšǎf là halbáta,¹ xa-nǎfar-xét šǎrwala baqá ’ǎxonǎf.*¹ ‘Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl’s) brother—of course not her herself, she sent somebody else to her brother.’ (A:18)

8.5.2. Direct Object Complement

The reflexive pronoun may be used to express a pronominal object that is co-referential with the subject of the verb. The verb typically has a 3fs. pronominal element that agrees with the reflexive pronoun:

- (1) *xánčì nòšu doqìwala.*¹ ‘They held themselves a little (= they were rather reluctant).’ (A:31)
- (2) *zíl nòšef ga-pliyáw kaštiáké tšyale-ò.*¹ ‘He went and hid himself in the boat.’ (B:77)
- (3) *’át nòšax hazàr hulá.*¹ (< *hul-la*) ‘Prepare yourself.’ (D:6)

In (4) the pronoun is the object complement of an infinitive:

- (4) *’íla wíli bǎxòe¹ nòša qǎtòle.*¹ ‘I began to cry and beat myself (in grief).’ (C:10)

8.5.3. Complement of a Preposition

When the reflexive pronoun is the complement of a preposition, it denotes the co-referentiality of the pronominal suffix with the subject of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *tára mǎzra ba-réša nòšaf.*¹ ‘She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her).’ (A:22)
- (2) *’áyza kásbi hùl ta-nòšox.*¹ ‘Take the good earnings for yourself.’ (A:103)

8.5.4. Genitive Complement

The pronoun may be in dependent position in a genitive annexation construction, e.g.

- (1) *gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.*¹ ‘They went to their (own) homes.’ (A:11)
- (2) *’ágar ’ay-mastá dǎrenaf-ó t^wká nošǎf¹ nǎjǎs xǎrá.*¹ ‘If I pour this yoghurt back into its own place (i.e. back in the same container), it will become unclean.’ (A:80)
- (3) *galglíwale ga-pliyáw mǎšxá nòšef¹* ‘They would stir it round in its own oil.’ (A:84)
- (4) *kálúwala ba-xát-e nòšef.*¹ ‘He wrote it with his own hand.’ (A:48)

- (5) *hár-kāsu pəška-nóšef hitwale.*¹ ‘Every one of them had enough for himself.’ (A:55)

8.5.5. Pronominal Suffix in Place of Reflexive Pronoun

The reflexive pronoun is not obligatory when the pronominal reference that is co-referential with the subject is a complement of a preposition or a genitive complement of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *máe dǎrénwa ba-rešù.*¹ ‘They poured the water over themselves.’ (A:37)
- (2) *mətále rešəf-u*¹ ‘He put it (the wig) on him.’ (D:13)
- (3) *kúle náše ḥáz kolíwale belù*¹ *ʔilané bəširè háwé.*¹ ‘Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.’ (A:72)

8.6. RECIPROCAL PRONOUN

The reciprocal pronoun *lǎxle* (§2.5.) may occur in various syntactic positions

8.6.1. Complement of a Preposition

- (1) *mántáke lǎxle hezíwa waryá čəkmá müdǎtè-u*¹ ‘They went out with each other for some time.’ (A:1)
- (2) *lelǎwáe sətwa yǎtəxwa*¹ *dáwre lǎxle.*¹ ‘During the winter nights we would sit around one another (= we would sit in a circle).’ (A:89)
- (3) *ga-dóka ʔorxél reš-kepè-yelu,*¹ *tre-képe réša lǎxle.*¹ ‘There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones, two stones on top of one another.’ (A:59)
- (4) *kúle hulaé lǎ-lǎxle yelú.*¹ ‘All the Jews were by the side of one another (= were living side by side).’ (A:44)

8.6.2. Genitive Complement of Noun

- (1) *ʔəqrá ʔəhtəram-e lǎxle doqíwa.*¹ ‘They had such respect for one another.’ (A:45)

8.6.3. Direct Object Complement

- (1) *rába başòr lǎxle xáénwa.*¹ ‘They saw each other very little.’ (A:3)

- (2) *ga-ʔaḥrā didàn^l ga-Sanandaj^l bráta-u broná mágar xášti waxtäre^l ga-xášti t^wkè lóxle xáénwa.^l* ‘In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other.’ (A:1)

The form *bəxle* is used exclusively with the sense of ‘with each other’, ‘together’:

- (3) *bəxlé ḥaštá wilān-u^l* ‘We worked together.’ (A:28)
- (4) *ba-müďät-e ké^l bəxlé dasgiran-yelul^l* ‘when they became betrothed ...’ (A:3)

8.7. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES AND THE INDEPENDENT GENITIVE PARTICLE

8.7.1. The Distribution of the Independent Genitive Particle

The use of the independent genitive particle paradigm (*didi*, *didox*, *d-o*, etc.) is a heavier type of morphological coding than the use of a suffix attached directly to a noun or preposition. The motivation to use the heavier coding is often to express a contrast or parallelism between two or more referents, e.g.

- (1) *ʔána šarbát mən-ʔla didáx là šáténa.^l gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.^l* ‘I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.’ (A:23)
- (2) *béla Daryúš gān,^l mäsälān,^l xamsār ‘omeré gbé.^l béla didí^l tresār gbé.^l béla d-ó ʔasri gbé.^l* ‘The family of dear Daryuš, for example, needs fifteen ‘omers. My family needs twelve. His family needs twenty.’ (B:17)
- (3) *ʔáy-əč xír mangāl d-ó.^l* ‘He became like him.’ (A:105)
- (4) *ʔána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xān^l tabrík kəmnáwa baqəf.^l ... dubára ʔò-č šárwa báqa didí d-əa.^l* ‘Then I would send (some dried fruit) to the house of Daryuš-khan and convey to him good wishes ... then he also would send to me that (= the same, i.e. dried fruit).’ (B:50–51)

In (5) the independent pronoun is used with the particle *-əč*, which expresses here inclusive focus:

- (5) *ʔəlhá xà^l tára báqa didán-əč kol-ò.*^l ‘God will open a door also for us.’ (D:9)

The 1pl. form of the independent genitive particle occurs frequently when referring to the community of the speaker. This may express a contrastive opposition with another referent in the discourse, e.g.

- (6) *ʔǎxá kəmríwa ʔonyexàe,*^l *wále ga-ʔáħra didán ʔǎxá là-yele.*^l ‘They would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that.’ (A:80)
- (7) *lá ga-ʔáħrá didàn^l ga-ʔáħranè-xet^l* ‘not in our town in other towns’ (A:79)

The contrastive force in such cases often expresses exclusivity, stressing that something belongs to ‘us’ but not an interlocutor who does not belong to the community, e.g.

- (8) *kúle kují-u máħǎle-yelu^l ga-pliyáw maxşuşàn^l máħǎle didàn,*^l *máħǎle yahudí,*^l *hulaé ga-dokà-yelu.*^l ‘They were all lanes and streets, especially within our streets, the Jewish streets, where the Jews were.’ (A:44)
- (9) *ga-ʔáħrá didàn^l ga-Sanandaj^l* ‘In our town, in Sanandaj ...’ (A:1)
- (10) *xá táyfa xét xirén Ĥákim Başı,*^l *ţayfá-e didàn.*^l ‘Another family was Ĥakim Başı, our family.’ (B:5)
- (11) *pas-ʔéa baqa-dídan kaşér là-y.*^l ‘So this for us was not kosher’ (A:64)

On some occasions the heavier coding of the genitive particle is used to contrast the nominal as a whole with another nominal, as in (12) where the referent ‘our neighbour’ (*şwawa didan*) and not the 1pl. pronominal element is contrasted with ‘you’ (*ʔāt*):

- (12) *ʔāt^l b-áy kúle daraiòx^l xor-ʔāt hámeşá ĥáŗík-e d-èa.*^l *ʔáy şwáwa didàn^l gezál şiwé mən-jangál kmé zābànu.*^l ‘You, with all your property, you are always busy with this. This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them.’ (A:102)

Elsewhere the heavy coding of the genitive particle is used not to set up semantic oppositions between referents but rather to mark a discourse boundary. This is clearly seen in (13), where the content of the first clause is reiterated at the close of the discourse unit with heavier coding, this includes both the use of the phrase *bela didan* in place of the lighter form *belan* and also the use of the independent subject pronoun *ʔonyexae*:

- (13) *ʔaxní kénwa belán yǎ̀tìwa.*¹ *ḥǎ́z kolíwa hén béla didán yǎ̀tì ʔonyexáe.*¹
 ‘They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit.’ (A:80)

In (14) the use of the heavily coded form *baqa didox* ‘to you’ rather than *baqox* coincides with the onset of a section of discourse:

- (14) *ja-ʔǎ̀tǎ̀l ba-rajǎ̀ʔ ba-xlulà hámma báqa didòx.*¹ ‘Now, let me tell you about a wedding.’ (A:30)

In (15) the heavy form *laga didi* occurs in a sentence that is off-line from the foreground narrative, supplying a background comment. This discontinuity with what precedes is likely to be the main motivation for using the form:

- (15) *ta-ʔǎ̀xá míre baqǎ̀f ʔáy ʔarqàla.*¹ *xét şalmé litwala samxá lága didí ʔána xǎ̀nǎ̀f.*¹ *ʔarqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʔotǎ̀q.*¹ ‘When he said this to her, she fled. She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her. She fled and sat in a room.’ (A:22)

8.7.2. The long 1pl. suffix *-ǎ̀ni*

The 1pl. suffix is attested in two forms, short (*-an*) and long (*-ǎ̀ni*). The long form is attested in the text corpus in prosodic pause at intonation group boundaries, e.g.

- (1) *bşalmané ḥǎ́z kolíwa*¹ *ʔaxní mǎ̀ndíx şǎ̀rex baqú ga-lelé reş-şatà,*¹ *şwawǎ̀ni*¹ *ʔaşnǎ̀ni,*¹ *ʔonyexáe rába ʔaşnàe-yelu.*¹ ‘The Muslims wanted us to send them something on New Year’s Eve, our neighbours and acquaintances—many of them were our acquaintances.’ (A:86)

8.7.3. Pronominal Suffixes on Adverbials

Several adverbial expressions have a 3rd person singular suffix, which refers anaphorically to the situation in the preceding context. This is normally the 3ms. suffix *-ef*, though sporadically the 3fs. suffix *-af* is used, e.g.

- (1) *leléf daʕwatàn wilú.*¹ ‘That evening they invited us.’ (A:26)
- (2) *ʔaxréf ba-zór miyà̀lun-u*¹ ‘In the end they brought her by force.’ (A:23)
- (3) *bàr-d-o*¹ *leléf-o*¹ *daʕwát wílu mǎ̀n-familàn*¹ ‘Then, in the evening, they invited our family.’ (A:26)

- (4) 'é m-²awałáf.¹ 'This (is what happened) at first.' (A:32)

8.8. ATTRIBUTES

8.8.1. Adjectives

Attributive adjectives are normally placed after the head noun, e.g. *bela rüwa* 'big house'. On some occasions the Iranian *izafe* particle *-e* connects the head to the modifying adjective. This is used after both nouns with an Aramaic nominal inflectional ending and also unadapted loanwords. The *izafe* combined with the inflectional ending *-a* forms a diphthong *-ae*, but in fast speech this normally contracts to *-e*, e.g. *belá-e rüwa* ~ *belé rüwa* 'big house'. Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *qoqé xa-zárf, zrífek-yelu mán 'ápre smoqà*¹ 'Pots were a container, containers made of red clay.' (A:84)
- (2) *łabás-e xărăb lōšwa.*¹ 'He wore ragged clothes.' (A:108)
- (3) *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-tášt-e mesi.*¹ 'He made it into dough in a copper bowl.' (B:19)

On some occasions the adjective is separated from its head by intervening material. In such cases the *izafe* is not used on the head, e.g.

- (4) *léle reš-šatá xa-sáfrá šáwénwa rüwà.*¹ 'On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth.' (A:65)
- (5) *xa-bratá mätwali-ó baqòx¹ rába zărif,¹ rába 'ayztà.*¹ 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good.' (A:6)

A pronominal suffix is placed on the adjective rather than the head noun, e.g. *'áxoná rüwì*¹ 'my elder brother' (A:19).

In some isolated cases the adjective is placed before the head. This is found where the adjective is evaluative, i.e. expressing the subjective evaluation by the speaker rather than an objective description of the referent, e.g.

- (6) *'áyza kásbi hùl ta-nóšox.*¹ 'Take the good earnings for yourself.' (A:103)

8.8.2. Adverbial Modifiers

Nouns may be modified by a following adverbial phrases, e.g.

- (1) 'o-gorá ga-lǎxá bǎruxì-ye. 'The man here is my friend.'
- (2) 'o-ktáb réša mezá didì-ya. 'The book on the table is mine.'
- (3) xá ṭǎbáqa xèt-əč xirén! bīš tex-ò. 'There was another, lower, class.'
(B:6)

In (4) the head noun before the adverbial modifier has the *izafe* connective particle:

- (4) tǎnurá-e 'ála-ḥǎdá maxšúš baqà! pǎtirè hítwalu. 'They had a separate oven especially for Passover.' (B:18)

8.8.3. Modifiers of Active Participles

An active participle may be modified by a noun expressing the undergoer of the activity it relates to. This noun is regularly placed before the participle, e.g.

<i>xola garšana</i>	'rope puller'
<i>syame taršana</i>	'maker of shoes'

8.9. NON-ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

Nouns are also modified by a number of words that do not denote attributes. These include quantifiers and determiners. Many of these are invariable in form. We bring together a variety of words of this nature, many of which can also be used in other syntactic positions.

8.9.1. *kul* 'each, every'

The particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive sense ('each one of the items of the set named by the noun'). This is attested in the text corpus only in the expression *kul yoma* 'every day', e.g.

- (1) ga-dokà! kúl yomá pǎsrà-hitwa. 'There, every day there was meat.'
(A:73)
- (2) má kul-yóma gezét 'ay-jangà! 'ay-kúle zaḥamtá garšèta-u? 'Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble?' (A:104)

8.9.2. *kúle*

This quantifier is used with plural or singular head nouns with the sense of ‘all’. It is placed either before or after the head.

8.9.2.1. *With a Plural Head Noun*

- (1) *kúle hulaé lā-lāxle yelú.*¹ ‘All the Jews were (living) side by side.’ (A:44)
- (2) *kúle našé ʾāgadā qāřénwala.*¹ ‘All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadāh.’ (A:61)

In (3) the quantifier is placed between a demonstrative pronoun and the head noun:

- (3) *ʾáy kúle puḷé xərjilox.*¹ ‘You have spent all this money.’ (D:7)

Examples of the placement of the quantifier after the head include:

- (4) *našé kúle tiwi-u.*¹ ‘All the people sat down.’ (D:3)
- (5) *ʾáy-xala kúle xilu.*¹ ‘They ate all the food.’ (D:5)
- (6) *ʾənyexáe kúle mātiwalu* ‘They put all these things out.’ (A:65)

In (7) the quantifier is separated from the head by a verb and placed at the end of the clause:

- (7) *hulaé ʾāhra Sanandāj,*¹ *mangól hulaé sáer-e tʷké xèt,*¹ *ʾelāwə̀l doqiwalu kúlé.*¹ ‘The Jews of the town of Sanandāj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals.’ (B:13)

8.9.2.2. *With a Singular Head Noun*

When the singular noun is definite, the quantifier has the sense of ‘the whole of, all (of)’, e.g.

- (1) *ʾátá kúle ʾolām xirté-ya puḷè.*¹ ‘Now the whole world has become money.’ (A:55)
- (2) *dáx ʾay-kúle ʾəhámá ʾəlhá hiwté-ya báqa d-áy bronà?*¹ ‘How is it that God has given all this wisdom to this young man?’ (A:97)
- (3) *b-áy kúle daraiðx¹ xor-ʾát hāmešá ʾhārīk-e d-əa.*¹ ‘With all your property, you are always busy with this.’ (A:102)

When the following singular noun is indefinite, the quantifier has the sense of ‘every’ (i.e. the entire set of items named by the noun).

- (4) *kúle mǎndíx kè-^l ... xǎlyà-hǎwe^l* ‘Everything that is sweet’ (A:33)
 (5) *kúle náša béla jyà hítwale.^l* ‘Everybody had a separate house.’ (A:71)
 (6) *kúle ʾáṣər didán daʾwát kolí.^l* ‘Every evening they will invite us.’ (D:6)

8.9.2.3. *Independent*

The particle may be used without any nominal being directly dependent on it. In most cases it has 3pl. reference, e.g.

- (1) *kúle daʾwát kolíwalu.^l* ‘They invited them all.’ (A:42)
 (2) *kúle kalwíwale-u^l* ‘They would write everything.’ (A:48)
 (3) *kúle màst-yelu.^l* ‘They were all drunk.’ (A:54)
 (4) *kúle maṣṣáe belà kolíwa.^l* ‘Everybody made unleavened bread at home.’ (A:67)

In (5) the particle quantifies a 1pl. referent:

- (5) *kúle yǎtéxwa b-dáwre lǎxle.^l* ‘We all sat together.’ (A:91)

When it has 1pl. reference, a 1pl. pronominal suffix may be attached, e.g.

- (6) *mǎṭex ta-lǎxà^l kúlan gaxkanè.^l* ‘We arrived there, all of us merry.’ (E:14)

8.9.3. *tǎmām* ‘all’

This loanword from Persian, ultimately of Arabic origin, is used before definite singular nouns with the sense of ‘the whole of’ or plural definite nouns with the sense of ‘all’. It is normally connected to the noun by the *izafe* particle, e.g.

- (1) *tǎmām-e ʾolām^l ḥasratèf lǎblá-y.^l* ‘The whole world became envious of him.’ (A:97)
 (2) *tǎmām-e reša safrá zamṭíwa mǎn-d-ay-jóra mǎndixàne.^l* ‘They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.’ (A:65)

- (3) *ga-tāmám ʿay-haftà* | ‘the whole of the week’ (A:63)
- (4) *ga-ʿIràn* | *ya-ga-tāmám-e mamlākāté ke-xarəj m-Israyel-yén* | *lelé pätiré trè lelé-ya*. | ‘In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights.’ (A:62)

It may be placed after the head, e.g.

- (5) *belāké gbé tāmám tamíz holile*. | ‘They had to make the whole house clean.’ (A:57)

In (6) and (7) it is used in combination with *küle*:

- (6) *tāmám-e hulaé küle gezíwa báqa sahrà*. | ‘All the Jews used to go to the fields.’ (B:35)
- (7) *tāmám-e duktóre küle zìlan* | *là kéwalu mǎʿalijf hòliwa*. | ‘I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me.’ (C:1)

8.9.4. *rába* ‘much, many

This modifies a singular noun of mass or a plural noun. It is placed either before or after the head noun, e.g.

Before head noun:

- (1) *rába náše daʿwàt kolíwa*. | ‘They would invite many people.’ (A:75)
- (2) *rába tomè kaxlaxwa*. | ‘We ate a lot of nut kernels.’ (A:91)
- (3) *rába hǎrs-u jáw litwálu báqa puè*. | ‘They did not have much yearning for money.’ (A:55)
- (4) *mən-d-óa rába ʿastəfáda kolíwa*. | ‘They derived much enjoyment from this.’ (A:84)
- (5) *ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qǎnaʿàt kólwa*. | ‘He had much contentment with this life.’ (A:99)

After head noun:

- (6) *duktərə rába hítwalan*. | ‘We had many doctors.’ (A:69)
- (7) *bǎšíre rába hítwá ga-ħáwša nášé*. | ‘There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.’ (A:72)
- (8) *tʷkané rába hítwale* | ‘He had many shops.’ (A:7)

(9) *dāstané rába hítwale ke-ʿaná fəkrí lèn.*¹ ‘He (my father) had many stories that I do not remember.’ (A:97)

(10) *ʿaxni^l fārš rába hítwalan.*¹ ‘We had a lot of bedding.’ (A:56)

(11) *heštàn^l wəskí rába litwa.*¹ ‘There was not yet much whisky.’ (A:12)

The quantifier may occur in predicate position, e.g.

(12) *xor-səní rába là-yele.*¹ ‘My age was still not much (= I was still not very old).’ (A:5)

(13) *ʿəqrà həxméf rába xirté-ya^l* ‘so great had his wisdom become’ (A:93)

(14) *qudrätéf rəba xírwa.*¹ ‘His power had become very great.’ (A:109)

It may take a pronominal suffix (§2.3.). This is usually a plural suffix and the particle has the sense of ‘many of them’ or ‘most of, the majority of’, e.g.

(15) *rābau parča-fròš-yelu.*¹ ‘Most of them were cloth-sellers.’ (A:69)

(16) *ʿənyexáe rābau mən-graní mən-báyn zili.*¹ ‘Many of them (the Jews) passed away due to famine.’ (B:10)

The particle is often used as the intensifier of an adjective, e.g.

(17) *xá ʿambár rába rabtə hítwale.*¹ ‘He had a very large warehouse.’ (A:7)

(18) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqəx^l rába zərif^l, rába ʿayztə.*¹ ‘I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice.’ (A:6)

(19) *zəndəgí rába rába bəsimə-yele.*¹ ‘Life was very very pleasant.’ (A:55)

8.9.5. *xet* ‘other’

This is used to express ‘other’ both in the sense of ‘different’ and in the sense of ‘additional’. It is an invariable particle that is used with singular or plural nouns. When combined with singular nouns, the indefinite particle *xa* is generally used (1–2), but this is not obligatory (3):

(1) *xa-nāfar-xét šərwala baqá ʿāxonāf.*¹ ‘She sent another person to her brother.’ (A:18)

- (2) *laxmäké koliwäle-o,*¹ *xa-báxta xét dǎyáwale ba-tǎnurà.*¹ ‘They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven.’ (A:67)
- (3) *xa-náfar-əč mangál nokàr,*¹ *xa-sarbàz,*¹ *lǎpálwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt.*¹ ‘Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse.’ (A:16)
- (4) *dǔrbíne xét-əč lítwa.*¹ ‘There were no other cameras.’ (A:29)
- (5) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn.*¹ ‘They would show it to other people who were there.’ (A:50)

The head noun may be separated from *xet* by intervening material, e.g.

- (6) *yalé hulaé kurdəstani*¹ *zǐli báqa madrəsá ga-dóka xèt.*¹ ‘The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there.’ (B:12)

The modifier *xet* may be combined with a pronominal suffix, e.g.

- (7) *xa-’áxóna xetəf¹ čókma šoglə hité.*¹ ‘Another brother of hers has several jobs.’ (A:6)
- (8) *’áxonà xéti*¹ ‘my other brother’ (A:26)

The form *xet* is often used adverbially in constructions such as the following:

- (9) *xét šalmé lítwala samxá lága didí ’ána xǎənaf.*¹ ‘She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.’ (A:22)
- (10) *xét lá zàrb dǎélwa ’əláf-u*¹ *lá ba-putǎkè dǎélwa*¹ *’u-la yálef. naqlíwa.*¹ ‘He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance.’ (A:107)
- (11) *là šóqwa xét zólm holì-lef.*¹ ‘He did not allow him any more to suffer injustice.’ (A:109)

8.9.6. *har, har či* ‘each, every’

The Iranian particle *har* is occasionally used as a modifier of singular nouns with the sense of ‘each’, e.g.

- (1) *hár xanǎwadé ta-nòšef,*¹ *hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,*¹ *gezəlwa*¹ *xa-dána tórta šǎqəlwala.*¹ ‘Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow.’ (A:81)

It is most frequently attested in the phrase *har-kas* ‘everybody’, which is loaned from Persian, e.g.

- (2) *hàr-kas^l ga-təlhà xanāwadé,^l ʔarbà xanāwadé^l ḥatmán ga-beləf^l tǎ-nurà-hitwa.^l* ‘Everybody, in three families, in four families, there was sure to be an oven.’ (A:66)
- (3) *hár-kas bi-zóa hǎwéle bíš ʔayzà-y.^l* ‘Everybody who has more is (considered) better.’ (A:55)

The phrase *har-či* is also used as a quantifier with the same sense, e.g.

- (4) *har-čǐ məltè^l ḥasrāt ləblá-y báef^l* ‘Every nation became jealous of him.’ (A:95)

The particle *har* may be combined with the particle *dana*, e.g.

- (5) *ga-hár daná čǐn xa-ləbà xéli.^l* ‘In each lock (of hair) I saw a heart.’
- (6) *har-dánu píł qǎmef.^l* ‘Each one of them fell before him.’

8.9.7. *čǎkma* ‘how much/many? several’

The quantifier *čǎkma* is used interrogatively ‘how much/many?’, e.g.

- (1) *čǎkmà šǎné ga-dóka xirèn?^l* ‘How many years were they there?’ (B:1)

It can also be used as a non-interrogative quantifier with the sense of ‘some’, ‘several’, e.g.

- (2) *xa-ʔǎxóna xetàf^l čǎkma šǒglè hité.^l* ‘Another brother of hers has several jobs.’ (A:6)
- (3) *čǎkmá ʔaksé ntenilan.^l* ‘We took some photographs.’ (A:29)
- (4) *čǎkmá lelé qǎme pǎtirè.^l* ‘Several nights before Passover ...’ (A:66)
- (5) *ga-šǎndà-yelan^l ʔày čǎkmá šǎné.^l* ‘We were sleeping these several years.’ (E:66)

When used as a non-interrogative quantifier, it is sometimes combined with *xa*, e.g.

- (6) *xá čǎkmá yomé xét hál baqǎf.^l* ‘In a few more days come for it.’ (D:12)

- (7) *bár xa-čəkmá yomé xət̪ kén dána dána tára dā̀n-u̯ daˈwət̪ɛf kolí.*
 ‘After a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him.’ (D:15)

8.9.8. *xášti* ‘some, a few’

- (1) *ga-ʔəhrá didàn̪ ga-Sanandáj bráta-u broná mágar xášti waxtā̀rè̯ ga-xášti ɾ̪kè ləxlə xáənwa.* ‘In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other.’ (A:1)
- (2) *xášti báte hitwa̯ tənurá-e ʔála-ħáďá maxšús baqà̯ pätirè hitwalu.*
 ‘There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover.’ (B:18)
- (3) *kúle béla là taršíwa, xášti báte.* ‘They did not make it in every family, (only in) a few families.’ (B:25)

8.9.9. *xánči* ‘some, a little’

- (1) *xánči ʔarəq šáténwa.* ‘They drank some arak.’ (A:10)
- (2) *xánči pułé pas-andáz wilíwale.* ‘He had saved some money.’ (D:12)
- It is also used adverbially, e.g.
- (3) *xánči nóšu doqíwala.* ‘They held themselves back a little.’ (A:31)
- (4) *ga-doká xánči naqlíwa-u* ‘They danced there a little.’ (A:52)

8.9.10. *başor, xa başor* ‘a little’

This quantifier may be placed either before or after the nominal, e.g.

- (1) *xa-başór púl píl ga-ʔilù.* ‘A little money fell into their hands.’ (B:56)
- (2) *ʔasfanáj başòr hitwa ʔo-waxtā̀ra.* ‘There was only a little spinach at that time.’ (B:31)

It is also used adverbially, e.g.

- (3) *ba-müďät-e ké bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu, báz-ham rába başòr ləxlə xáənwa.* ‘When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.’ (A:3)

8.9.11. *hič*

This Iranian particle is used as a negative modifier in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *ga-Sanandaj-yela, | ga-hič-tʷka xét ʹéa litwa.* | ‘It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place.’ (B:53)
- (2) *hič mändix xét là kəxlexwa.* | ‘We did not eat anything else.’ (B:29)

It is found in the loaned phrase *hič-kas* ‘nobody’, e.g.

- (3) *hič-kas ləxmá bazár là šəqólwa ba-pätiré.* | ‘Nobody bought bread from the market at Passover.’ (A:67)
- (4) *hič-kas šratá litwale.* | ‘Nobody had a lamp.’ (B:45)

The particle may be used without any nominal being directly dependent on it, e.g.

- (5) *ʹağlāb-e | təqna-xwarè | ke-hič-mənu lá pišiwà | kəewalu-o.* | ‘He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time).’ (B:63)

8.9.12. *flān* ‘such-and-such’

- (1) *sé flān tʷkà.* | ‘Go to such-and-such a place.’ (D:11)

8.10. COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

8.10.1. *biš*

Comparative constructions are generally formed by placing the particle *biš* before an adjective or adverb. The item with which it is compared, if this is mentioned, is introduced by the preposition *mən* or *ta-*, e.g.

- (1) *ʹāxoní mən-xäləstí biš-rüwà-y.* | ‘My brother is bigger than my sister.’
- (2) *ʹáy xəmuštá ta-d-o xəmuštá biš-rabtè-ya.* | ‘This apple is bigger than that apple.’
- (3) *mīláf-əč kòlwale, | rába rába ʹayzà, | rába mən-duktərə́ ya-kolile | rába biš-ʹayzà-yele.* | ‘He circumcised him very well. He was much better than the doctors who do it.’ (A:76)

- (4) *mən-ʔalhá biš-pùr^l hič-kas lítwa^l* ‘There was nobody more senior than God.’ (A:98)

The superlative is expressed by constructions such as (5):

- (5) *ʔaxoní mən-kúle biš-rűwà-y.^l* ‘My brother is the greatest (literally: is greater than everybody).’

8.10.2. *biš-zoa, bi-zoa*

The modifier *zoa* is combined with the comparative particle *biš* or the contracted form *bi-*. This is placed either before or after nouns. When placed before nouns it has the sense of ‘more of’ the quantity expressed by the nominal, e.g.

- (1) *biš-zoa našé ʔastəqbál kolíwa ta-lăxà.^l* ‘More people used to accept (this) than here.’

When the modifier is placed after the noun it has the sense of ‘more of’, ‘more than’ or ‘more by’ the quantity expressed by the nominal, e.g.

- (2) *dărewa^l ʔó ya-šaqłá pułé bi-zòa hăwól.^l* ‘He would pour it out and the person buying it had to give more money.’ (A:80)
- (3) *ʔágar kiló bi-zóa xăráwa mastăké,^l là dărewa^l ó t^ʔkâf.^l* ‘If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back.’ (A:79)

The phrase may be used independently without a head noun, e.g.

- (4) *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš ʔayzà-y.^l* ‘Everybody who has more is (considered) better.’ (A:55)

It may also be used adverbially in the sense of ‘mostly’, ‘generally’, e.g.

- (5) *xá-ʔada mən-našè^l qawmàn ké^l bi-zóa sənú ràba-yele^l* ‘a group of people, our relatives, who were mostly elderly’ (A:19)
- (6) *ga-dokà^l táte-u daăké^l bi-zoa^l ʔəntəxàb kolíwa^l măn^l gorí ta-bronù.^l* ‘There, the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son.’ (A:2)

The opposite of *bi-zoa* is *biš başor* ‘less’, which has a similar syntax, e.g.

- (7) *ʔay-şatá ʔalpá šéqel bíš basór hásli ta-şəţqal.^l* ‘This year I earned 1,000 shekels less than last year.’

The phrase *biš başor* may be used also in the sense of ‘very little’, e.g.

- (8) *bīš bašór náše hítwa šomá la-doqīwa.*¹ ‘There were only a very few people who did not keep the fast.’ (B:44)

8.11. CONJOINING OF PHRASES

Nominal phrases are normally conjoined by the particle *u*, which is typically cliticized to the end of the first nominal, e.g.

- (1) *jām kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà*¹ ‘They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.’ (A:45)
- (2) *Mordāxáy-u ʔEstér ga-dóka yelù.*¹ ‘Mordechai and Esther were there.’ (B:53)
- (3) *labí jarḥanà ba-kárd-u šəmšər.*¹ ‘My heart is wounded with knife and sword.’ (E:37)
- (4) *ʔáy-u xələstáf rád xārì.*¹ ‘She and her sister passed by.’ (A:17)

In lists of more than two items, the conjunctive particle is often attached to each item, e.g.

- (5) *ʔEstàxr-u ʔEsfāhàn-u Golpayāgàn-u Hāmādàn,*¹ *ʔanyexáe paetaxtè Kureš-e Kābīr xirén.*¹ ‘Istakhr, Isfahan, Golpayagan and Hamadan, these were the capitals of Cyrus the Great.’ (B:1)

On some occasions the particle is attached also to the final item in the list, which gives a sense of open-endedness, e.g.

- (6) *jwanqé-u piré-u ʔnšé-u guré-u ʔaméta kúle naqlīwa.*¹ ‘Young and old, women and men all danced together.’ (A:54)
- (7) *ga-d-èəč širìn mātíwa-u klučè-u la-káena,*¹ *ʔābnābatè-u nuqlè-u.*¹ ‘In this they put sweets, cakes and I don’t know what, sugar candies, confectionary.’ (A:33)

Alternatively the open-endedness of the list may be expressed by using the expression *ʔexa* at the end, e.g.

- (8) *mewá-u širní-u ʔexá kúle mtílu rešá mèz-u.*¹ ‘They laid out on the table fruit, sweets and so forth.’ (D:26)

A further means of expressing open-endedness is for a noun to be repeated with the replacement of the first consonant by /m/. The effect of this is to make the class denoted by the noun more general, e.g.

- (9) 'o-năqolê-u măqolê-u¹ 'onyexáe yá ^Hgdiðim^H-yen¹ xăřăb-yen,¹ lá kăxlilù¹ doqwalú-u šolətwalù¹ 'He would take out the ritually unclean parts and the like that had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away.' (A:82)

Note the grammatical subject agreement of the conjoined phrase in (10), in which the tightly-knit phrase 'drum and pipe' is treated as singular:

- (10) dohól-u zorná lapláwa qăme.¹ 'The drum and pipe went in front.'
(A:10)

8.12. NUMERALS

Numerals above 'one' are combined with plural nouns. When a noun has more than one plural form, the shorter one is favoured when used with a numeral, e.g. *šata* (pl. *šəne*, *šatăwae*):

- (1) yála trəsar šəné,¹ xámsar šəné dōqwalē.¹ 'A boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it (the fast).'
- (2) šatăwáe wūri.¹ 'The years passed.' (E:21)

When phrases consisting of a numeral and a pronominal suffix is combined with the particle *har*, the sense is 'each one of ...', e.g.

tənan 'the two of us'
har tənan 'each one of us two'

təlhánan 'the three of us'
har təlhánan 'each one of us three'

Numerals may be combined with the word *dana* (pl. *dane*) (literally: 'seed', 'item'), e.g.

tre dane kxəwle 'two stars'

For the distribution of *xa-dana* see §8.1.3.

Further numerical expressions:

xa ba-tre 'twofold'
tre 'əqra 'two times (the size, quantity)'
'arbi mən 'əma 'forty percent'
baqa 'awał kărat 'for the first time'
yarxa xa kărat 'once a month'
tre hafte qăme d-ea 'two weeks ago'

Expressions relating to the clock:

<i>sa‘at čəkmè-ya?</i> ¹	‘What time is it?’
<i>sa‘at xè-ya</i> ¹	‘It is one o’clock’
<i>sa‘at trè-ya</i> ¹	‘It is two o’clock’
<i>sa‘at tré-u pəlgè-ya</i> ¹	‘It is half past two’
<i>xa-rob’ qáme tre</i>	‘a quarter to two’
<i>xa-rob’ ba-tre</i>	‘a quarter to two’
<i>tre-u xa-rob’</i>	‘a quarter past two’
<i>xa-rob’ bar tre</i>	‘a quarter past two’
<i>xamša qáme tre</i>	‘five to two’
<i>xamša ba-tre</i>	‘five to two’
<i>xamša bar tre</i>	‘five past two’
<i>xamša-u tre</i>	‘five past two’

Expressions relating to age:

<i>brati ‘asri-u xa šateya</i>	‘My daughter is twenty-one years old’
<i>broni tma‘nisar šənele</i>	‘My son is eighteen years old’

8.13. GENDER

We shall draw attention here to some uses of the feminine gender.

8.13.1. Impersonal Pronominal Reference

A 3fs. subject of a verb may be used impersonally to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specified subject referent in constructions such as the following:

- (1) *‘o-waxtára xărăwa bár ‘arbìt’ šəru’ kolíwa gə̀là čăqénwa.*¹ ‘Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.’ (B:32)
- (2) *bār-d-o¹ kyáwa ta-yomà¹ hošá‘na rabbà.*¹ ‘Then it came to the day of Hoshana Rabba (= then came the day of Hoshana Rabba).’ (B:79)

8.13.2. Propositional Content

In various constructions pronominal and inflectional elements referring to the propositional content of the preceding or succeeding discourse are 3fs., e.g.

- (1) *kəmriwa* 'éa qǎrá mangól qǎrá-e ké baqà^l Yóna ha-nàbi,^l baqá Yóna ha-nabi^l wáxt-e 'ǎhá šǎre baqá Babàl,^l míre Babàl^l sé mar-baqù^l 'aná Babál mǎrúna^f,^l ké 'āt-xór qǎryàlox.^l 'They would say that this was like the gourd which (appeared) for Jonah the prophet, for Jonah the prophet, when God sent him to Babylon and said "Go and tell Babylon that I shall destroy Babylon," which you surely have read about.' (B:77)
- (2) 'ó-waxtára mangól lǎxá là-yela^l har-nǎfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šǎqà^l.^l 'At that time it was not like here whereby everybody buys an etrog and palm frond.' (B:80)

8.14. ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

Several nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yomá* 'one day' (A:17), 'o-yomà 'on that day' (A:88), 'o-lelé 'that night' (A:26), *léle reš-šatá* 'on New Year's Eve' (A:65), *lelǎwáe* 'in the evenings' (A:99), *lelǎwáe sǎtwá* 'on winter evenings' (A:89).

The noun *bela* 'house' is often used as a spatial adverbial, e.g.

- (1) *belá yǎtùwa*.^l 'He would sit at home.' (A:99)
- (2) *kúle maššáe belà kolíwa*.^l 'Everybody made unleavened bread at home.' (A:67)
- (3) *kúle náše hǎz kolíwale belù*^l 'ilané bǎširè hǎwé.^l 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)

In some cases parallel temporal or spatial adverbial expressions are used with prepositions, e.g. *ga-lelé reš-šatà*^l 'on New Year's Eve' (A:86), *ga-yomà*^l *reš-šatà*^l 'on the day of New Year' (A:9), *ga-yomǎwáe nǎxlà*^l 'on days of rain' (A:78), *ga-belá* 'at home' (A:36). It should be noted that the spatial adverbs *lǎxa* 'here' and *doka* 'there' can themselves take the locative prepositions *ga-* and *ba-*, e.g. *ga-lǎxá* (A:50), *ba-lǎxá* (A:107), *ga-dokà*^l (A:51).

On some occasions nominals without prepositions occur with verbs of movement to express the place of destination, e.g.

- (4) *našé gezíwa-o belà-u*^l 'The people went back home.' (A:49)
- (5) 'axní kénwa belán yǎtùwa.^l 'We would return to our home and sit.' (A:80)

- (6) *báqāta šābāt gbé famíl hé belá xətnà.*¹ ‘On Sabbath morning the family had to go to the home of the groom.’ (A:53)
- (7) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.*¹ ‘Afterwards they would come back to the house of the bride.’ (A:39)
- (8) *məntáke d-áy. našé ba-dohól-u zornà¹ geziwa baqá kaldá hāmeníla be-xətnà.*¹ ‘The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bring the bride to the house of the groom.’ (A:44)
- (9) *nóšu lablíwale ’orxèl.*¹ ‘They would themselves take it to the mill.’ (A:58)
- (10) *tāmám-e duktóre kúle zilan.*¹ ‘I went to all the doctors.’ (C:1)
- (11) *píl ’ārà.*¹ ‘He fell to the ground.’

Some adjectives are used adverbially to express the manner of action. This applies especially to ‘ayza ‘well’, e.g.

- (12) *ħaştāké ’ayzà wílalox.*¹ ‘You have done the job well.’

9. THE SYNTAX OF VERBS

9.1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The verbal forms are categorized here according to their structure. The categories include the forms derived from the present base (*gǎrǎš*, *gǎrǎšwa*), the forms derived from past bases (*grǎšle*, *grǎšwale*, *smix*, *smixwa*) and the compound forms containing a resultative participle and copula (*gǎrša-y*, *smixa-y*). For convenience of reference, these designations, which are the patterns of stem I forms of the strong root *grš* ‘to pull’ (tr.)⁶ and *smx* ‘to stand’ (intransitive) are used to refer also to equivalent structures in weak and irregular verbs and to stem II, stem III and quadriliteral verbs.

9.2. THE FUNCTION OF VERB FORMS DERIVED FROM THE PRESENT BASE

9.2.1. *gǎrǎš*

This form expresses both the realis and irrealis moods. Some weak verbs, including verba primae /ʔ/ and commonly occurring irregular verbs, make a formal distinction between realis *gǎrǎš* and irrealis *gǎrǎš* by prefixing to the realis form the particle *k-* or its voiced counterpart *g-*, e.g. *kxəl* ‘He eats’ (ʔxl), *kwəl* ‘He gives’ (*hwl*), *kol* ‘He makes’ (ʔwl), *gbe* ‘He wants’ (ʔby). In the majority of verbs, however, no such particle is attached to the form *gǎrǎš* when it expresses realis so there is no structural distinction between the moods.

⁶ The root *qtl*, which is generally used, is avoided due to the fact that it undergoes various resyllabifications in paradigms with L-suffixes.

9.2.1.1. *Irrealis gārəš*

As remarked, the irrealis *gārəš* form is formally distinct from the realis form only in a few verbs with an initial weak consonant and in some irregular verbs. The following description of its function, therefore, is based primarily on the distribution of formally distinct irrealis forms. In general terms, it can be said that the irrealis *gārəš* expresses an action that has not been realized in the perception of the speaker but is only potential or an action whose reality is not fully asserted by the speaker. It is used in a variety of contexts. Most of its occurrences are found in syntactically subordinate clauses, though it is also used in main clauses. It expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to an unbounded situation.

(i) *Deontic Modality in Main Clauses*

When the form occurs in main clauses, it usually expresses deontic modality, i.e. it contains an element of will, and in most cases the verb has a volitive ('I wish to ...') or an exhortative sense ('Let me, let us,' etc.). Such verbs can be used in all persons:

- (1) *ja-ʔətàl ba-rajəš ba-xlulà hámna báqa didòx.*¹ 'Now, let me tell you about a wedding.' (A:30)
- (2) *ba-ʔána hezn-ó báqa Fārànsa.*¹ 'Let me go back to France.' (B:62)
- (3) *ba-lǎxá zəndəgì holét.*¹ 'May you live a life here.' (A:107)
- (4) *kasəbe ʔomdé litwalan ga-Kurdəstán¹ hamrét xà.*¹ 'We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all (literally: say one [if you can]).' (B:12)
- (5) *hezéx dokà.*¹ 'Let us go there.'
- (6) *ʔarzóx hòna.*¹ 'Let me tell you (literally: let me make your petition).' (B:26)

This deontic use of *gārəš* is found in prayer formula expressions such as the following:

- (7) *ʔəlhá mǎnìxle.*¹ 'May God grant him rest.' (A:14)
- (8) *ʔəlhá šóqla ta-dačkèf.*¹ 'May God preserve his mother.' (A:17)

- (9) *ʔalhà manté,^l ba-zăxút ʔo-sefarè^l na-raḥătí ta-híč băné ʔolám là-hăwəl.^l*
 ‘May God grant (this), by the virtue of the Torah scrolls, may He not give distress to any person.’ (C:14)
- (10) *ʔalhà káram hól ba-kùle ʔómtè ʔolám.^l* ‘May God give grace to all the nations of the world.’ (C:14)

The form is used in some main clause questions expressing deontic necessity (must, ought to, should) or deontic possibility, i.e. permission (may, might, can, could), e.g.

- (11) *mà honá?^l* ‘What should I do?’ (C:11)
- (12) *hezan-ò?^l* ‘Should I go back?’ (C:12)
- (13) *léka heznà?^l* ‘Where should I go?’ (D:11)
- (14) *ba-mà-jor hezná belú?^l* ‘How should I go to their house?’ (D:15)

A number of particles are optionally used before the irrealis *gărəš* form to express deontic modality. These include *mar* and *ba*, e.g.

- (15) *mar-hè.^l* ‘Let him come.’
- (16) *ba-ʔaxəl.^l* ‘Let him eat.’

Examples from the text corpus:

- (17) *ba-ʔnyaxáe ʔălètun.^l* ‘You should know these things.’ (B:73)
- (18) *dú ga-puláké ba-naqlèx!^l* ‘Beat on the drum and let us dance!’ (A:107)
- (19) *qeméx-u hezèx^l ba-là lapléx xáre!^l* ‘Let us set off and go, let us not be left behind.’ (E:2)

Note the combination of a 2nd person deontic verb and an imperative in (20):

- (20) *ʔăt gezét se-ó.^l ʔána là gezán.^l* ‘You go back. I shall not go.’ (C:12)

When 2nd person irrealis *gărəš* verb forms are negated they express prohibitions, e.g.

- (21) *mən-d-áy ləxmá là ʔaxlètun!^l* ‘Do not eat any of this bread!’ (B:23)

Such prohibitions may be combined with a deontic particle, e.g.

- (22) *lá báda mən-d-áy ləxmá ʔaxlètun!^l* ‘Do not eat any of this bread!’ (B:23)

(ii) Epistemic Modality

In some contexts a irrealis *gǎrǎš* form has epistemic modality, indicating that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of what the verb is expressing. This is the case, for example, after the particle *baškam/baška* ‘perhaps’:

- (1) *baškám lišanán lá-hela qǎtè.*¹ ‘Perhaps our language will not become extinct.’ (E:75)
- (2) *báška ʔalhà-y¹ ʔanyexáe bǎruxéf xǎrì wá¹ hélu daʔwatèf holí.*¹ ‘Perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him.’ (D:5)
- (3) *xá bratá mǎʔarǎfi wilálu báef¹ kè¹ báška xlulà-č hól¹* ‘They introduced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry.’ (D:17)

In (4) the modality of the verb reflects the lack of full conviction on the part of the speaker that her son (her interlocutor) will indeed go to work:

- (4) *ʔanà¹ rába paşxána ʔát hezét ھاştà-u¹* ‘I am very happy if you go to work.’ (D:23)

It is also found in the interrogative construction in (5) where the speaker is expressing disbelief in the idea of abandoning her children:

- (5) *ʔanà¹ šoqu ba-t^wkà-u¹ hiyán ga-lǎxá yǎtàn?!¹* ‘Should I leave them (my children) there and come to live here?!’ (C:6)

Similarly in (6), the speaker describes a situation in the future from the possibility of which she wishes to distance herself:

- (6) *nǎwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-u¹ ʔalhá la holanè¹ laplì.*¹ ‘My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forbid, fall off.’ (C:6)

(iii) Habitual

The irrealis *gǎrǎš* form is occasionally used to express a habitual situation. This is attested in negated clauses as in (1) below. Here, as often in other contexts, the verb has past time reference, taking the past reference of verbs in the surrounding discourse as its deictic centre, e.g.

- (1) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqłì.*¹ ‘They would not go and buy flour.’ (A:60)

(iv) Conditional Constructions

The irrealis *gǎrǎš* form is sometimes used in the protasis and/or the apodosis of conditional sentences, which refer to possible rather than real situations, e.g.

- (1) *ʔǎgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʔaxlètun,¹ kasǎxún bazyà.¹* ‘If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst.’ (B:23)
- (2) *ʔǎgar hét belì¹ ləxmà kəwnóx.¹* ‘If you come to my house, I shall give you bread.’
- (3) *ʔǎgar kiló bi-zóa xǎráwa mastǎkè,¹ là dǎrewal-ó t^wkǎf,¹ dǎrèwa¹ ʔó ya-šaqłá pułé bi-zòda hǎwǎł.¹* ‘If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back, but he would pour it out and the person buying it would give more money.’ (A:79)
- (4) *wa-ʔǎgar čǎnǎnčǎ xa-našá na-raḥǎtí hǎwèle,¹ ʔǎle báef.¹* ‘If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.’ (A:108)

Note also the idiomatic usage of the irrealis *gǎrǎš* in constructions with the verb *ʔmr* ‘to say’ such as (5), which express a possible rather than a real event:

- (5) *ga-dokà¹ rába našè¹ rába hamrét dawlamán hǎwèn,¹ dawlamán là-yelu.¹* ‘There you would say that many people were rich, but they were not rich.’ (A:55)

(v) Generic Relative Clauses

The irrealis *gǎrǎš* form is used in relative clauses qualifying heads that have generic reference rather than specific referents, e.g.

- (1) *har-kás hé lǎxá pułè kǎwnef.¹* ‘I shall give money to whomsoever comes here’.
- (2) *ba-tǎfawót-e našǎkè,¹ čǎkmá nǎfǎre-hítwalu xála ʔaxlì¹* ‘according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat food’ (B:17)

(vi) Subordinate Complements

The irrealis *gǎrǎš* occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb. The form is

used not only with present tense main verbs, but also with main verbs that have past time reference, in which the form takes the past reference of the main verb as its deictic centre.

In a number of cases the clause expresses some kind of deontic modality (wish, intention, permission, obligation), e.g.

- (1) *gbén dasgirani šarbát hámya baqí.*¹ ‘I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.’ (A:23)
- (2) *gbén xlulà holí.*¹ ‘They want to hold the wedding.’ (A:30)
- (3) *hász kolíwa hén béla didán yǎti ’onyexáe.*¹ ‘They wanted to come to our house and sit.’ (A:80)
- (4) *kámna ta-roxà lǎxà hamyaláx.*¹ ‘I shall tell the wind to bring you here.’ (E:49)

Deontic necessity is often expressed by the impersonal verbal expression *gbé* ‘it is necessary’ or its past form *gbéwa* ‘it was necessary’, e.g.

- (5) *gbé het-ó baqá ’aħrà.*¹ ‘You must come back to the town.’ (A:6)
- (6) *gbé het-ó mǎntáke d-ó komák holèt.*¹ ‘You must come back and help him.’ (A:27)
- (7) *gbé xlulà holí.*¹ ‘They must marry.’ (A:31)
- (8) *bəqātà-čl gbé paxasùl hezàl ’ay-stačé bākaraṭ-e! d-ay-kaldàl lablálu báqa tata-u-daākàl*¹ ‘In the morning the “woman inspector” has to go and take the “sheets of virginity” of the bride to the father and mother.’ (A:50)
- (9) *gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldākè.*¹ ‘The groom had to go back to the bride’s home.’ (A:51)
- (10) *gbéwa ham-dàrs qǎréna-u! ham-ħaštà-hona ga-bánk.*¹ ‘I had both to study and to work in a bank.’ (A:27)
- (11) *gbéwa xá-ǎda mǎn-náše pìre! xanǎwadàl hezì baqàl xosté xlulà.*¹ ‘A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage.’ (A:30)

Similarly the form is used to express deontic possibility (permission), e.g.

- (12) *’ijazá hùlmu! ke-’axní xlulà holéx.*¹ ‘Give permission for us to hold the wedding.’ (A:31)

(13) *ħālāl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa 'axlét xalà.*¹ 'It is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew.' (B:65)

(14) *là šóqwa xét zólm hoñ-lef.*¹ 'He did not allow them to harm him any more.' (A:109)

(15) *là šoqét 'azyātú hoñ.*¹ 'Do not allow them to disturb them.' (B:85)

It is used also in complements of expressions of prohibition, e.g.

(16) *'asúr-ile báqa didàn m-širinè 'axléx.*¹ 'It is forbidden for us to eat any sweets.' (B:29)

The irrealis form is used in clauses expressing purpose. In some cases these are introduced by subordinating particles and expressions such as *ke* and *baqa*, though in many cases purpose clauses are placed after the clause on which they are dependent without a linking conjunction, e.g.

(17) *leléf-o zñlex baqà širinè ħámex-ó.*¹ 'On that very night we went to fetch the sweets.' (A:19)

(18) *mántáke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà gezíwa baqá kaldá ħámeníla be-xətnà.*¹ 'The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom.' (A:44)

(19) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-či ke-ga-dokèn ke-'álén 'ay-bratàl bātulà xirté-ya.*¹ 'They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl was a virgin.' (A:50)

(20) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàw b-lá səngùl ké 'álén 'ənyexáe hulaèn.*¹ 'They had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

(21) *báqa d-ó 'álèl ké ra'yáté, našəf, našé 'áy mamlākātàl dāx zəndəgí kolí dāx lá kolí, gezál lelāwəe ləbās-e dawreš lóšwa.*¹ 'In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived, he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar.' (A:108)

(22) *tór mātəxwa ba-dawré qàt ké pšá là hé lo'á.*¹ 'We would put a net around the bed so that mosquitoes did not come inside.'

The irrealis form is also used in a variety of other subordinate complement clauses in which the action or situation expressed in the subordinate clause is potential in relation to the main verb rather than one that actually exists. It is commonly attested, for example, in clauses that are the comple-

ment of expressions of ability formed by the verb ‘to come’ and L-suffixes (*keli* ‘I am able’, *kewali* ‘I was able’ etc.):

(23) *kéli hènà*.¹ ‘I can come.’

(24) *’ò kéwalan ’axléx*.¹ ‘That we could eat.’ (B:29)

(25) *’áxni nóšan là kewalán¹ xalwáké hámèxile*.¹ ‘We could not fetch milk ourselves.’ (A:63)

It is used in complements of expressions of ‘fearing’ before the conjunction *la-ba*, which consists of the negator *la* and the deontic particle *ba*, e.g.

(26) *’aná zädéna lá-ba hè*.¹ ‘I fear lest he come.’

The form is used after the temporal conjunctions with the sense of ‘before’ or ‘until’ in clauses describing an event that has not yet happened from the perspective of the main clause, e.g.

(27) *qámé d-ó-č xlúla holí¹ kúlé be-bätulà-yen*.¹ ‘Before they marry, they are all non-virgins.’ (A:50)

(28) *qámé d-óa ’ána b-’olám henà¹ hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà¹, maxşuşán ga-yomāwāe naxlà¹, gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàù¹ b-lá sängù¹ ké ’alén ’anyexáe hulaèn*.¹ ‘Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest.’ (A:78)

(29) *susyāké mən-sarbāzخانé kméwale qam-tārà¹, həl-didí markùwa¹ ta-hezn-ó báqa sarbāzخانè*.¹ ‘He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door, he would mount me (on the horse), (and wait for me) until I went back to the barracks.’ (A:16)

Further cases of the irrealis include constructions such as (30)–(32) in which the complement describes an event that is not realized:

(30) *şalmé litwala¹ qámé xamá-u xmalá ya-’axóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà*.¹ ‘She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed.’ (A:4)

(31) *mangól lāxá là-yele¹ hezí xa-dána şaqli*.¹ ‘It was not the case that they went to buy one, as (they do) here.’ (B:76)

(32) *dáx famóx zilà¹ mēntākóx hāmèta?!* ‘How did you forget to bring it with you?!’ (E:33)

9.2.1.2. *Realis gārəš*

(i) *Progressive*

The realis form may express an imperfective progressive aspect, i.e. an activity that is taking place in the present or, in the case of stative verbs, a state that holds at the present moment ('actual present'), e.g.

- (1) 'ǎtá kxə̀l! 'Now he is eating.'
- (2) léka gezət?l 'Where are you going?'
- (3) xá-gora gbelòx. 'A man wants (to see) you.' (A:20)
- (4) mǎlé! 'That is enough!' (A:77)
- (5) mà baxyát?l 'Why are you crying?' (C:4)

The verb may express an action that is in progress at the time of the occurrence of another event, overlapping with it temporally. Very often the event in question has past time reference, and the progressive *gārəš* form takes this past reference as its deictic centre, e.g.

- (6) xét şalmé litwala samxá lága didí 'ána xǎ̀naf. 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)
- (7) tá pə̀lgà-lele! xa-sá'at bár pə̀lga-lele yǎ̀tùwa. 'hár qǎ̀re. 'He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading.' (A:100)

When the *gārəš* form expresses the progressive, it is sometimes preceded by the infinitive of the verbal root in question (§9.16.2.1.), e.g.

- (8) šǎ̀toé šǎ̀tèna. 'I am drinking.'

(ii) *Habitual*

The realis form may express an imperfective habitual aspect, presenting an activity as a characteristic property of the subject referent, it being either an iterative or permanent situation. In principle it has present tense reference, i.e. the deictic centre of the tense is the time of speaking, e.g.

- (1) 'áy šwáwa didàn! gezál şiwé mən-jangál kmé zǎ̀bènu. 'This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them.' (A:102)
- (2) Lelangè kə̀mrex-'ǎ̀xni. 'We say *Lelange* (for Purim).' (A:57)

(3) *xa-məndix-ye^l ké pərčé komà kolú.^l* ‘It is a thing that makes hair black.’ (A:40)

(4) *šī‘á huláe ba-nājās káelu.^l* ‘A Shi‘ite considers Jews unclean.’ (B:64)

It is used with this aspect also to express the persistence of a habitual situation in constructions such as (5), which would be rendered in English by a perfect:

(5) *ħāqéx b-áy lišanà^l mən-dawrá-u dawrān.^l* ‘We have been speaking in this language for many generations.’ (E:7)

The form may take the past time reference of an adjacent past verb as its deictic centre. This is often the case in subordinate clauses, where the main clause has a past verb form, e.g.

(6) *‘áy baxtá-u ‘áy gorà^l bāxeḷi lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké^l ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl.^l* ‘The woman and the man were jealous of the other man who lived in this way.’ (A:103)

(iii) Narrative Present

The realis *gārəš* form may be used to denote foreground events in a narrative. In such cases it presents the events as punctual with a perfective aspect and with their deictic temporal centre in the present. This type of ‘present historic’ construction typically occurs after the past time reference has been established by a preceding past verb form. It is particularly commonly used with verbs of ‘saying’, e.g.

(1) *daǎkí híya Tarān^l kəmrá ta-lóma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorət?^l* ‘My mother came to Tehran and says ...’ (A:5)

(2) *‘ána xa-yomá reša susi-yeli^l ‘áy-u xaləstáf rád xəri,^l xaləstáf kəmrá baqàf^l* ‘One day I was on a horse. She and her sister pass by and her sister says to her ...’ (A:17)

(3) *báxtef zila ṭālābè.^l kəmrá ...* ‘His wife went and criticized (him). She says ...’ (A:102)

(4) *ħqeli-ó báqa tatí ‘əlhá mǎnixà.^l tatí kmər^l ‘i^l kǎnef-o.^l* ‘I told this to my father, may God grant him rest. My father says “Yes, I know him.”’ (B:61)

(5) *bar-xa-müdət-xet daǎkí híya ba-šoní ‘áxa kòla^l* ‘After a while my mother came after me and says (literally: does) thus ...’ (A:27)

In (6) the narrative shifts into the *gǎrǎš* form at a climactic point when a long awaited event finally occurred:

- (6) *bár xa-čǎkmá yomé xèt^l kén dána dána tára dǎèn-u^l da‘wătèf kolí^l*
 ‘After a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him.’ (D:15)

(iv) *Performative*

Another perfective use of the realis *gǎrǎš* form is to express the performative present, i.e. the action denoted by the verb is performed by the act of uttering it, e.g.

- (1) *ʔaná da‘wát konóx lelé pǎtiré hál lǎxà^l!* ‘I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover!’ (A:57)

(v) *Future*

The realis *gǎrǎš* form may be used with a future tense reference. In such cases it may have a perfective or imperfective aspect. Most cases attested in the text corpus are perfective and refer to a single specific event, e.g.

- (1) *ʔána kéna báqa ʔIsrǎyǎl^l* ‘I shall come to Israel.’ (C:3)
 (2) *morǎxǎšì šaqná-u,^l ken-ò.^l* ‘I shall take leave and shall come back.’ (A:7)
 (3) *ʔaná jáns kəwná ba-ʔilòx.^l* ‘I shall give to you some cloth.’ (A:103)
 (4) *ʔaná ga-ʔIrán là gezan-ó.^l* ‘I shall not go back to Iran.’ (C:12)

The future verb in (5) has an imperfective iterative aspect:

- (5) *kúile ʔášər didán da‘wăt kolí.^l* ‘Every evening they will invite us.’ (D:6)

9.2.2. *gǎrǎšwa*

As is the case with *gǎrǎš*, the past form *gǎrǎšwa* has both a realis and an irrealis function. This distinction is formally marked in the same group of verbs as mark it in the *gǎrǎš* form.

9.2.2.1. *Irrealis gārəšwa*

The irrealis *gārəšwa* form may be used in main or subordinate clauses. As is the case with the *gārəš* irrealis, the *gārəšwa* irrealis expresses either a perfective aspect, referring to one punctual event, or an imperfective aspect, referring to a continuous activity.

(i) *Main Clauses*

In main clauses the irrealis *gārəšwa* form is used to express a counterfactual situation in the past, generally expressing deontic modality, e.g.

- (1) *már hèxwa.*¹ ‘Let us suppose we had come.’
- (2) *maḥnəqnàwa-lef!*¹ ‘I could have throttled him!’

In some contexts it has epistemic modality, indicating the fact that the speaker is not fully committed to the truth of what the verb is expressing. It is attested, for example, after the particle *mágar* ‘perhaps’ in (3):

- (3) *mágar xášti jwané heziwà-o,*¹ *xà-sa‘at,*¹ *trè-sa‘ate,*¹ *ga-béla gənénwa-u henwà-o.*¹ ‘Perhaps a few youngsters went back, slept for an hour or two at home and then came back.’ (B:74)

Note also the epistemic modality of the verb *‘mr* ‘to say’ in contexts such as (4), where it has present rather than past time reference. The past form, therefore, is being used here to express distance from reality rather than distance from the temporal present. The form is used here to introduce by way of illustration the range of jobs the brother used to do, though, no doubt since he cannot remember exactly, he is cautiously not asserting that these were the jobs he really did:

- (4) *xa-‘ăxóna xetəf čákma šoglə hité.*¹ *mäsälàn!* *hamrénwa baqòx!* *nàft zăbónwa,*¹ *mašrüb zăbónwa.*¹ ‘Another brother of hers has several jobs. For example, I would say to you, he used to sell oil, he used to sell drinks.’ (A:6–7)

The form may be used to express an impossible situation in the future in constructions such as (5):

- (5) *kašká qóme henàwa!*¹ ‘If only I were coming tomorrow (but I am not able to do so).’

(ii) Conditional Constructions

The irrealis *gǎrǎšwa* form is used in conditional constructions referring to a habitual situation in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ʾǎgár xa-nǎfár hezálwa ... báqa máre tʷkaná hǎmǎrwa¹ xá kilo xéta holì,¹ mastà holì.¹ ʾǎgar kiló bi-zóa xǎráwa mastǎkè,¹ là dǎrewal-ó tʷkǎf.¹* ‘If somebody went ... and said to a shop owner “Give me a kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt,” if the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back.’ (A:79)

The form is used also in counterfactual conditional constructions relating to the past, e.g.

- (2) *ʾǎgár ʾǎlénawa ʾát ga-lǎxèt,¹ ʾaná dernawa-ò.¹* ‘If I had known that you were here, I would have returned.’

(iii) Generic Relative Clause

The irrealis form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads with generic reference, e.g.

- (1) *hár-kas hewalè¹* ‘whoever was able ...’ (A:57)

(iv) Subordinate Complements

The past irrealis is most commonly attested in subordinate clauses that are complements of past tense verbs and express actions that are unrealized at the time referred to by the main verb. The various type of irrealis function in this context parallel those of the *gǎrǎš* form.

It is used after deontic main verbs or expressions, e.g.

- (1) *bàr-d-o¹ gbéwa hezíwa zǎrá šaqli,¹ zǎrǎké hǎmènwale-o¹ ga-béla dána dána gǎbènwale,¹ tǎmíz holiwale.¹* ‘Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house and clean it.’ (A:58)
- (2) *pirè¹ gbéwa ʾemzà holiwalá.¹* ‘The elders had to make a signature.’ (A:48)
- (3) *gbéwa hezálwa ga-dóka nóšef dǎbǎḥwalu-ò.¹* ‘He had to go there and slaughter them himself.’ (A:73)
- (4) *lelǎwáe gbéwa hezálwa belà.¹* ‘In the evenings he had to go home.’ (A:106)

The irrealis form is used after negative expressions denying the reality of a situation in the past, as in (5):

- (5) 'áy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál 'átà! 'ázàd háwén-u! lóxle xàen-u, lóxle pasnì-u! mǎntáke lóxle hezíwa waryá čakná müdätè-u! 'It did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one another and become fond of one another, or that they went out together for some time.' (A:1)

9.2.2.2. *Realis gǎrəšwa*

(i) *Progressive*

The realis form may be used to express an imperfective progressive aspect in the past. This is the case in (1) where the act of 'looking' is circumstantial and temporally overlapping with the actions expressed by the following perfective verbs:

- (1) har-'ǎxá tǎmašà kolóxwa. ... mǎn-lǎhǎl 'o-xiyàli. míru 'éa xǎlǎstá Xanǎkè-ya. 'We were just looking on. ... I saw her from afar. They said "That is the sister of Xanǎka.'" (A:12–14)

In (2) the first clause with the *gǎrəšwa* form is circumstantial to the habitual action expressed in the second clause:

- (2) syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá. 'They came to the synagogue (while) they were not wearing shoes.' (B:46)

(ii) *Habitual*

The form is most commonly used in the text corpus to refer to habitual or iterative actions in the past, e.g.

- (1) gezíwa báqa ḥǎmǎm. 'They would go to the bath.' (A:36)
- (2) rába famíl da'wát kolìwale. 'They would invite a lot of family.' (A:33)
- (3) 'afsǎrè! 'artèš! rakwíwa susì. susì kwiwàlu. 'Officers, in the army, would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse.' (A:15)

Verbs with this function may be linked to express a series of sequential events, e.g.

- (4) *ʼéa gezálwa ga-pliyáw jangàl.ʼ ilanè gardáqwa-uʼ kmèwaluʼ ga-ʼahrá zābànwalu.ʼ* ‘He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.’ (A:98)
- (5) *gezáxwa be-kaldà.ʼ kaldá kménwala tèx.ʼ* ‘We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down.’ (A:46)
- (6) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.ʼ ga-dokàʼ nāhār kwíwalu.ʼ* ‘Afterwards they came back to the house of the bride. There they gave them lunch.’ (A:39)
- (7) *xwanǎké kmenwalà-uʼ gezíwa báqa béla nõšu.ʼ* ‘They delivered the table, then went to their homes.’ (A:11)

9.2.3. The Distribution of *gǎrǎš* and *gǎrǎšwa*

It has been noted that the *gǎrǎš* form, when having either realis and or irrealis functions, is often used with the past time reference of the surrounding context. The use of the *gǎrǎšwa* form with the heavier morphological coding than the simple *gǎrǎš* form is often motivated by the position of the verbal form in a section of discourse. In a number of cases in the text corpus the heavier form tends to be used at the end of a discourse unit. This can be seen clearly in examples such as (1) and (2):

- (1) *g-o-dimàfʼ kaldá-u xətná samxiʼ g-ay-lág-əč našé samxiwa.ʼ* ‘On one side stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people.’ (A:47)
- (2) *ʼáy gbéwa hezál baqá xá-tʼka kəmríwala qəšābxanà.ʼ yáni ga-d-ó-tʼka ya-toryú ʼərbú ʼonyexáe dabhi-ò,ʼ gbéwa hezálwa ga-dóka nóšef dābəḥwalu-ò.ʼ* ‘He had to go to a place called the “butcher’s shop.” That is in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself.’ (A:73)

9.3. THE FUNCTION OF VERB FORMS DERIVED FROM PAST BASES

9.3.1. *grəšle* (transitive), *smix* (intransitive)

(i) *Preterite*

These forms are functionally equivalent, the split between the two being determined by the transitivity of the verb. They are most commonly used in the text corpus as preterites to refer perfectly to specific events at a particular time in the past. They are typically used to express the sequential events of a narrative, e.g.

- (1) *ʔərǧála zıla tíwa ga-xa-ʔotâq.¹ ta-nôšaf. târâké mázra ba-réša-nôšaf.¹ târa mázra ba-réša nôšaf.¹* ‘She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her).’ (A:22)
- (2) *zíl lagêf-u¹ méle mtùle-u¹ ʔay-zíl jáns ləblè.¹* ‘He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him).’ (A:105)
- (3) *ʔo-lelé xa-šám mfășál hıwlu baqàn-u¹ ʔaná ʔo-lelé la-zîna-o belá,¹ gadoká gnèna.¹* ‘That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there.’ (A:26)
- (4) *daăkí-č híya báqa Tarân,¹ múra baqî¹* ‘My mother came to Tehran and said to me ...’ (A:18)

The form may express a single event that had an inception and an end in the past but had a duration that extended over a period of time. This applies, for example, to the event ‘we worked together’ in (5) which would have lasted several weeks:

- (5) *hiyen-ó zína tıwna lagêf-u¹ bəxlé haštá wilàn-u¹ haštán ʔaytà-yela-u¹ rába ʔaytà-yela-u.¹* ‘I went back and stayed with him. We worked together. Our work (together) was good, very good.’ (A:28)

In (6) the form is used to express a habitual situation that had an endpoint at the reference time of the surrounding narrative:

- (6) *yalé hulaé kurdəstani¹ zılı báqa madrəsá ga-dóka xèt.¹* ‘The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there.’ (B:12)

The extended period may overlap with other events described in the surrounding discourse. In (7), for example, the adverbial clause ‘when I got married’ is intended to set the temporal frame for the period of all the events relating to the wedding that are narrated in the subsequent discourse:

- (7) *ʾaná wáxt-e xlulá wílí ga-Taràn-yeli nóši.¹ daǎkí híya Taràn¹ kəmrá*
... ‘When I married, I myself was in Tehran. My mother came to Tehran and said ...’ (A:5)

In (8)–(11) the preterite is used to express a completed event that sets the frame for a following habitual action:

- (8) *bar-d-èa¹ ʾay-mārasóm tīm,¹ našé gezíwa-o belà-u¹* ‘After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home.’ (A:49)
- (9) *ʾo-lelè-č¹ pəsrá tīm,¹ məšxà kəxlíwa.¹* ‘On that night (when) the meat was finished, they used to eat dairy food.’ (A:63)
- (10) *pātiré ʾəwíra.¹ kyáwa ʾāšarta.¹* ‘(When) Passover passed, Pentecost came.’ (B:37)
- (11) *ʾéa qəryálu,¹ qemíwa-u kenwá-o belà.¹* ‘(When) they had read it, they got up and went home.’ (B:53)

Such frame setting clauses may be explicitly subordinated syntactically in a temporal clause, e.g.

- (12) *wáxt-e šomá kipúr fətran-ò,¹ ma¹lám kéwa belà.¹* ‘When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.’ (B:76)
- (13) *wáxt-e tāmíz wílilè,¹ kewá-o kmərwà¹* ‘When he had cleaned them, he would come back and say ...’ (B:16)

An event expressed by *grəšle* or *smix* can be in the recent past and its endpoint may, indeed, coincide with the present. If you see somebody arrive at the door, you would say *híye*, which is most idiomatically translated by the English perfect of recent past ‘He has come’. In such cases the verb expresses a perfective event with an implicature of a resultant state in the present. The verbal form is used with this function in the direct speech of (14), which reports an event that took place in the immediate past:

- (14) *ʾanà¹ fawrì¹ baqātef-ò¹ telefòn wílí baqá¹ Bəhram gyán.¹ mīrì¹ Bəhram¹ xáran saqòx¹ bsiman-ò¹ ʾarām xirán.¹* ‘Immediately in the morning I telephoned my dear Bahram. I said “Bahram, my dear (literally:

may I become your cleansing [of sins]), I have been cured, I have been relieved (of my pain).” (C:3)

This function can be identified also in (15), where the *grășle* form verb *bəqróx* refers to a question that the informant has just been asked:

- (15) *bəqróx mən-didìl kəm̀rèt̃ hulaé Kurdəstàñl čəkmà-yelu?l wa-čəkmà šənè ga-dóka xirèn?l* ‘You have asked me saying “The Jews of Kurdistan—how many were they? How many years were they there?” (B:1)

(ii) *Present Perfect*

The expression of the present perfect, i.e. a present state resulting from a prior action, is the basic function of the compound verbal form consisting of the resultative participle and the copula (transitive *gərša-y*, intransitive *smixa-y*). The intransitive compound form is used in all persons but the transitive form is restricted to constructions with 3rd person subjects. On account of this, in clauses with transitive verbs with 1st or 2nd person subjects the functional range of the past base form *grășle* includes present perfect in addition to preterite:

	Transitive		Intransitive	
Subject	<i>grășle</i>	<i>gərša-y</i>	<i>smix</i>	<i>smixa-y</i>
3rd	Preterite	Perfect	Preterite	Perfect
2nd	Preterite Perfect	—	Preterite	Perfect
1st	Preterite Perfect	—	Preterite	Perfect

The present perfect usage of the *grəšle* form with a 1st person subject is illustrated by the following example from the text corpus:

- (1) *gbé het-ó baqá 'aḥrà. | xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx | rába zārīf, | rába 'ayztà, | mən-xanāwadè 'ayztá.* 'You must return to the town (Sandaj). I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice, from a good family.' (A:6)

9.3.2. *grəšwale, smixwa*

(i) *Past Perfect*

The most common function of these past base forms with the *wa* affix is to express a state that held in the past as a result of a prior action remoter in the past. Such past perfect constructions are used to present a resultant state as the background of a past action or situation, perfective or imperfective, in the adjacent context.

- (1) *xəmé-u xmalè | həl-kaldú la-xáenwa 'əqrà, | yáni kaldāké həméša réšaf ksəwala.* 'The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much, because the bride had always covered her head.' (A:3)
- (2) *xa-dána lăčgá rabtá ba-rešáf-yela. | rešáf ksəwala-u | yăwáš mən-rešáf gəršàli | šoltáli d-o-läg.* 'A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side.' (A:24)
- (3) *pás 'ijazá xlulá kwìwa. | ... bar-d-èa | 'ijazá wilwalù, | gbéwa xa-širní xorán-e mfāšal doqí | širní həwi-ò.* 'Then they gave permission for the wedding. ... After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of "eating the sweets" and distribute sweets.' (A:32)
- (4) *'éa timàwa, | bār-d-o xálu kəxlīwale-u | geziwa ba-šon-ḥaštù.* '(When) this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.' (B:69)
- (5) *'árba xamšá nəfərə pūlex 'orxà-u | zūlex dokà, | məntáke dačkì. | 'ána tatí mən-'olám zūlwa | qáme təlḥá-šəne qáme d-ò.* 'We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously.' (A:19)

- (6) *tʷkané ràba hítwale¹ hítwale ba-ʷijarà.*¹ ‘He had many shops, which he had rented out.’ (A:7)
- (7) *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-ťášt-e mesì¹ ke-qáme-o xwartá wila-wale-ò.*¹ ‘He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had made white beforehand.’ (B:19)

The past perfect is used in the syntactic frame *heštan la* ‘not yet’, e.g.

- (8) *heštán mən-ʷolám la-zilwa.*¹ ‘He had not yet passed away from the world’. (A:15)

If an intransitive verb expresses a non-dynamic state or a telic actionality, i.e. one that expresses an action with an inherent non-dynamic endpoint, the past perfect is used to express an enduring state in the past that is an observable property of the subject of the verb. This is seen in (9)–(12), which contain past perfects of the verbs *pyš* ‘to remain, to remain alive’ (non-dynamic state) and *smx* ‘to stand up’ (telic with non-dynamic endpoint). These enduring states typically overlap temporally with other actions in the surrounding context:

- (9) *našé geziwa-o belà-u¹ hár-kas-u geziłwa béla nõšef-u¹ kaldá-u xətná pišiwá¹ geziwa ga-pardà.*¹ ‘People went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain.’ (A:49)
- (10) *ʷo-waxtára Xanāka pišwa.*¹ ‘At that time Xanāka was alive.’ (A:15)
- (11) *ʷaqlāb-e¹ təqna-xwarè¹ ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwà¹ kəewalu-o.*¹ ‘He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time).’ (B:63)
- (12) *ʷaxní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ħawšà.*¹ *xá-ʷəda jwanqé, bəruxəwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ħawšà.*¹ *har-ʷəxá təmašə koləxwa.*¹ *xá-ʷəda blanè smixiwa.*¹ ... *mən-laħál ʷo-xiyàli.*¹ ‘We youngsters were standing in the courtyard. We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard. We were just looking. A few girls were standing there. ... I saw her from afar.’ (A12–14)

As remarked in §9.3.1. ii, the present perfect of intransitive verbs and transitive verbs with a 3rd person subject is expressed by a compound form consisting of a resultative participle and present copula. It is not possible to express the past perfect by replacing the present copula with the past copula in such compound constructions.

(ii) Evidential

In a number of cases the *grəšwale* or *smixwa* forms express a past perfective action, i.e. a preterite, rather than an enduring resultant state. Such a perfective action, as is the case in principle with a preterite, may be sequential to a preceding action. The *grəšwale* or *smixwa* forms are used in this way in contexts where the speaker has not directly witnessed the action in question but has only received a report about it, i.e. they are evidential in function. This is seen, for example, in (1) in which the speaker narrates a conversation between his future wife and her sister which he himself did not hear but must have been reported to him later, e.g.

- (1) *kámra báqa baxtìl kámra 'éa bróna Jāhān-ye. | xirá-y ba-ʾafsār. | 'áy-ač mírwała 'əlhá šóqla ta-daǎkèf | 'əǰáb bronèk-ye. | 'əǰáb zarif-ye.* | 'She said to my wife, she said "That is the son of Jəhān. He has become an officer". She (I am told) said "May God preserve his mother, he is a wonderful boy, he is wonderfully handsome." (A:17)

In (2) the speaker reports a series of events that took place in Sanandaj while he himself was in Tehran. He would not, therefore, have witnessed them directly:

- (2) ^Ház^H zilawa | *mírwała baqá 'əxonəf-u | nóšəf. lə halbáta, | xa-nəfar-xét šərwala baqá 'əxonəf | hāmər kèl | 'ay-bronə | həl-d-áy bratá gbè. | ^Ház^H 'oní-č qəbùl wílwalu.* | 'Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl's) brother—of course not her herself, she sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl. Then they agreed.' (A:18)

The passage in (3) narrates an episode in which the speaker went to visit the home of his future wife. The speaker remains outside while the girl goes inside to speak to her brother. The actions of the girl are not directly witnessed by the speaker and so he uses the evidential preterite. He did observe, however, the actions of the brother at the end of the passage and so he uses the plain preterite form (*grəšle/smix*). Note that the unexpected use of the transitive *grəšwale* form rather than the intransitive *smixwa* form for the verb 'to go' in the sequence *zilwala mírwała* in this passage seems to have arisen by attraction to the pattern of the following *mírwała*:

- (3) *'ay-zilwala mírwała báqa Mərza Xānākà, | mírwała Mərza Xānāká xá- gora gbelòx. | la-káyan mǎni-ye. | Xānāká-č mən-parjǎrəké m'ine-ò | həl-didí xèle.* | 'She went and said to Mərza Xānāka, she said "Mərza

Xǎnǎka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.” Xǎnǎka looked from the window and saw me.’ (A:21)

In (4) the speaker likewise uses the *grǎšwale* forms to indicate that he had not directly witnessed the exchange between the Shah and his army commander but only heard about it by report:

- (4) *rába huláe ga-doká mórǎd ʔǎtǎramǎf-yelu^l rába gbèwalun-u^l mǎspéwale l-farmandé laškǎr^l mǎrwale^l huláe ga-lǎxǎ gbe-raḥǎt hǎwén^l ʔazyǎtú là holétun.^l là šoqét ʔazyǎtú holí.^l ʔó-č mǎrwale là qorbǎn,^l lǎxǎ sǎni-yeni.^l rába mǎntǎke huláe ʔayzèni^l ʔazyǎtú lá kolí.^l* ‘The Jews there greatly commanded his respect. He liked them very much. He sent to the army commander and said “The Jews here must be at ease and you must not disturb them. Do not allow people to disturb them.” He (the army commander) said “No, your honour, here they are Sunni. They are very good with the Jews. They do not disturb them.”’ (B:85)

9.4. THE IMPERATIVE

The imperative form is typically used perfectly to command a particular action to be undertaken or, with the negator, prohibits a particular action to be undertaken, e.g.

- (1) *mastà holí.^l* ‘Give me yoghurt!’ (A:79)
 (2) *ʔijazá hǎlmu^l ke-ʔaxní xlulà holéx.^l* ‘Give permission for us to hold the wedding.’ (A:30)
 (3) *lá škè!^l* ‘Don’t move!’
 (4) *kǎmríwa hǎya-x-kar,^l palǎpál la-holmù.^l* ‘They would say “It is still too soon, do not rush.”’ (A:31)

An imperative may be given added immediacy by combining it with the particle *da-/dǎ-*, e.g.

- (5) *da-már xǎena!^l* ‘Now tell (me), let me see!’ (B:63)
 (6) *dǎ-mǎʔin-ò!^l* ‘Look!’ (B:82)

The imperative form is used also to command iterative or habitual events, e.g.

- (7) *se-báqa jangǎl,^l ʔilanǎkè mélu,^l zǎbnu!^l* ‘Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them!’ (A:107)

- (8) *laxmá huláa xùl* ... *ga-belá huláa là gné.*¹ *ga-belá suràa góne.*¹ 'Eat the food of a Jew ... Do not sleep in the house of a Jew. Sleep in the house of Christian.' (B:65)

Commands and prohibitions relating to iterative or habitual activities are also expressed by 2nd person irrealis *gārəš* forms, e.g.

- (9) *ba-lǎxá zəndəgì holét.*¹ 'Live a life here!' (A:107)
 (10) *mən-d-áy laxmá là 'axlétun!*¹ 'Do not eat any of this bread!' (B:23)

The imperative is used as the complement of some deontic expressions, such as 'inviting' in (11):

- (11) *'aná da'wát konóx lelé pätiré hál lǎxà!*¹ 'I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover!' (A:57)

Note also the use of the imperative in the embedded indirect question in (12):

- (12) *két má hùl.*¹ 'You know what you should do.' (C:11)

9.5. THE COPULA

The copula is defective in that it is not used in all the morphological forms that are available for other verbs. The present copula is conjugated with the inflectional endings of the present base forms and the past copula is inflected with L-suffixes, which are characteristic of the past base *grəšle* form. The copula is not used in any other form.

9.5.1. The Present Copula

Predicates with the present copula express a state in the present. This may be a state that is a permanent property of a subject or a state that is a contingent property, i.e. one that is observable at the present moment but is not a permanent characteristic of the subject. The boundary between these two categories is often not clear-cut and depends on the subjective judgement of the speaker. In all cases the predication is indicative in that it refers to a real situation. Examples:

- (1) *'éa bróna Jǎhàn-ye.*¹ 'That is the son of Jəhān.' (A:17)
 (2) *'éa xǎləstá Xanǎkè-ya.*¹ 'That is the sister of Xanǎka.' (A:14)

- (3) *ʔǎjáb bronèk-ye.*¹ *ʔǎjáb zarìf-ye.*¹ ‘He is a wonderful boy. He is wonderfully handsome’ (A:17)
- (4) *bšəlmané trè jorén.*¹ *xá ší‘á xá sunni-ye.*¹ ‘Muslims are of two kinds, one is Shi‘ite and the other Sunni.’ (A:77)
- (5) *familù rába* ‘*ayzá-y.*¹ ‘Their family is very good.’ (A:6)
- (6) *ʔǎxonáf xa-duktàr-ye.*¹ ‘Her brother is a doctor.’ (A:6)
- (7) *talgá xwartè-ya.*¹ ‘Snow is white.’
- (8) *Mərzá Xǎnǎka ga-belà-y?*¹ ‘Is Mərza Xǎnǎka at home?’ (A:20)

Such predicates correspond temporally and aspectually to stative predicates expressed by the verbal form *gǎrǎš*.

In past contexts the present copula is sometimes used to express a state in the past. Here, as is the case with the *gǎrǎš* form, the copula has a relative tense and takes the past reference of the adjacent verbs as its deictic centre. The copula clause in such cases is syntactically subordinate to a main clause with a past verb (9–11) or is dependent by some discourse connection as in (12):

- (9) *ʔoní là kǎénwa ma-yén.*¹ ‘They did not know what they were.’ (A:87)
- (10) *maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn.*¹ ‘They would show it to other people who were there.’ (A:50)
- (11) *gbéwa xa-párčǎ zayrá dǎén ba-lǎxàul b-lǎ sǎngùl ké ʔǎlén ʔənyexáe hulaèn.*¹ ‘They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.’ (A:78)
- (12) *gezǎlwa mǎ‘ínwa g-ày-lag,*¹ *g-ò-lag,*¹ *xǎé náše mà kəmrí,*¹ *našé dàx-yen,*¹ *ʔəndəgú dàx-ye.*¹ ‘He would go and look this side and that side, seeing what people were saying, how people were, how their life was.’ (A:108)

9.5.2. Past Copula

Predicates with the past copula express a state in the past. This may have an imperfective aspect expressing a state that was permanently in existence in the past without the connotation of inception and end, e.g.

- (1) *ʔǎxonáf duktǎr kakèle.*¹ ‘Her brother was a dentist.’ (A:6)

- (2) *šamá 'ăxonáf Xanăkè-yele.*¹ 'The name of her brother was Xanăka.'
(A:14)
- (3) *baté ntòe-yelu.*¹ 'Houses were high.'
(A:12)
- (4) *xa-pašór képa komtà-yela.*¹ 'A "foot washer" was a black stone.'
(A:38)

The state is, in some cases, intermittent and so has a habitual, iterative sense, e.g.

- (5) *bar-ḥănabandán xlulà-yela.*¹ 'After the *ḥănabandan* the wedding took place (literally: was).'
(A:42)
- (6) *xăletéf xa-dăsá lăbăs-yele.*¹ 'His gift was (habitually) a set of clothes.'
(A:51)
- (7) *rásm ga-doká 'ăxà-yele.*¹ 'The custom there was like this.'
(A:9)

The past copula may, however, express a contingent action in the past that is delimited in its duration, e.g.

- (8) *'aná xa-yomá réša susi-yeli.*¹ 'One day I was on horseback.'
(A:17)
- (9) *'aná wáxt-e xlulá wilí| ga-Taràn-yeli nóši.*¹ 'When I married, I myself was in Tehran.'
(A:5)
- (10) *'anà| 'əsri-u təlḥà šné-yeli| xlulá wilí.*¹ 'I was still not very old. I was twenty-three when I married.'
(A:5)
- (11) *ba-müddât-e ké| bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,| báz-ham rába bašòr lăxle xăenwa.*¹ 'When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.'
(A:3)
- (12) *hăméša xa-čacâw ba-rešâf-yele| yá lăčçàgà ba-rešâf-yela,| ta-zămán-e ke-'anà xlulá wilí.*¹ 'There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married.'
(A:4)

9.6. THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLE

The existential particle (*hit*, *hitwa*) generally expresses permanent, continuous existence or at least an existence that the speaker wishes to present as being permanent. The corresponding negative form (*lit*, *litwa*) expresses the lack of this.

- (1) *măwád-e tâbi'i-ye| lá mangál d-áy rangé ya-'áta hit.*¹ 'It is a natural substance, not like the colours that there are nowadays.'
(A:40)

- (2) *hǎwəš hítwa.* | ‘There was a courtyard.’ (A:54)
- (3) *bǎšíre rǎba hítwa ga-hǎwša našé.* | ‘There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.’ (A:72)
- (4) *g-ó waxtǎra-čl tanhá xà ‘ákás hítwa.* | ‘At that time there was only one photographer.’ (A:29)
- (5) *t^wkané rǎba hítwale.* | ‘He had many shops.’ (A:7)
- (6) *’o-waxtǎra xor-hǎmǎm lítwa ga-belá.* | ‘At that time there was still no bathroom in the house.’ (A:36)
- (7) *’axní nóšan dūrbín ‘ákasi lítwalan.* | ‘We ourselves did not have a photography camera.’ (A:29)

On some occasions it denotes a recurrent habitual situation rather than one that is permanent, e.g.

- (8) *hítwa xá-šata tǔl gǎrǎšwa ké gbén xlulà holí.* | ‘There were (some cases in which) a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.’ (A:30)
- (9) *hítwa^l bronǎké l-bratǎké la-xewále ba-‘amrèf.* | ‘There were (some cases in which) the boy had never seen the girl in his life.’ (A:2)

It is also used in contexts where it describes a temporally delimited situation, e.g.

- (10) *xét šalmé lítwala sanxá lága didí ’ána xǎènaf.* | ‘She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.’ (A:22)
- (11) *’o-yomá rǎba našé ga-belàn hítwa.* | ‘That day there were many people in our house.’

The present form *hit/lit* may take past time reference from the surrounding context, particularly in subordinate clauses, e.g.

- (12) *xà^l mǎndí xét hítwalan^l ke-ga-t^wke-xét lít.* | ‘We had something else, which was not found elsewhere.’ (B:53)

9.7. THE VERB *hwy*

The verb *hwy* is conjugated in the present base *gǎrəš* and *gǎrəšwa* forms (§3.18.7.). A morphological distinction is made between the realis with a *k-* prefix (*kwe*, *kəwya*, etc.) and the irrealis that lacks this (*hǎwe*, *hawya*, etc.).

The uses of this verb are suppletive to those of the copula and existential particle. They may be classified as follows:

9.7.1. *kwe*

This is used to express the future, e.g.

- (1) 'ána-č bǎruǎwǎlé kwèli.¹ 'I shall have friends.' (D:6)
- (2) xá-yoma kwèl 'anàl da'wǎtì kolí.¹ 'A day will come when they will invite me.' (D:8)

9.7.2. *hǎwe*

This form expresses irrealis. It is found in both main and subordinate clauses in the same contexts as the irrealis *gǎrəš* form of other verbs is used (§10.2.1.1.).

(i) *Deontic Modality in Main clauses*

- (1) 'elóx hawyá brixtà.¹ 'May your festival be blessed.' (B:50)
- (2) 'éla-u reš-šatóx hǎwén brixè.¹ 'May your festival and New Year be blessed.' (B:33)
- (3) ta'nitóx hǎwé qǎbùl.¹ 'May your fast be accepted.' (B:54)
- (4) 'árz hǎwé ba-xzəmtòx.¹ 'May a petition be for your service (= Let me tell you).' (A:70)

(ii) *Conditional Constructions*

- (1) wa-ǎgar čǎnǎnce xa-našá na-raḥǎtí hǎwèle,¹ 'ǎle báef.¹ 'If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.' (A:108)

(iii) *Generic Relative Clauses*

The irrealis form is used in relative clauses that qualify heads with generic reference, e.g.

- (1) mǎtíwale ga-xá-t'ka qǎrìrà hǎwé.¹ 'They put it in a place that was cool.' (A:83)
- (2) kúle mǎndíx kè-¹ ... xəlyà-hǎwe.¹ 'Everything that is sweet'. (A:33)

- (3) *hár-kas bi-zóa hǎwéle bíš* ‘ayzà-y.¹ ‘Everybody who has more is (considered) better.’ (A:55)
- (4) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqli,¹ qámxa ké kašér la-hǎwè.* ‘They could not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher.’ (A:60)
- (5) *našá-e hǎwèle,¹ xa-karxàna hǎwéle¹ ya-xá mo’ásàsà hǎwéle¹* ‘a man who had a factory or who had an institution’ (B:12)

(iv) Subordinate Complements

The form occurs in subordinate clauses that are complements of various verbs and expressions when the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is as yet unrealized relative to the time of the main verb:

- (1) *kúle naše hǎz kolíwale belù¹ ’ilané bǎširè hǎwé.* ‘Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.’ (A:72)
- (2) *nimašorà dǎenwa ba-šalmù,¹ báqa šalmú* ‘ayzà hǎwé.¹ ‘They put cleansing mud on their face, in order for their face to be good (= to cleanse their face).’ (A:38)
- (3) *xǎéwa țǎrefà lá-hawya,¹ xǎrǎb lá-hawya.* ‘He checked lest it be ritually unclean, lest it be polluted.’ (A:82)

The irrealis form is used after negative expressions denying reality such as (4):

- (4) *’áy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ’átà¹ ’ǎžǎd hǎwén-u¹* ‘It did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free.’ (A:1)

It is found after negative expressions with the sense of ‘lest’, e.g.

- (5) *yatwíwa ’ənšè¹ dána ba-dána gǎbènwale,¹ lá-bada xá-mđi xarǎjít gáef hǎwè.* ‘The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it.’ (B:14)

In (6) the irrealis form of *hwy* is used to convey an epistemic modality, in that it expresses a lack of commitment to the truth of the proposition:

- (6) *ga-dokà¹ rába našè¹ rába hamrét dawlamán hǎwèn,¹ dawlamán là-yelu.* ‘There you would think that many people were rich, but they were not rich.’ (A:55)

9.7.3. *kwewa*

This form generally has an imperfective aspect with past tense reference and tends to be used when the predicate expresses a property that is characteristic of the subject or when it describes a habitual situation. It overlaps with the function of the past copula and the past existential particle (*hitwa*, *litwa*), which, as remarked above (§9.6.), may be used with either an imperfective or a temporally delimited perfective aspect, e.g.

- (1) *xá-yarxá bár 'ilanè,¹ 'ənyexáe ga-fkár kwénwa ké báqa pätiré má lazám-ye tahyà holí.¹* 'A month after Tu bə-Shvat, they considered (literally: they were in thought) what they should prepare for Passover.' (B:14)
- (2) *'ó kwéwale katuwākè.¹* 'He would have (on the occasion of every marriage) the marriage contract.' (A:48)

It is also used with future time reference, as is the case with the *gārəš* form *kwe*. The addition of the affix *wa* expresses the improbability or impossibility of the situation in the future, e.g.

- (3) *'aná pułé mən-léka kwéwali háwna ta-didòx?¹* 'From where would I have money to give to you.'

9.7.4. *hāwewa*

This form is attested in conditional constructions referring to a past situation, e.g.

- (1) *'āgar-əč kpiná hāwèwa,¹ 'ixala là xilá-y.¹* 'Even though he was hungry, he has not eaten the food.'

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

9.8.1. Present Perfect

The compound forms consisting of the resultative participle and the copula (*gərša-y*, *smixa-y*) generally have a present perfect function. This expresses a state in existence in the present that has come about as the result of a previous action. It is the resultant state of an action that is the focus of the verb rather than the action itself, e.g.

- (1) *bronǎké rǎwyà-y,| bratǎké rwitè-ya-u| gbé xlulà holí.* | ‘The boy has grown-up and the girl and grown-up. They must marry.’ (A:31)
- (2) *’át taḥsilóx timà-y| gbé het-ò.* | ‘Your studies are finished, you must return to your brother.’ (A:27)
- (3) *čǎkmá ‘aksé ntenìlan,| ’onyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.* | ‘We took a few photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the event).’ (A:29)
- (4) *’ay-bšǎlmanè| ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn| ’ay-xalwà| mǎn-d-ó tortà| yá mǎn-d-ó ’ǎrbá dǎwqà-y| ga-xa-pǎtìlǎ dǎwqá-y| ké pǎtìlǎké mumkǎn-ye pǎsrá bǎšla-hǎwélú gǎef.* | ‘Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.’ (A:64)

The form may be used to express ‘experiential perfects’, i.e. events that are part of the speaker’s life experience, e.g.

- (5) *’arbà-kǎrat zilté-yan Fǎrǎnsa.* | ‘I have gone to France four times.’ (C:13)

9.8.2. Evidential

(i) Reports of Past Events

The compound form may be used to express perfective events in the past that are presented as reported to the speaker but not directly witnessed by him.⁷ It should be noted that when the form has this evidential function it does not express a resultative state, e.g.

- (1) *xatrǎte nǎšef ḥqèle baqán| ke-dàx ḥiyá-y báqa ’Irǎn.* | *’ó ga-zǎmán-e Mozǎfar-din Šǎh.* | *ḥiyá-y báqa ’Irǎn báqa tasís-e madrǎsá ’aliǎns.* | ‘He told us his reminiscences as to how he came to Iran. He came to Iran in the time of Mozafaredin Shah in order to found the school of the Alliance.’ (B:61)

⁷ In many languages present perfect verb forms have developed this evidential function. This is due to the fact that it does not present an event directly but only through its results (Comrie 1976: 108-110; Aikhenvald 2004: 112-115). For the use of the perfect as a narrative form characteristic of fictitious narrative in other NENA dialects see Khan (2008b: 669-677).

(ii) Legends

The compound form is used throughout the passage concerning King Solomon (A:92–97) to express both imperfective situations and also perfective events. This also can be identified as an evidential function, expressing legendary events that the speaker has heard about only from reports, e.g.

- (1) *šáta zilá-y lá xà baxtéf.*¹ ‘He went to one of his wives (once) in a year.’ (A:94)
- (2) *har-čí mǎltè¹ ḥasrāt lǎblá-y báef.*¹ ‘Every nation became jealous of him.’ (A:95)
- (3) *zilá-y¹ ṭǎlábá málka šǎbà.¹ málka šǎbà gwirté-ya.¹* ‘He went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba. He married the Queen of Sheba.’ (A:97)

(iii) Remote Past

A related usage of the perfect is to express perfective events and imperfective situations in the remote past, before the lifetime of the speaker. This is an evidential type function, in that the speaker has not directly witnessed the events and situations but only heard reports concerning them, e.g.

- (1) *qámé d-óá ’ána b-’olám henà,¹ hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,¹ maxšuşán ga-yomǎwáé nǎxlà,¹ gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dǎén ba-lǎxàw¹ b-lá sǎngù¹ ké ’alén ’nyexáé hulaèn¹* ‘Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.’ (A:78)
- (2) *zilén baqá Rusiýa,¹ zilén báqa Turkiya.¹ jǎns šǎqlá-y,¹ miyá-y ga-Kurdastán zǎbnà-y.¹* ‘They went to Russia, they went to Turkey. They bought goods, brought them to Kurdistan and sold them there.’ (B:6)

9.8.3. Irrealis Compound Form

The irrealis compound form (§3.12.2.) is attested as a present perfect in constructions such as (1), where it occurs as the complement of the express ‘it is possible that’ and so expresses a possible rather than an asserted resultant state:

- (1) *ʔay-bšəlmanè^l ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn^l ʔay-xalwà^l mən-d-ó tortà^l yá mən-d-ó ʔərbá dəwqà-y^l ga-xa-pätìlā dəwqà-y^l ké pätìlāké mumkán-ye pəsrá bəšlāwélú gəf.^l* ‘Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat.’ (A:64)

Likewise, the construction is used as a present perfect that is the complement of expressions denying possibility such as (2):

- (2) *lá xirá-y ké həl-d-ó xilāweli.^l* ‘It is not possible that I have eaten it.’

It is found in conditional constructions referring to a possible situation in the past, as in (3):

- (3) *ħāmám ʔāmunì-yela^l mangál ħāmám-e turkì-ya^l ʔágar xiyāwelòx.^l* ‘The bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen (one).’ (A:36)

9.9. THE VERB *xØr*

The verb *xØr* is used in predicates corresponding to the types that occur with the copula, the existential particle and the verb *hwy*. It may be conjugated in the full range of verbal forms that are available to regular verbs. All of these except the compound perfect form have the ingressive sense of entering a state (‘becoming, coming into existence’) which is not, in principle, expressed by the copula, existential particle or verb *hwy*. The compound perfect form (*xira-y*) may be used with this ingressive sense, but is also used suppletively to express the present perfect of the verb *hwy*, which itself cannot form a perfect with a resultative participle.

9.9.1. ‘to become’

- (1) *našé máre doltá xiri-u^l* ‘People became rich.’ (B:56)
- (2) *kménwala ga-txéla-ʔaqlù^l ke-ʔaqlú šəf xári.^l* ‘They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.’ (A:38)
- (3) *ʔágar ʔay-mastá dārenaf-ó t^wká nošāf^l najàs xără.^l* ‘If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.’ (A:80)
- (4) *ʔo-pəsrá qälènwale^l xárwa ba-čokè.^l* ‘They would fry meat and it would become čoke.’ (A:86)

- (5) *laxmá koliwale-ò,¹ šaṭxiwale-ò,¹ ráq xàrwa.¹* ‘They opened out and spread out the bread, and it became stiff.’ (A:67)
- (6) *rába xoš-ḥâl xăráxwa-u.¹* ‘We became very happy.’ (B:33)
- (7) *xirá-y ba-’afsâr.¹* ‘He has become an officer.’ (A:17)
- (8) *’átá kúle ’olám xirté-ya puḗ.¹* ‘Now the whole world has become money.’ (A:55)

9.9.2. ‘to come into existence, to happen’

This sense is found in the expression of the onset of time periods such as (1)–(2)

- (1) *yóma xarwà-u¹ kúle geziwa báqa kništà.¹* ‘When day came, everybody would go to the synagogue.’ (B:40)
- (2) *gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge ’arbít xăráwa.¹* ‘We would go into the fields until the time for evening prayers came.’ (B:32)

Note in (3) the 3fs. form of the verb is used to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specific subject referent:

- (3) *’o-waxtára xăráwa bár ’arbít¹ šărú¹ kolúwa gə̀lâ čăqénwa.¹* ‘Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.’ (B:32)

It is also found in constructions such as (4) and (5), which express what is customary to happen, or permitted to happen:

- (4) *xor-’ay-bratá lá-xar ’ay-broná xáya x-kà.¹* ‘Now, it is does not happen (= it is not acceptable) that the girl should ever see the boy.’ (A:24)
- (5) *lá-xar ’úla tágra báu ta-léle pătiré baraxà hamrí.¹* ‘It does not happen (= it is not permissible) that people touch it until Passover.’ (B:23)

9.9.3. Compound Form Suppletive to *hwy*

As remarked, the range of functions of the compound form (*xira-y*) include non-ingressive as well as ingressive predications. The function of the compound form has been extended to include non-ingressiveness due to the fact that it is suppletive to the verb *hwy*, which does not have a compound form.

(i) Perfect

The non-ingressive uses that are attested in the text corpus include perfect functions as in (1) and (2). The forms express a continuing relevance of a past situation. In both cases the continuing relevance is not to the present but rather to a section of discourse referring to the past. The perfects, therefore, take the past tense reference of the context as their deictic centre and they should be translated as past perfects, e.g.

- (1) *bəqātā-č^l gbé paxasū^l hezā^l ʾay-stačé bākaraṭ-e^l d-ay-kaldā^l lablálu bāqa tata-u-dačkā^l wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn^l ke-ʾälén ʾay-bratā^l bātulā xirté-ya,^l bratulā xirlála.^l* ‘In the morning the “woman inspector” had to go and take the “sheets of virginity” of the bride to the father and mother. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had been a (virgin) girl.’ (A:50)
- (2) *ga-tāmám ʾay-haftā^l ké pätiré xirté-ya,^l šóa yomè^l hič-kas^l ^{“davrè”} xalwá là kxəlwa.^l* ‘During the whole of the week in which Passover had taken place (= during the whole week of Passover), seven days, nobody ate dairy products.’ (A:63)

A similar usage with an irrealis compound form of *xØr* is attested in the conditional construction in (3):

- (3) *mágar rába naxòš xírāwe^l yá rába na-raḥàt xírāwe^l w-elá kúle doqíwa.^l* ‘Even if somebody had been very ill or had been very unwell (up until the Ninth of Ab), nevertheless they all observed (the fast).’ (B:44)

(ii) Evidential Past

Numerous cases of non-ingressive evidential uses of the compound form of *xØr* are attested in the text corpus. Many of these are found in the legend of King Solomon (A:92–97), e.g.

- (1) *tatí yātūwa^l ʾəlhá mǎnixà^l dāstán ḥəqéwa baqàn^l mäsälán rája^l b-Šlómo ha-mèlex,^l reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex^l ʾəqrá ʾaqəl xirà-y^l ga-ʾolám mangaléf là xirá-y.^l* ‘My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story, for example concerning King Solomon, about King Solomon that his intelligence was so great that there was nobody like him in the whole world.’ (A:92)

(2) 'ó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.¹ 'She also (the Queen of Sheba) was very rich.' (A:97)

(3) rába-č ħāriṣ xirá-y.¹ 'He was also very lustful.' (A:94)

In (4) and (5) the evidential compound forms are used to express situations in the remote past:

(4) Širáz 'o-waxtára ba-šame 'Estàxr xirté-ya.¹ 'Shiraz at that time was (known) by the name of Istakhr.' (B:1)

(5) 'nyexáe paetaxtèl Kuréš-e Kābir xirén.¹ 'These were the capital cities of Cyrus the Great.' (B:1)

(iii) Evidential Perfect

The compound form of $x\emptyset r$ is used with a resultative participle to express an evidential perfect. This is found in (1), which is a section from the report of reminiscences which were not directly witnessed by the speaker:

(1) yará-u pólge ga-Tarán nātrā-xira-y¹ ba-wásáṭ d-éa 'orxá šūlūq xirté-ya.¹ là-māhre šāre báqa Kurdāstān,¹ báqa Hamān.¹ ta-bəl'axarā gezāl laḡēf kmār 'aná là-keli yāṭunā.¹ 'For a month and a half he had kept him in Tehran—on account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan—until in the end he goes to him and says "I cannot sit (idly)."' (B:62)

9.9.4. Compound Form with Dative Copula

The resultative participle of $x\emptyset r$ may be combined with the dative copula (§3.11.3.) *xira* + *lale* > *xirlale*, the final /a/ of the participle being elided. This is used to supply the compound form of possessive constructions that elsewhere would be expressed by the existential particle or verb *hwy* with L-suffixes.

It is attested in (1) with a perfect function with past time reference in a past context and so should be translated as a past perfect. It parallels the use of the compound form of $x\emptyset r$ with the plain copula in an adjacent clause:

(1) wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn¹ ke-ālén 'ay-bratà¹ bātulā xirté-ya,¹ bratulā xirlála.¹ 'They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had had virginity.' (A:50)

Elsewhere in the text corpus the form is attested as an evidential form used either in legends (2–3) or to express the remote past in historical accounts (4–5):

- (2) *hič-kas* ‘áql-e *Šlómo ha-mélex lá xírlale.*¹ *kəmriwa*¹ *xa-jám xírlale Šlómo ha-mèlex,*¹ *mangál sinàmà xirté-ya.*¹ ‘Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon. They said King Solomon had a mirror, which was like a cinema.’ (A:92–93)
- (3) *’arbi ’ənšè xírlale.*¹ ‘He (King Solomon) had forty wives.’ (A:94)
- (4) *’ó waxtára kəmri ga-’Iràn*¹ *Nádər Šáh ’Afšār*¹ *ràba qudréf xírlále.*¹ ‘At that time, they say, in Iran, Nadir Shah Afšar had a lot of power.’ (A:108)
- (5) *’onyexàe*¹ *tajarát xírlalu məntáke xarəj.*¹ ‘They had business abroad.’ (B:6)

The form may be used to express an ‘experiential perfect’, e.g.

- (6) *’aná hămešá pułè xírlali.*¹ ‘I have always had money.’

The combination of the resultative participle and the irrealis form of the dative copula (§3.11.3.) is attested in a conditional construction in a legendary context:

- (7) *xa-năfâr*¹ *măsălán fârz holéx xa-šâh*¹ *xá-mdi na-rahâti xírlăwelalè*¹ *zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta țəlbâ-y,*¹ *mšurtà*¹ *wilá-y baqəf.*¹ ‘(If) a person, for example, let’s suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice.’ (A:95)

An alternative form of the irrealis construction is attested in (8), in which the normal irrealis compound form *xirăwe* is combined with the dative prepositional phrase (*ə*)*lef*:

- (8) *’ágar čănánče xá-năfar zəlm xirăwe-ləf,*¹ *gezəlwá*¹ *jobràn kolwalé-u*¹ ‘If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him.’ (A:109)

9.10. MORPHOLOGICAL CODING OF TRANSITIVITY

Past bases and resultative participles fall into two sets, which have been labelled as ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’. Whereas this characterization captures the functional distinction between the two sets of forms in broad

terms, the distribution of the forms is not wholly predictable. Crucially the use of a transitive form is not restricted to clauses that have an explicit direct object complement.

Verbs that frequently occur without a specified direct object complement but that could, nevertheless, take one are generally conjugated with transitive forms, e.g.

<i>ʻxl</i>	‘to eat’	<i>xíle</i>	‘He ate’
<i>šty</i>	‘to drink’	<i>štéle</i>	‘He drank’
<i>lwš</i>	‘to dress’	<i>lwášle</i>	‘He dressed’
<i>šlx</i>	‘to undress’	<i>šlóxle</i>	‘He undressed’
<i>gry</i>	‘to shave’	<i>gréle</i>	‘He shaved’
<i>m-qlb</i>	‘to vomit’	<i>məqləble-ó</i>	‘He vomited’
<i>qnš</i>	‘to sweep’	<i>qnášle</i>	‘He swept’
<i>qry</i>	‘to read, to study’	<i>qrele</i>	‘He studied’
<i>xlp</i>	‘to win’	<i>xləple</i>	‘He won’

With object complements:

<i>xala xíle</i>	‘He ate food’
<i>máe štéle</i>	‘He drank water’
<i>jaľef ləwšíle</i>	‘He put on his clothes’
<i>jaľef šəlxíle</i>	‘He took off his clothes’
<i>təqnef gəryale</i>	‘He shaved his beard’
<i>xala məqləble-ó</i>	‘He vomited food’
<i>hawša qənšále</i>	‘He swept the yard’
<i>hulaula qəryále</i>	‘He studied Judaism’
<i>puľe xəlpíle</i>	‘He won the money’

The use of the transitive inflection for these verbs, therefore, can be explained by the fact that there is an implied ‘latent’ affectee of the action, although this is not necessarily specified. Note, further, the distinctions such as the following:

- (1) *šəmša məbhára* (transitive coding)
- (2) *šəmša bhúra* (intransitive coding)

Both of these may be translated ‘The sun shone’. The transitive form *məbhára*, however, implies that the sun shone and cast light on something, typically the earth during daytime. The intransitive form *bhúra*, on the other hand, does not have this implication of the existence of an affectee.

If the affectee of an action is expressed by a prepositional phrase, the verb is in some cases encoded as intransitive, e.g.

- (3) *xmatá nqísa ga-ʔilì.*! ‘The needle pricked my hand.’

We may infer from this that the existence of an affectee of an action is by itself not a necessary condition for transitive coding. Examples such as (3) indicate that the degree of affectedness is a determining factor. Referents in prepositional complements such as above can be said to be only partially affected by the action, i.e. affected in only one point of their physical extension.

In (3) the grammatical subject is an inanimate referent. If a subject with a human referent is used in the same construction, the verb is given transitive coding, e.g.

- (4) *baxtǎké nqásla ga-ʔilì.*! ‘The woman pricked my hand.’

The degree of affectedness of the referent in the prepositional phrase is not different from in (3). The transitive coding is conditioned by the properties of the subject, crucially the agent properties of the subject as controller and instigator of the action. These properties of the subject are in some cases relevant for the transitivity coding of verbs with direct object complements. Consider (5) and (6):

- (5) *ʔó rába mǎndixané yǎlpà-y.*! (transitive coding) ‘He has learnt many things.’
 (6) *ʔó rába mǎndixané ylipà-y.*! (intransitive coding) ‘He has learnt many things.’

Example (5), which has a transitive compound verb, implies that the subject referent learnt the things at his own instigation and under his own control, by himself. By contrast the intransitive coding of (6) implies that the subject lacks these properties of control and instigation and is typically used to describe a situation where the subject learnt more passively by being taught by somebody else.

Examples such as (3)–(6) indicate that the transitivity coding of a verb is not conditioned exclusively by the actionality of the verb, i.e. the type of action it expresses by virtue of its lexical meaning. Rather the transitivity is a feature of the clause as a whole resulting from the role of the subject referent. This corresponds to the notion of transitivity in the broader sense of the term that was proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980). These linguists proposed that transitivity is a continuum rather than an absolute category. There are different degrees of transitivity according to a variety of parameters. The existence of an object participant in the clause is only one parameter. Another parameter identified by Hopper and Thompson that

conditions high transitivity is the extent to which the subject has properties characteristic of an agent, i.e. the extent to which the subject referent is the controller and instigator of the action rather than the affectee. We can understand in this light why the verb ‘to want’ (*ʔby*) is coded as transitive (*ʔabele*), since a subject referent who ‘wants’ typically has the agent property of instigator rather than affectee.

According to recent theoretical work on verbal events, such transitive clauses express complex events consisting of an outer and an inner event. The outer event is associated with causation and agency and an inner event is associated with change of state and affectedness of the affectee (Tenny and Pustejovsky 2002: 7ff.; Perlmutter 1978). Clauses with verbs with intransitive morphological coding may be said to express non-complex events denoting change of state and affectedness of the subject referent without a causative or agentive outer event. The subject of an intransitive verb is typically the affectee of the event and undergoer of a change in state rather than the cause or instigator of the event. This helps us to understand the transitive coding of a further set of verbs in the dialect, namely verbs expressing an emission of sound or speech. Such verbs are not generally used with an explicit object complement, but nevertheless are widely coded as transitive, e.g.

<i>ʔmr</i>	‘to say’	<i>məre</i>	‘He said’
<i>ħqy</i>	‘to speak’	<i>ħqele</i>	‘He spoke’
<i>dʕy</i>	‘to pray’	<i>dʕele</i>	‘He prayed’
<i>mwm̩y</i>	‘to utter an oath’	<i>momele</i>	‘He swore’
<i>nwx</i>	‘to bark’	<i>nwəxle</i>	‘It barked’
<i>sɾp</i>	‘to slurp’	<i>sɾəple</i>	‘He slurped’
<i>bʕy</i>	‘to bleat’	<i>ʔərba bʕela</i>	‘The sheep bleated’
<i>mʕy</i>	‘to bleat’	<i>ʔəza mʕela</i>	‘The goat bleated’
<i>sɾy</i>	‘to bray’	<i>xmara sɾele</i>	‘The donkey brayed’
<i>m-krz</i>	‘to crow’	<i>kälāšer məkrəzle</i>	‘The cock crowed’
<i>šhl</i>	‘to cough’	<i>šəhle</i>	‘He coughed’
<i>tpl</i>	‘to sneeze’	<i>təple</i>	‘He sneezed’

Such verbs may be analysed as expressing complex events with an outer event of causation and an inner event of change of state. The subject is the instigator rather than the affectee undergoing change, so is associated with the outer event. This is the profile of transitive predicates and it is for this reason that the verb is coded as transitive. The subject need not be in control of the event, as in the verbs ‘to cough’, ‘to sneeze’, but is still the cause. Events of emission of sound that do not have an animate instigator

may be coded as intransitive with the subject referent being presented as the affectee of the event, e.g.

(7) *ʔewá gərgim*! ‘The cloud thundered.’

In reality it is not always possible to establish an objective dividing line between the concepts of instigator and affectee, in that, in principle, in an event involving the emission of sound the subject referent could be viewed as being affected by or undergoing the event. This no doubt explains why the coding of transitivity of verbs of sound emission in neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects is sometimes different from what is found in J. Sanandaj. For a discussion of this issue relating to J. Urmi and J. Sulemaniyya see Khan (2004: 300; 2008a: 266). We present here some cross-dialectal variations by way of illustration:

	Transitive	Intransitive
<i>šhl</i> ‘to cough’	J. Sanandaj (<i>šəhle</i>) J. Sulemaniyya (<i>šhəlle</i>) J. Tikab (<i>šhəlle</i>) J. Kerend (<i>šhəlle</i>)	J. Qar Hasan (<i>šhil</i>) J. Bokan (<i>šhil</i>)
<i>tpl</i> ‘to sneeze’	J. Sanandaj (<i>təple</i>) J. Sulemaniyya (<i>tpəlle</i>) J. Tikab (<i>tpəlle</i>) J. Kerend (<i>tpəlle</i>)	J. Bokan (<i>tpil</i>) J. Qar Hasan (<i>tpil</i>) J. Urmi (<i>tpil</i>)
<i>nwx</i> ‘to bark’	J. Sanandaj (<i>nwəxle</i>) J. Sulemaniyya (<i>nwəxle</i>) J. Qar Hasan (<i>noxle</i>) J. Kerend (<i>noxle</i>)	J. Urmi (<i>nwix</i>)
<i>phr</i> ‘to yawn’	J. Sanandaj (<i>pəhre</i>) J. Sulemaniyya (<i>phərre</i>) J. Kerend (<i>phərre</i>)	J. Urmi (<i>phir</i>)

Note also that in J. Urmi ‘to dance’ is coded morphologically as transitive, presenting the ‘dancer’ as the instigator of the action, whereas in other dialects the ‘dancer’ is presented as the undergoer of the action and the verb is coded as intransitive:

	Transitive	Intransitive
<i>rql</i> 'to dance'	J. Urmi (<i>rqile</i>)	J. Sanandaj (<i>nqil</i>) J. Sulemaniyya (<i>rqil</i>)

Note, further, the intransitive coding of the verbs *m-štɔx* 'to give birth' and *mšlm* 'to convert to Islam':

(8) *baxtāké məštixa*.¹ 'The woman gave birth.'

(9) *baxtāke məšlima*.¹ 'The woman converted to Islam.'

The intransitive coding in these cases arise from the fact that the subject is conceived as the undergoer rather than the instigator of the event. This is self-explanatory in (8). In (9) the intransitivity implies that the woman converted against her will rather than by her initiative, which was the typical process of conversion.

Although agentive properties of the grammatical subject of a verb on the semantic level may condition its encoding as transitive, it should be pointed out that if verbs typically take a grammatical object complement, they are encoded as transitive irrespective of the semantic properties of the subject participant. This applies, for example, to verbs of perception such as *xOy* 'to see' (*xele* 'He saw' tr.) and *šmy* 'to hear' (*šmele* 'He heard' tr.), the subjects of which are not instigators of the event, but on the grammatical level they are typically constructed with a grammatical object expressing the item perceived. The characteristic grammatical object may be a propositional complement. This is the case, for example, with verbs such as *mhr* 'to dare' (*məhre* 'He dared' tr.) and *dmy* 'to think, to imagine', which typically take clausal complements, e.g.

(10) *lā məhré pālōt*.¹ 'He did not dare go out.'

(11) *lā-məhre šāre bāqa Kurdəstān*.¹ 'He did not dare send (him) to Kurdistan.' (B:62)

(12) *'aná dméli máe drəlu rēša nurá*.¹ 'I thought that they put water on the fire.' (C:2)

In a few verbs the agentive/causative property of the subject is expressed by giving the verb an impersonal 3fs. pronominal object element, e.g.

<i>'ərqa</i>	'He fled'
<i>gəxka</i>	'He laughed'
<i>mərta</i>	'He farted'

Some of these verbs may also be coded as intransitive without an object suffix:

<i>riq</i>	‘He ran’
<i>gxik</i>	‘He laughed’

In the case of *ʾarqale*—*riq*, the transitive form puts more focus on the purposiveness of the subject (‘He fled’) whereas in the intransitive form the focus is on the affectedness of the subject referent (‘He ran’).

The distinction between *gəxkale* and *gxik* is not primarily one of agentivity but rather discourse prominence. The intransitive form *gxik* is typically used to express an event of laughing that is incidental to another activity, e.g.

(13) *g-áy haštá gxik*! ‘He laughed in the course of this job.’

The transitive form *gəxkale*, on the other hand, is used, in principle, to refer to an independent event in its own right and not incidental to another event.

9.11. EXPRESSION OF THE PASSIVE

9.11.1. Passive Past Base

In principle transitive verbs that inflect a past base with L-suffixes may form a past perfective passive with a past base inflected with S-suffixes. In such cases the undergoer object of the active transitive construction is made the grammatical subject of the passive construction. In strong verbs and some categories of weak verb distinct transitive and passive past bases are employed (§3.1.), e.g.

<i>trəṣ-le</i>	‘He built (it)’	<i>triṣ</i>	‘It was built’
<i>tərṣi-le</i>	‘He built them’	<i>triṣi</i>	‘They were built’

In practice, however, past perfective passives are not formed from all verbs of the lexicon that are coded as transitive in the past perfective active. The passive form tends to be restricted to constructions in which the grammatical subject of the passive is the affectee of the action and has been caused to undergo a change of state. In such cases the verb has telic actionality with an inherent stative endpoint., e.g.

<i>mamí qṭil</i>	‘My uncle was killed’
<i>kništáké triṣa</i> !	‘The synagogue was built’

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *wále kništá* ^H*hadàš*^M *ga-házár-u no-šà trišá.*^I ‘But a new synagogue was built in 1900.’ (B:58)
- (2) *híye-u zìl-u*^I *híye-u zìl ta-ʔinke*^I *ʔáy ksilá trišà.*^I ‘He came and went, came and went, until the wig was made.’ (D:13)

The passive of the past base tends to be avoided with verbs that in the active form take grammatical objects that are not direct affectees of the action and are not caused to undergo a change of state. This applies, for example, to verbs of perception (e.g. *xØy* ‘to see’). A verb such as *dØy* ‘to hit’ is not used in the passive, since the act of hitting does not necessarily produce a change of state in the undergoer. Such verbs are also in principle non-telic. So telic actionality with an inherent endpoint constituting a change of state appears to be a condition for passive construction formation. If the speaker wishes to express a change of state resulting from the act of hitting, he must use a telic verb such as *dyq* ‘to batter (resulting in damage); to crush’, e.g.

- (3) *gorāké yaléf dīnile.*^I *yalāke dīqi.*^I ‘The man hit his children. The children were battered.’

In light of these remarks, verbs in expressions such as *mamí qṭil* ‘My uncle was killed’ and *kništáké trišá*^I ‘The synagogue was built’ should strictly be termed anticausative intransitive rather than passive. They are not simply syntactic transformations of active constructions but depend on the nature of the event.

The cause of the event is implied, but is not normally expressed. Periphrastic constructions such as (4) indicating the source of the cause by a prepositional phrase are possible, but are rarely used:

- (4) *mamí qṭil mən-lága sarbazè.*^I ‘My uncle was killed by the soliders.’

9.11.2. Passive Resultative Participle

The distribution of passive constructions with resultative participles is wider than with past base verbs. The explanation is likely to be that the resultative participle of all verbs in principle expresses a state, whereas in past base forms only telic verbs have a stative component.

A passive construction expressing a resultant state may be formed by combining the passive resultative participle of both telic and non-telic verbs with the copula or verb *hwy*, e.g.

Telic

<i>q̣ṭila-y</i>	‘He has been killed’
<i>triṣa-y</i>	‘It has been built’
<i>q̣ṭila-yele</i>	‘He had been killed’
<i>triṣa-yele</i>	‘It had been killed’
<i>q̣ṭila häwe</i>	‘He may have been killed’
<i>triṣa häwe</i>	‘It may have been built’

Non-telic

<i>xiya-y</i>	‘He has been seen’
<i>diya-y</i>	‘He has been hit’
<i>xiya-yele</i>	‘He had been seen’
<i>diya-yele</i>	‘He had been hit’
<i>xiya häwe</i>	‘He may have been seen’
<i>diya häwe</i>	‘He may have been hit’

Example from the text corpus:

- (1) *gbé maqrəxiwale-ò^l lá bàda^l xoràka^l ḥamés ga-d-éa xila-hăwè.^l* ‘They had to coat it with white lest leaven had been eaten in the food.’ (B:19)

When the verb has telic actionality, another compound construction is available to express the passive, in which the copula/verb *hwy* is replaced by the ingressive verb *xØr* ‘to become’. When the auxiliary *xØr* is in the past base or present base forms (*xir*, *xar*), the construction expresses an event with a stative endpoint rather than a resultant state, e.g.

<i>q̣ṭila xir</i>	‘He was killed’
<i>q̣ṭila xar</i>	‘He will be killed’

The compound construction with the past base form of *xØr*, viz. *q̣ṭila xir*, is equivalent in meaning to the simple passive (anticausative) past base construction *q̣ṭil*.

The verb *hwy* is replaced suppletively by the verb *xØr* in the present perfect compound form, so *xØr* in such a construction may be used with both telic or non-telic verbs:

<i>heřtan qřila la xira-y</i>	‘He has not yet been killed’
<i>heřtan xiya la xira-y</i>	‘He has not yet been seen’

9.11.3. Impersonal 3pl. Subject

Another method of expressing an action without specifying the agent is to use an active construction with an impersonal 3pl. subject. This is rendered idiomatically by an English passive, e.g.

- (1) *ga-televizyón m‘ínwale xá-năfar mən-d-áy ‘a‘yanè^l malàk-yel^l qřàlwalu.^l* ‘On the television he saw that one of the dignitaries who was a landlord had been killed (literally: they had killed one of the dignitaries ...).’ (C:9)
- (2) *mən-Taràn šăríwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv.^l* ‘Etrogs and palm fronds were sent to us (literally: they sent) from Tehran.’ (B:80)

A compound perfect construction such as (3) may also fall into this category. The verb has a transitive resultative participle without any coding of the subject, as is usual in the compound perfect. The subject can be understood to be the impersonal 3pl.

- (3) *‘əqrá qəřlâ-y^l ta-milâ-y.^l* ‘They have beaten him so much that he has died.’

9.11.4. Unaccusative

Several verbs exhibit an alternation of transitive and unaccusative intransitive usage. These can be used transitively with a volitional subject and an object complement that is the undergoer of the action or alternatively can be used intransitively with the non-volitional undergoer being made the grammatical subject. Unlike passive constructions, such unaccusative intransitive alternants of transitive verbs are not restricted to past bases and resultative participles but include also inflections of the present base. In general the grammatical subject of such unaccusative constructions is an inanimate object, e.g.

<i>pyaľăke torila</i>	‘They will break the glass’
<i>pyaľăke tora</i>	‘The glass will break’
<i>ľaxma parčăkile</i>	‘They will crumble the bread’
<i>ľaxma parčăk</i>	‘The bread will crumble’

<i>bela ʔǎpele</i>	‘He will destroy the house’
<i>bela ʔǎpe</i>	‘The house will collapse’
<i>mǎbele</i>	‘He will inflate it’
<i>mǎbe</i>	‘It will inflate’

In a number of cases the unaccusative alternant is idiomatically translated by an English passive, e.g.

<i>lišanef qǎtele</i>	‘He will cut off his tongue’
<i>lišanef qǎte</i>	‘His tongue will be cut off’
<i>bǎloti doqla</i>	‘He will block my throat’
<i>bǎloti doqa</i>	‘My throat will be blocked’
<i>šǎmef mǎhele</i>	‘He will erase his name’
<i>šǎmef mǎhe!</i>	‘May his name be erased!’

With such unaccusative intransitives there is no necessarily implied external agent, whereas there is in principle the implication of an external cause in passive (anticausative) constructions:

Passive

<i>mami qǎṭila xar</i>	‘My uncle will be killed (by somebody)’
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Unaccusative

<i>bǎloti doqa</i>	‘My throat will be blocked (not necessarily by an external cause)’
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Unaccusative intransitives overlap in form with passive (anticausative) constructions in the past base and compound perfect, e.g.

<i>pyalǎke twíra</i>	‘The glass broke’
<i>pyalǎke twirte-ya</i>	‘The glass has broken’
<i>bǎloti dwíqa</i>	‘My throat became blocked’
<i>bǎloti dwiqte-ya</i>	‘My throat has become blocked’
<i>ʔamti qǎṭla</i>	‘My aunt was killed’
<i>ʔamti qǎṭlte-ya</i>	‘My aunt has been killed’

9.12. THE POST-VERBAL PARTICLE -o

The Kurdish post-verbal particle *-o* (< *-awa*) is widely used in the dialect. In principle it takes the stress, e.g. *kénwa + o > kenwa-ó* ‘They used to come back.’ A vowel preceding it is sometimes elided, e.g. *dirna + o > dirn-ó* ‘I returned’. The particle has a variety of functions.

9.12.1. ‘again, back’

In some cases the particle expresses the sense of ‘returning back’, ‘restoring’ or ‘repetition’:

- (1) *lelāwáe kewa-ò.*¹ ‘He would return in the evenings.’ (A:99)
- (2) *gbé het-ó baqá ’aḥrâ.*¹ ‘You must come back to the town.’ (A:6)
- (3) *halox-ó ’aḥrâ.*¹ ‘Come back to the town.’
- (4) *’āwâl lelé gezâlwa-ó belâ.*¹ ‘In the early evening he would go back home.’ (A:101)
- (5) *kmewal-ó ga-béla nõşef.*¹ ‘He would bring it back to his house.’ (A:81)
- (6) *puḷèḷ tãlabkâr kwiwale-ó baqû.*¹ ‘They would give the money of the creditors back to them.’ (B:9)
- (7) *lelāwáe gbéwa hezâlwa belâḷ tajrâkèḷ ḥāsabéf hawle-ó baqèf.*¹ ‘In the evenings he had to go home and give back to the merchant his accounts.’ (A:106)
- (8) *dirn-ò.*¹ ‘I returned.’
- (9) *mãdirnox-ò.*¹ ‘I shall take you back.’
- (10) *’ágar kiló bi-zóa xáráwa mastâkèḷ, là dãrewal-ó t’kâf.*¹ ‘If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back in the place (it came from).’ (A:79)
- (11) *labnox-ò.*¹ ‘I shall take you back.’
- (12) *pîlna, rkiwn-ò.*¹ ‘I fell (from a horse) and I mounted again.’
- (13) *syamè târâşwá-o.*¹ ‘He used to repair shoes (literally: make back).’
- (14) *ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí ’alhá mǎnixâ.*¹ ‘I told back/recounted (what I had been told) to my father, may God give him rest.’ (B:61)

- (15) *hič-kas^l da‘wǎtí lá wile-ò.^l* ‘I held a party and nobody invited me back.’ (D:10)

The particle is used with the verb *’ly* ‘to know’ in the sense of ‘recognizing’ or ‘being acquainted with’ a person. This may be classified as a type of ‘returning’:

- (16) *’ay naša kǎete-ò?^l* ‘Do you recognize/know this person?’

- (17) *tatóx kǎenef-ò.^l* ‘I know your father.’

9.12.2. Telicity

In many cases the particle expresses simply that the action has an endpoint, which is not necessarily a point of return. The action, therefore, is marked as telic, i.e. it contains a dynamic component and an endpoint (*telos*) attained by the completion of the event, rather than being a homogeneous state or durative activity, e.g.

- (1) *maqłǎblox-ò^l* ‘He will turn you over (ending up in a static position)’ vs. *maqłǎblòx^l* ‘He will turn you over and over.’
- (2) *’āra pexa-ò^l* ‘The ground will cool down (completely)’ vs. *’āra pexā^l* ‘The ground will cool (but not necessarily reach an endpoint of being totally cool).’
- (3) *jǎlé weši-ò^l* ‘The clothes will dry (completely)’ vs. *jǎlé wešī^l* ‘The clothes will dry (but not necessary reach the point of becoming completely dry).’
- (4) *talgá pašra-ò^l* ‘The snow will melt (and completely disappear)’ vs. *talgá pašrā^l* ‘The snow will melt (but not necessary completely).’
- (5) *nurǎke tix-ò^l* ‘The fire died down (completely)’ vs. *nurǎke tix^l* ‘The fire died down (but not necessarily completely).’
- (6) *jǎlé ’azli-ò^l* ‘They will knit clothes (with a complete product at the end)’ vs. *’azlī^l* ‘They will knit (but not necessary have a final product).’
- (7) *yalé didí lǎblile-ó baqá madrasā^l* ‘He took my children to the school’ vs. *yalé didí lǎblile^l* ‘He took my children (without necessarily taking them to a specific endpoint).’
- (8) *ħǎná doqi-ò^l* ‘They will obtain henna’ vs. *ħǎná doqī^l* ‘They will hold/keep henna.’

- (9) *fkàr wili-ó*.¹ ‘I thought it over (and reached a decision) (C:6) vs. *fkàr wili* ‘I thought (without necessarily coming to a decision).’
- (10) *mǎtíwalu ga-xá tiká parčǎ*,¹ *ʔasriwalu-ò*.¹ ‘They put them into a piece of cloth and tied them up (resulting in the endpoint of a bundle).’
- (11) *ʔaspáw krǎxlan-ò* | *bastá ba-bastà*.¹ ‘We wrapped up our belongings, (resulting in the endpoint of) bundle, by bundle.’ (E:10)

Many verbs are telic by virtue of their lexical meaning and so would normally take the *-o* particle as a matter of course, e.g.

- (12) *reš-ò*.¹ ‘He will wake up.’
- (13) *haywǎn dǎbǎhle-ò*.¹ ‘He will slaughter the animal.’
- (14) *wáxt-e šomá kipúr fǎtran-ò*,¹ *ma¹lám kéwa belà*.¹ ‘When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.’ (B:76)

Note that the verb *tǎy* ‘to find’ is derived historically from **tǎy* ‘to seek’. The natural endpoint of ‘seeking’ is ‘finding’ and now the verb is used only with the meaning of ‘to find’. The *-o* particle may be omitted in cases where the ‘finding’ lacks finality, e.g.

- (15) *belá tǎhǎle-ò*.¹ ‘He will find the house.’
- (16) *yomá ʔamá šéqel pulé tǎhèt*.¹ ‘You will find (i.e. earn) 100 shekels in money a day.’ (A:104)

In some case where a verb expresses telicity by virtue of its lexical meaning, the *-o* particle adds some kind of intensity by reinforcing the telicity. The precise sense of this intensity varies idiomatically from one verb to another. In (17), for example, the use of the particle conveys a sense of greater permanence:

- (17) *xa-bratá mǎtwali-ó baqòx*.¹ ‘I have set aside (reserved) a girl for you.’ (A:6)

In (18) the use of the enhanced telicity expressed by the particle conveys the sense that there would be multiple affectees of the action:

- (18) *bar-d-èa* | *ʔijazá wilwalù*,¹ *gbéwa xa-šǎrní xorǎn-e mfǎšàl doqí šǎrní hǎwi-ò*.¹ ‘After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of “eating the sweets” and distribute sweets.’ (A:32)

In (19) the telicity expressed by the particle on the verb *m-ʕn* ‘to look’ is purposive, i.e. the man looked out of the window with the specific purpose of seeing who was there:

- (19) *múrwala Mərza Xănăká xá-gora gbelòx.*¹ *la-káyan mǎni-ye.*¹ *Xănăká-č mǎn-panjărăké mʕine-ò¹ hál-didí xèle.*¹ ‘She said “Mərza Xănăka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.” Xănăka looked from the window and saw me.’ (A:21)

9.12.3. ‘opening’

It is used in combination with the verb *ʕwl* ‘to do’ to express the sense of ‘to open’, which is a calque on the Kurdish *kirdin-awa*, e.g.

- (1) *tǎrá konef-ò.*¹ ‘I am opening the door.’
 (2) *laxmăké kolawalè-o.*¹ ‘She opened out the bread (dough).’ (A:66)

The intransitive is expressed by the replacing *ʕwl* with *xØr*, e.g.

- (3) *wardé xǎri-ò.*¹ ‘The flowers are opening.’

9.12.4. Combination with Other Verbal Affixes

The particle *-o* is always placed at the end of a verbal form, after all other affixes such as pronominal suffixes or the enclitic copula:

- (1) *ʕaná panjărăké konaf-ò.*¹ ‘I shall open the window.’
 (2) *tatóx Məsyúr Basán kǎele-ò?*¹ ‘Does your father know Monsieur Basan?’ (B:60)
 (3) *ʕágar ʕay-mastá dǎrenaf-ó tʕká nošǎf¹ najàs xǎrá.*¹ ‘If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.’ (A:80)
 (4) *se-lox-ó ba-šonǎf!*¹ ‘Go back after it!’ (E:35)
 (5) *heštán baxtéf la tǎite-ya-ò.*¹ ‘He has not found his wife yet.’
 (6) *daǎkí tatí xiya-y-ò.*¹ ‘My mother has seen my father again.’

It is, however, placed before a prepositional phrase that is not an affix of the verb as in (7):

- (7) *tǎheli-ò-ʕlef.*¹ ‘I found him.’

9.12.5. On Adverbials

The particle *-o* is found on spatial adverbs such as *tex-ó* ‘below’, which may have been motivated by its usage with the cognate verb *tyx-o* ‘to go down’, *reš-o* ‘again’ (literally: ‘back to the head’) and *lāḥal-o* ‘into the distance’, e.g.

- (1) *xá ṭābāqa xèt-əč xirén^l biš tex-ò.^l* ‘There was another class, (which was) lower down.’ (B:6)
- (2) *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,^l ’onyexáe təqnú lá pešà.^l* ‘When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).’ (B:81)
- (3) *xmaráké mən-pliyáw ó daštá lāḥál-o mrəqlu.^l* ‘They made the ass run from the field into the distance.’

9.13. DIRECT OBJECT

The expression of pronominal direct objects as suffixes on the various verbal forms has been described in §3.20. When the direct object is an independent nominal or pronominal phrase various types of syntactic construction are used. The verb forms from the various verbal bases will be considered separately.

9.13.1. Present Base Verbs and Imperatives

9.13.1.1. No Grammatical Marking

The object has no grammatical marking either on the nominal or on the verb in the form of a pronominal suffix. This is the usual construction when the object nominal is indefinite, e.g.

- (1) *xa-waxtārā tatí yātùwa^l xá ḥākayát ḥāqéwa baqàn.^l* ‘Once my father sat and told us a story.’ (A:98)
- (2) *jám kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà.^l* ‘They brought a mirror to the bride and groom.’ (A:45)
- (3) *šāmáš-e kništà^l gezálwa susì kméwa.^l* ‘The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse.’ (A:43)
- (4) *léle reš-šatá xa-safrá šāwénwa rūwà.^l* ‘On New Year’s Eve we spread out a large cloth.’ (A:65)

- (5) *mastà holí!* ‘Give me yoghurt!’ (A:79)

This construction is found also with a definite nominal object in an embedded relative clause in (6):

- (6) *’áy gbéwa hezál baqá xá-t^wka kəmríwala qāšābẖanà,^l yáni ga-d-ó-t^wka ya-toryú ’ərbú ’onyexáe daḅhi-ò.^l* ‘He had to go to a place called the “butcher’s shop,” that is to that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep.’ (A:73)

The verb also has no grammatical marking when the direct object item is a demonstrative pronoun in clauses that cohere closely with what precedes. Such clauses typically function as supplementary statements tagged onto the end of a discourse section, e.g.

- (7) *’éa matwíwa rešá safrà-u^l* ‘They placed this on the cloth.’ (B:31)
 (8) *’ò kéwalan ’axléx.^l* ‘We could eat that.’ (B:29)
 (9) *’onyexáe mǎtiwa gáaf^l ’u-šǎriwa báqa béla didàn.^l* ‘They would put these on it (the tray) and send them to us.’ (A:88)

9.13.1.2. *Pronominal Copy On Verb*

In such cases the verb has a pronominal direct object suffix that is co-referential with the object nominal. This construction is used when the object nominal is definite, e.g.

- (1) *xwanǎké kmenwalà-u^l* ‘They delivered the table.’ (A:11)
 (2) *susyǎké mǎn-sarbāẖẖané kméwale qam-tǎrà.^l* ‘He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door.’ (A:16)
 (3) *gbé het-ó ’ay-bratá goretà.^l* ‘You must go back and marry that girl.’ (A:18)
 (4) *xǎtná kménwale-o béla nošù.^l* ‘They brought the groom to their house.’ (A:54)
 (5) *’ay-zǎrà^l taxnìwale.^l* ‘They grind the wheat.’ (A:59)
 (6) *se-báqa jangǎ,^l ’ilanǎké mélu,^l zǎbnu!^l* ‘Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them!’ (A:107)

A pronominal copy is also used with some indefinite objects. This occurs where the indefinite object plays a prominent role in the immediately succeeding discourse. Indefinite nominals with this prominent discourse

status are typically marked by the indefinite marker *xa dana* or at least by *xa* (§8.1.1., §8.1.3.), e.g.

- (7) *hár xanāwadé ta-nòšef,¹ hár mǝšpaḥá ta-nòšef,¹ gezəlwa¹ xa-dána tórta šǎqǎlwala.¹ kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.¹ rában kéwa dǎbǎḥwal-ó baqǎf.¹*
 ‘Each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. Our rabbi would come and slaughter it for them.’ (A:81-82)
- (8) *xa-dána pút ḥǎlabí dóqwala ba-ʔilǎf-u¹ dǎélwa gǎaf-u¹* ‘He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum).’ (A:99)
- (9) *bǎr-d-o¹ xá-dana betà¹ bǎžǎxwala.¹ ʔo-betá-č koléxwala ba-glǎlá-u¹ ʔasréxwala ba-tǎqrà,¹ tǎqrá s^wkǎkè.¹* ‘Then we would prick an egg. We put the egg on a thread and tied it to the roof, the roof of the booth.’ (B:78)

The construction is also attested when the nominal has generic reference, e.g.

- (10) *huláa ba-nǎjǎs là kǎénwale.¹ šíʔa huláe ba-nǎjǎs kǎélu.¹* ‘They (the Sunnites) did not consider a Jew unclean. A Shiʔite considers Jews unclean.’ (B:64)

9.13.1.3. Preposition *hǎl*- Without Pronominal Copy

In such cases the object nominal is marked with the preposition *hǎl*- but the object referent is not coded on the verb by a co-referential pronominal suffix. This construction is attested with object nominals that have human referents, e.g.

- (1) *xǎmé-u xmalǎ¹ hǎl-kaldú la-xǎénwa ʔǎqrà.¹* ‘The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much.’ (A:3)
- (2) *ʔay-bronà¹ hǎl-d-áy bratá gbè.¹* ‘The boy loves the girl.’ (A:18)

It is found where the object is an independent pronominal phrase, e.g.

- (3) *susyǎké mǎn-sarbǎzxané kméwale qam-tǎrà,¹ hǎl-didí markúwa.¹* ‘He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on it).’ (A:15–16)

In such pronominal phrases the *hǎl*- is sometimes elided, e.g.

- (4) *nǎšǎqnàwale-u¹ ʔó-č didí nǎšǎqwà-u¹* ‘I would kiss him and he would kiss me.’ (B:33)

- (5) *ʔaxtú tǎmà didí-u daǎkí daʔwát lá kolétun?*¹ ‘Why do you not invite me and my mother?’ (D:8)

A pronominal copy is absent on a verb that takes the reciprocal pronoun *lǎxle* as its object. The initial *l-* element of this pronoun may have been interpreted as an prepositional object marker associated with *həl-*, e.g.

- (6) *rába başòr lǎxle xǎenwa.*¹ ‘When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.’ (A:3)

9.13.1.4. Zero Pronominal Objects

When a clause is closely connected to preceding clause, a pronominal object is sometimes left without explicit expression. This is the case, for example, in (1) below, where two clauses are bound closely to the initial temporal clause:

- (1) *čún-ge tazá mǎn-txél talgá plítwa waryà¹ čǎqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà.*¹
‘When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick (it) and bring (it) home.’ (B:32)

9.13.2. Past Base Verbs

The expression of pronominal direct objects of past base verbs has been described in §3.20.2. The pronominal object of all persons may be expressed by prepositional phrases. When the pronominal direct object is 3rd person, it may alternatively be expressed by the number and gender inflection of the past base. This corresponds to the S-suffix inflection that is used to express the subject of intransitive past bases and may be identified as ‘ergative’ syntax:

Ergative

<i>grǎšle</i>	‘He pulled him’
<i>gəršále</i>	‘He pulled her’
<i>gəršíle</i>	‘He pulled them’

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *bár-d-o mǎndélu pliyawà.*¹ ‘Then they threw him in (the sea).’ (B:77)
- (2) *yǎwǎš mǎn-rešáf gəršàli¹ šoltáli d-o-làg.*¹ ‘I slowly pulled it (the veil) from her head and threw it to one side.’ (A:24)

- (3) *'axréf ba-zór miyàlun-u'* 'In the end they brought her by force and ...' (A:23)
- (4) *ga-'Irán šəwqìwali-u'* 'I left them in Iran.' (C:10)

In the ergative construction, the 3rd person pronominal object may be expressed in addition by an independent pronoun in its direct form, without any object marker:

<i>'o grǎšli</i>	'I pulled him'
<i>'o gəršáli</i>	'I pulled her'
<i>'oni gəršíli</i>	'I pulled them'

The 3ms. inflection is the unmarked form of the base, which may have the specific function of expressing the 3ms. object or may be used neutrally without marking any specific object. The 3fs. and 3pl. forms, on the other hand, are marked, in that they express exclusively the 3fs. and 3pl. pronominal objects.

When a verb that is treated as transitive and inflected with L-suffixes does not have a specific object, the past base is in the neutral 3ms. form, e.g.

<i>šəhle</i>	'He coughed'	< * <i>šhəlle</i>
<i>təple</i>	'He sneezed'	< * <i>tpəlle</i>
<i>mire</i>	'He said'	< * <i>mirle</i>
<i>momele</i>	'He swore'	

When the pronominal object is an independent phrase that marks the direct object with a preposition, the past base always has the 3ms. form used neutrally, without agreeing specifically with the object. The marking of the object is expressed only by the prepositional phrase. This construction, therefore, may be identified as 'accusative' syntax:

Accusative

<i>grǎšle 'əlef</i>	'He pulled him'
<i>grǎšle 'əlaf</i>	'He pulled her'
<i>grǎšle 'əlu</i>	'He pulled them'

When the direct object is a definite full nominal, the past base agrees with this so long as the nominal is in its direct form, without any object marker. This agreement is only distinguishable with fs. and pl. objects:

<i>gorǎke grǎšli</i>	'I pulled the man'
<i>baxtǎke gəršáli</i>	'I pulled the woman'
<i>bǎruxǎwali gəršíli</i>	'I pulled my friends'

Example from the text corpus:

- (5) *ja-qáme d-éa 'ay-bráta daáki hamrà| xa-šatá ga-Kursàn-yeli| xà yomá| 'ay-baxtí 'átá ya-xäetá| xiyáli.* 'Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)
- (6) *ga-dóka madrásá 'Aliáns tərşäle.* 'The Alliance built the school there.' (B:12)
- (7) *qúmex zəbnilan belāké.* 'We sold the houses.' (C:8)
- (8) *'át 'áy haštá wilàlox,| 'áy kúle pué xərjilox.* 'You have done this work, you have spent all this money.' (D:7)
- (9) *'éa qəryálu.* 'They read that.' (B:53)

The past base agrees also with an indefinite object with a specific referent that plays a prominent role in the immediately following discourse. Such nominals are typically marked by the indefinite particles *xa* or *xa dana*, when singular, and *čəkma*, when plural:

xa baxta gəršáli 'I pulled a certain woman'
čəkma 'ənše gəršili 'I pulled some women'

Examples from the text corpus:

- (10) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqəx| rába zərif,| rába 'ayztá,| mən-xanāwadə 'ayztá.* *familü rába 'ayzá-y| 'əxonəf 'ayzá.* 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)
- (11) *xá bratá mə'arəfi wilálu bəef^h kè| báška xlulà-č hól.* 'They introduced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry.' (D:17)
- (12) *čəkmá 'aksé ntenilan,| 'onyexáe píšen báqa yādgarì.* 'We took a few photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the event).' (A:29)
- (13) *xá xlulá rába mojläləl dəwqále baqáf tatāké.* 'The father arranged a very grand wedding for her.' (D:27)

If an indefinite object nominal does not have a referent that has prominence in the succeeding discourse, the base is in all cases in its neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object:

baxta nšəqli 'I kissed a woman'
raba 'ənše nšəqli 'I kissed many women'

This distinction between the status of indefinite objects is reflected by pairs such as the following:

<i>baxta gəwri</i>	‘I married’
<i>xa baxta gəwrali</i>	‘I married a certain woman’

In the first of these, without agreement of the base (*gəwri* < *gəwri* < *gəwrali*), the object is unspecified. The second construction, with agreement, would only be used if the speaker is referring to a specific woman who, typically, will be referred to in what follows.

A definite object nominal may optionally have the preposition *həl-* prefixed to it. This functions as a direct object marker. When the definite object has this explicit object marking, the past base is always in the neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object nominal:

<i>həl-gorāke grāšli</i>	‘I pulled the man’
<i>həl-baxtāke grāšli</i>	‘I pulled the woman’
<i>həl-bāruḡāwali grāšli</i>	‘I pulled my friends’

The object in such constructions typically has a human referent. Example from the text corpus:

- (14) *h̄itwa^l bronāké həl-bratāké la-xewāle ba-‘amr̄ē.^l* ‘Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life.’ (A:2)

9.13.3. Compound Verbal Forms

As described in §3.12. and §9.3.1., the transitive compound verbal form consisting of a resultative participle and copula is only available in constructions where the agent of the activity is 3rd person. The resultative participle and its copula enclitic agree with the referent that is the undergoer of the action or remains in the unmarked form with the 3ms copula (*gəřša-y*). The agreement patterns of the transitive resultative participle + copula phrase correspond to those of the transitive past base described in §3.20.2. As is the case with the unmarked *grāš-* form of the transitive past base, the unmarked *gəřša-y* form with the 3ms. copula either agrees specifically with a 3ms. undergoer or is used as a default neutral form that is not referentially bound to any specific undergoer referent.

As with the past base, the compound verbal forms can be used in ergative or accusative type constructions. In the ergative type of construction, the resultative participle + copula phrase agrees with a 3rd person undergoer. There is no coding of the 3rd person agent in the verbal phrase corresponding to the L-suffixes of the past base construction:

Ergative

<i>bāruḵāwali gərša-y</i>	‘My friends have pulled him’
<i>bāruḵāwali grāšte-ya</i>	‘My friends have pulled her’
<i>tati gəršen</i>	‘My father has pulled them’

Accusative type syntax can be identified in constructions where the pronominal object is an independent phrase that marks the direct object with a preposition. Here the compound verb always has the 3ms. form used neutrally, without agreeing with the undergoer. The marking of the object is expressed only by the prepositional phrase. The agent must be 3rd person but still has no coding on the verb. The undergoer, which in such constructions is not referentially bound to the compound verb, may be any person:

Accusative

<i>tati həl-d-o gərša-y</i> <i>tati gərša-y ’əlef</i>	‘My father has pulled him’
<i>brati həl-d-o gərša-y</i> <i>brati gərša-y ’əlef</i>	‘My daughter has pulled him’
<i>bāruḵāwali həl-d-o gərša-y</i> <i>bāruḵāwali gərša-y ’əlef</i>	‘My friends have pulled him’
<i>həl-d-oni gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əlu</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled them’
<i>həl-didox gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əlox</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled you (ms.)’
<i>həl-didax gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əlax</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled you (fs.)’
<i>həl-didāxun gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əlāxun</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled you (pl.)’
<i>həl-didi gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əli</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled me’
<i>həl-didan gərša-y</i> <i>gərša-y ’əlan</i>	‘He/she/they has/have pulled us’

Similarly when a verb has any other type of prepositional phrase as its complement, the compound verb always has the 3ms. form used neutrally, e.g. *dŏy b-* 'to touch':

<i>tati baef diya-y</i>	'My father has touched him'
<i>brati baef diya-y</i>	'My daughter has touched him'
<i>bǎruxǎwali baef diya-y</i>	'My friends have touched him'
<i>bau diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched them'
<i>baox diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched you (ms.)'
<i>baax diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched you (fs.)'
<i>baǎxun diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched you (pl.)'
<i>bai diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched me'
<i>baan diya-y</i>	'He/she/they has/have touched us'

When a verb that is treated as transitive does not have a specific object, the neutral 3ms. form of the compound verb is used. Since there is no coding of the agent in the verbal phrase, the neutral 3ms. form is used with all types of agent, e.g.

šhl 'to cough'

<i>tati šǎhla-y</i>	'My father has coughed'
<i>baxti šǎhla-y</i>	'My wife has coughed'
<i>bǎruxawali šǎhla-y</i>	'My friends have coughed'

ʼmr 'to say'

<i>tati mira-y</i>	'My father has said'
<i>baxti mira-y</i>	'My mother has said'
<i>bǎruxawali mira-y</i>	'My friends have said'

qry 'to study'

<i>broni qǎrya-y</i>	'My son has studied'
<i>brati qǎrya-y</i>	'My daughter has studied'
<i>bǎruxawali qǎrya-y</i>	'My friends have studied'

xlp 'to win'

<i>tati xǎlpa-y</i>	'My father has won'
<i>baxti xǎlpa-y</i>	'My mother has won'
<i>bǎruxawali xǎlpa-y</i>	'My friends have won'

mwwmy 'to swear'

<i>tati mumya-y</i>	‘My father has sworn’
<i>baxti mumya-y</i>	‘My mother has sworn’
<i>bärukawali mumya-y</i>	‘My friends have sworn’

When the direct object is a definite full nominal, the compound verb agrees with this so long as the nominal is in its direct form, without any object marker. This agreement is only distinguishable with fs. and pl. objects:

<i>tati goräke gərša-y</i>	‘My father has pulled the man’
<i>tati baxtäke gräšte-ya</i>	‘My father has pulled the woman’
<i>tati bärukawali gəršen</i>	‘My father has pulled my friends’

As with constructions with past base verbs, the participle also agrees with an indefinite object with a referent that has prominence in the following discourse. This typically occurs where the object is a human participant:

<i>tati xa baxta nšəqte-ya</i>	‘My father has kissed a certain woman’
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If the object is an indefinite full nominal that does not have prominence in the succeeding discourse, the compound form is in all cases in its neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object:

<i>tati baxta nšəqa-y</i>	‘My father has kissed a woman’
<i>tati raba ’ənše nšəqa-y</i>	‘My father has kissed many women’

Note the distinction between two constructions such as the following:

<i>tati baxta gəwra-y</i>	‘My father has married’
<i>tati xa baxta gəwšte-ya</i>	‘My father has married a certain woman’

If a definite object nominal is marked as the direct object by the object marker preposition *həl-*, the compound form is always in the neutral 3ms. form and does not agree with the object nominal:

<i>tati həl-goräke gərša-y</i>	‘My father has pulled the man’
<i>tati həl-baxtäke gərša-y</i>	‘My father has pulled the woman’
<i>tati həl-bärukawali gərša-y</i>	‘My father has pulled my friends’

The compound verb is in the neutral 3ms. form when it takes a clause as its object complement, as is seen in constructions with the verb *’by* ‘to want’:

<i>tati ’əbya-y he</i>	‘My father wanted to come’
<i>brati ’əbya-y hiya</i>	‘My daughter wanted to come’
<i>bärukawali ’əbya-y hen</i>	‘My friends wanted to come’

9.13.4. Direct Objects of Expressions with *fam-* ('to remember')

The syntax of constructions formed with the element *fam-* denoting 'remembering' require some attention. The referent corresponding to the grammatical subject in the corresponding English clause 'X remembers Y' is expressed by a pronominal suffix on the *fam-*. If the referent is a full nominal it is extraposed in initial position and resumed by a suffix. The referent corresponding to the English object is expressed by the personal reference of the copula enclitic, so long as this is 3rd person, e.g.

<i>famef-ye</i>	'He remembers him'
<i>tati famef-ye</i>	'My father remembers him'

<i>famef-ya</i>	'He remembers her'
<i>tati famef-ya</i>	'My father remembers her'

' <i>ana fami-ye</i>	'I remember him'
' <i>ana fami-ya</i>	'I remember her'
' <i>āt baxti famox-ya</i>	'You remember my wife'

If the referent corresponding to the English object is 1st or 2nd person, this is expressed by an independent pronominal phrase and the copula is in the neutral 3ms. form, e.g.

' <i>ana didox fami-ye</i>	'I remember you'
' <i>āt didi famox-ye</i>	'You remember me'

Parallel constructions expressing 'remembering' are used with the element *fəkr-* in place of *fam-*.

9.14. COMPARATIVE EXCURSUS

The types of constructions for the expression of the direct object that have been described in §9.13. are found in the neighbouring Jewish NENA dialects in Western Iran, such as Kerend, Bokan and Sāqəz.

In the Jewish dialect of Sulemaniyya in the adjacent region of North Eastern Iraq, the syntax of the direct object is essentially similar to that of J. Sanandaj in constructions with the past base (Khan 2004: 324-328) but there are differences in constructions with the compound verbal form (Khan 2004: 137-138). In J. Sulemaniyya, unlike in J. Sanandaj, the copula element of the compound form agrees with the agent rather than with the undergoer and so corresponds in syntactic position to the L-suffixes of the past

base inflection. There is, consequently, coding of the agent in the verbal phrase and, as with L-suffixes, this allows agents of any person to be expressed. The resultative participle agrees with a definite or pronominal undergoer, as in J. Sanandaj, but there is, in addition, a pronominal object suffix on the resultative participle exhibiting the same agreement:

tati gərš-ew-ye 'My father has pulled him'
 ʔana gərš-ew-yena 'I (m.) have pulled him'
 ʔat gərš-ew-yet 'You (ms.) have pulled him'

tati grəšt-aw-ye 'My father has pulled her'
 ʔana grəšt-aw-yena 'I (m.) have pulled her'
 ʔat grəšt-aw-yet 'You (ms.) have pulled her'

It would be expected that the resultative participle would also agree in number with a 3pl. pronominal object. When the 3pl. pronominal suffix is attached, however, the plural ending of the participle is elided and so is identical in form to the masculine singular form (*gərš-u* < *gərše + u*):

tati gərš-u-ye 'My father has pulled them'
 ʔana gərš-u-yena 'I (m.) have pulled them'
 ʔat gərš-u-yet 'You (ms.) have pulled them'

The participle is in the fs. form not only when the undergoer is fs. but also when the agent is fs., e.g.

baxti grəšt-ew-ya 'My wife has pulled him'
baxti grəšt-u-ya 'My wife has pulled them'

ʔana grəšt-ew-yan 'I (f.) have pulled him'
 ʔana grəšt-u-yan 'I (f.) have pulled them'

ʔat grəšt-ew-yat 'You (fs.) have pulled him'
 ʔat grəšt-u-yat 'You (fs.) have pulled them'

It can be seen that a fs. participle is always used when the agent is fs. irrespective of the gender or number of the undergoer. Agreement with a feminine singular subject, therefore, overrides agreement with the undergoer.

In general, therefore, the syntax of the compound construction in J. Sulemaniyya exhibits a greater degree of agent orientation than in J. Sanandaj, which is reflected by the agreement of the participle and copula with the agent. The undergoer orientation that is characteristic of J. Sanandaj has

not, however, been completely given up, in that there is some degree of agreement between the participle and the undergoer.

The Jewish dialect of Urmi in north-western Iran exhibits a syntax of the direct object that is typologically more distant still from J. Sanandaj. There are differences both in constructions with the past base and in compound verbal constructions.

The past base agrees with definite undergoers even when the undergoer is marked by an object marker in the form of the preposition *əl-* (Khan 2008a: 312-313). This coding on the verb of explicitly marked objects (*əl-d-o brata gəršāle*) can be considered to be a property of accusative syntax, e.g.

<i>dadi əl-o-brata gəršāle</i>	‘My father pulled that girl’
<i>dadi əl-une-naše gəršāle</i>	‘My father pulled those people’

The undergoer may also be expressed by object L-suffixes attached to the past base construction rather than by agreement of the past base (Khan 2008a: 152). This is a further manifestation of accusative syntax, e.g.

<i>dadi əl-o-brata grəšle-la</i>	‘My father pulled that girl’
<i>dadi əl-une-naše grəšle-lu</i>	‘My father pulled those people’

In constructions with compound verbal forms consisting of the resultative participle and the copula, the participle agrees only with the agent and never with the undergoer. Definite undergoers, furthermore, are marked on the verb with L-suffixes (Khan 2008a: 153), e.g.

<i>dadi əl-o-brata griš-e-lla</i>	‘My father has pulled that girl’
<i>dadi əl-une naše griš-e-llu</i>	‘My father has pulled those people’

<i>amti əl-o-brata grəšt-a-lla</i>	‘My aunt has pulled that girl’
<i>amti əl-une naše grəšt-a-llu</i>	‘My aunt has pulled those people’

These features reflect the fact that the compound verbal construction in J. Urmi has a completely accusative syntax.

9.15. THE DISTRIBUTION OF LONG S-SUFFIXES

The long variant of the 1pl. S-suffix *-exin* is used by informant B in the introductory clause of new sections of discourse, e.g.

- (1) *ʔātá kəxín baqá Lelangè.* | ‘Now we come to Purim.’ (B:52)
- (2) *ʔātá hiyéxín baqà | ħānukaè.* | ‘Now we have come to Hanukkah.’ (B:48)

9.16. THE INFINITIVE

9.16.1. Nominal Function

In various constructions the infinitive occupies the position of a nominal in the clause. These include the following.

9.16.1.1. Complement of a Preposition

This is most frequently attested where the infinitive is the complement of an expression of ‘beginning’ such as *šaru* ‘*wl ba-*’ ‘to make a start at, to begin to’ or *’ila dØy ba-*, *’ila hwl ba-*, *’ila ’wl* ‘to put a hand to, to begin’, e.g.

<i>šaru</i> <i>wile ba-’äxole</i>	‘He began to eat’
<i>’ila dile ba-gäroše</i>	‘He began to pull’
<i>’ila hiwle ba-čäqoe</i>	‘He began to dig’

In (1) from the text corpus the preposition *ba-* is omitted before the infinitive *bäxoe*:

- (1) *’li wili bäxoè*.¹ ‘I began to cry.’ (C:4)

If there is a direct object nominal, this is usually placed between the preposition and the infinitive, in conformity with the normal placement of objects before the verb in clauses (§10.4.1.1.):

<i>šaru</i> <i>wili ba-mewa ’axole</i>	‘I began to eat fruit’
<i>’ila hiwli ba-xola gäroše</i>	‘I began to pull the rope’

The object is occasionally placed after the infinitive. This occurs in the same conditions as the object constituent is postposed after a finite verb (§10.4.1.2.). In (2) the object expresses a newly introduced referent:

- (2) *šarú* *wilu ba-yälopé hulaulà-u* *yälopé färansà-u* *’abri*,¹ *färsi*.¹ ‘They began to learn Judaism and to learn French, Hebrew and Persian’ (B:12)

In (3) the postposed object is definite and the clause is pragmatically bound to what precedes in that it expresses an event that takes place in the spatio-temporal frame set by what precedes:

- (3) *bäraxà kmärwa* *nišán-e s^wkäke mätiwa* *g-è-t^wka s^wká däeni-ó* ... *’o-waxtära* *bəqätəf-o* *šarú* *koléxwa ba-tärošé s^wkäkè*.¹ ‘He (the rabbi) would say a blessing, mark out (the place) of the booth and they would place the booth in that place ... Then, in the morning, we

would begin to make the booth (in the place marked by the rabbi).’ (B:76)

Prepositional phrases expressing pronominal objects are placed in the same position as they are relative to a finite verb, either before or after the infinitive, e.g.

<i>ʿila dili ba-gäroše ʿalef</i>	‘I began to pull him’
<i>ʿila dili ba-ʿalef gäroše</i>	‘I began to pull him’
<i>ʿila dili ba-həl-d-o gäroše</i>	‘I began to pull him’
<i>ʿila dili ba-didox gäroše</i>	‘I began to pull you (ms.)’
<i>ʿila dile ba-didi gäroše</i>	‘He began to pull me’

A pronominal object may be expressed by pronominal suffixes of the series that is attached to nouns and prepositions, e.g.

<i>ʿila dili ba-gärošef</i>	‘I began to pull him’
<i>ʿila dili ba-gärošaf</i>	‘I began to pull her’
<i>ʿila dili ba-gärošox</i>	‘I began to pull you (ms.)’
<i>ʿila dile ba-gäroši</i>	‘He began to pull me’

9.16.1.2. Complement of a Nominal

The infinitive may be a complement of a preceding nominal in an annexation relationship. This is found in (1), in which the infinitive expresses a transitive event with a direct object constituent placed before it:

- (1) *ʿaná haṣšälá-e ʿára tärošè líti-u!* ‘I do not have the patience to build (on) the land.’ (C:6)

Note also the construction in (2), in which the infinitive is the complement of the adjective *ḥärik* ‘busy’:

- (2) *ʿo-tré ḥäriké šyakà-yelu!* ‘The two of them were busy wrestling.’

9.16.1.3. Components in Copula or Existential Clauses

In such constructions, the infinitive is treated as either masculine or feminine in gender. Nominals that are the complement of the infinitive are placed before it, e.g.

- (1) *ʿéa ʿilá dwaqà-yela!* ‘This was “the joining of hands.”’ (A:35)
- (2) *ʿéa ḥämám zalù-yele!* ‘That was (the custom of) their going to the baths.’ (A:38)

- (3) *qála miḷá šāmoé maṣwà hité.*¹ ‘To hear the cry (of the baby) at circumcision had (the status of) a good deed (= It was a good deed to ...).’ (A:75)

9.16.2. Verbal Functions

9.16.2.1. Placement Before a Finite Verb

The infinitive may be placed before a realis present base form of the same verb to reinforce the function of the verb in some way. This strategy of ‘heavy coding’ is often used when the verbal form has a progressive function (§9.2.1.2.), e.g.

<i>šātoe šātena</i>	‘I am drinking’
<i>’āroqe ’ārəqna</i>	‘I am running’
<i>’wara ’or</i>	‘He is entering’
<i>čyara čerex</i>	‘We are going around’
<i>šāhole šāhəl</i>	‘He is coughing’
<i>kalba nwaxa nox</i>	‘The dog is barking’
<i>mae dālope dalpi</i>	‘Water is leaking’
<i>zboti ’āroe ’arya</i>	‘My finger is freezing’

When the present base verbal form has the realis prefixed particle *k-/g-*, this particle is attached also to the infinitive, e.g.

<i>kxole kəxna</i>	‘I am eating’
<i>kmore kəmna</i>	‘I am saying’
<i>gzala gezna</i>	‘I am going’
<i>kyaa kena</i>	‘I am coming’

The heavy coding resulting from the combination of an infinitive with a finite verb may also be used to express some kind of discourse prominence. This is the case in (1) from the text corpus where it is combined with a present base verb form that is used with habitual aspect. Its purpose is to draw particular attention to the merriment of the neighbours, which contrasts with the boring life style of the speaker’s husband. Note that the nuclear stress of the intonation group is placed on the infinitive:

- (1) *xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šāqól báqa yaləf-u¹ g-ay-pút dāəl naqòle naqlí baqəf.*¹ *’àt ma-kolét?*¹ ‘He buys a little bread and cheese for his children. He drums on the tin and they dance to it. What do you do?’ (A:102)

9.16.2.2. Placement After a Finite Verb

An infinitive may be placed after a finite verb to modify the event expressed by the verb in some way. In such cases the infinitive is typically from a different verbal root. It may elaborate on the event by expressing other activities that were circumstantial to it, as in (1):

- (1) *ga-dóka našé yatwìwa*¹ *'áraq šǎtoè-u*¹ *mašrúb šǎtoè-u*¹ 'People would sit there, drinking arak, drinking drink.' (B:32)

It is sometimes used to express the purpose of an action, especially that of a verb of movement, e.g.

- (2) *'áṣar kenwa-ò*¹ *'áraq šǎtoè-u*¹ *kéf walà*¹ *tá geziwa-ó belà*¹ 'In the evening they would come back in order to drink arak and make merry, until (the time came for them) to go back home.' (B:43)

The purpose function may be explicitly marked by a subordinating particle, e.g.

- (3) *zíl ta-čáy šǎtoè*¹ 'He went to drink tea.'

9.17. RESULTATIVE PARTICIPLES IN ADVERBIAL PHRASES

The resultative participle is sometimes used in adverbial phrases that can be interpreted as reduced predications, such as in (1):

- (1) *'ay-našè*¹ *xá-čəda pīle m-qàmaf*¹ *xá-čəda pīle m-bàraf*¹ *ba-dohól-u zorná lablìwala be-xətnà*¹ 'The people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some having placed themselves (literally: fallen) in front of her and some having placed themselves behind her.' (A:46)

10. THE CLAUSE

10.1 THE COPULA CLAUSE

10.1.1. Preliminary Remarks

The present and past copulas are placed after the predicate of the clause. They are used to form ascriptive and equative clauses. Ascriptive clauses ascribe a certain property to the referent of the subject. The property may be a quality, membership of a class or a spatio-temporal location. Equative clauses identify the referent of one expression with the referent of another.

In ascriptive clauses the copula is regularly placed after the item that expresses the property thus marking it as the predicate.

- (1) *šwawán tajàr-ye.*! ‘Our neighbour is a merchant.’
- (2) *šwawán kpinà-y.*! ‘Our neighbour is hungry.’
- (3) *šwawán ga-belà-y.*! ‘Our neighbour is in the house.’

This syntax of ascriptive copula clauses is invariable and is not affected by changes in the information structure of the clause. The subject of an ascriptive clause typically expresses given information whereas the property that is ascribed to it typically expresses new information. This is the case in the vast majority of such clauses that are attested in the text corpus. The focus of new information is signalled by the nuclear stress, which is typically placed on the item expressing the property. If the property is expressed by a phrase, the nuclear stress is placed on the last item of the phrase.

In some contexts, however, ascriptive copula clauses may have a different information structure, whereby the subject item is the focus of new information and the item expressing the property expresses given information. In such cases the copula remains in its position after the property item. The syntactic structure of the clause, therefore, does not change and from a syntactic point of view the property item should still be regarded as the

predicate. The nuclear stress, however, is placed on the subject rather than on the predicate. This is demonstrated by clauses in which the subject is a contrastive focus. In such cases the speaker wishes to correct a misunderstanding by strongly asserting that one particular referent should be selected for the role in question rather than the one currently entertained by the hearer, e.g.

- (4) A: *broní belà-y?* B: *bratòx belá-ya,¹ bronóx belá là-y.¹* 'A: Is my son at home? B: *Your daughter* is at home, your son is not at home.'
- (5) A: *bronóx jəhyà-y?¹* B: *bratì jhité-ya,¹ broní jəhyá là-y.¹* 'A: Is your son tired? B: *My daughter* is tired, but my son is not tired.'
- (6) A: *'át kpínèt?* B: *broní kpíná-y.¹ 'aná kpíná lèn.¹* 'A: Are you hungry? B: *My son* is hungry. I am not hungry.'
- (7) A: *tatóx tajər-ye?¹* B: *mamì tajər-ye¹ lá tatì.¹* 'A: Is your father a merchant? B: *My uncle* is a merchant, not my father.'

The movement of the nuclear stress onto the subject is attested in the text corpus in listing constructions such as (8), in which the predicate is repeated but the subject is a newly introduced referent:

- (8) *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx¹ rába zəríf,¹ rába 'ayztà,¹ mən-xanāwadè 'ayztá.¹ familù rába 'ayzá-y¹ 'ăxonàf 'ayzá.¹* 'I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very good, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good.' (A:6)

These remarks apply also to the structure of clauses with compound verbal forms containing a copula combined with a resultative participle (*smixa-y*, *gərša-y*). The verbal form constitutes the predicate and the copula remains bonded to the participle or infinitive, whatever the information structure of the clause:

- (9) A: *broní hiyà-y?¹* B: *là,¹ tatòx hiyá-y,¹ bronóx là hiyá-y.¹* 'A: Has my son come? B: No, *your father* has come, but your son has not come.'
- (10) A: *šwawa broní xiyá-y?¹* B: *là,¹ 'o tatòx xiyá-y,¹ bronóx là xiyá-y.¹* 'A: Has the neighbour seen my son? B: No, he has seen *your father*, but has not seen your son.'

- (11) A: *xāmušyé miyèn?*^l B: *bāširè miyén,*^l *xāmušyé là.*^l ‘A: Has he brought the apples? B: He has brought the grapes but not the apples.’⁸

When a copula clause is equative, on the other hand, the item that supplies the new information is regularly made the predicate by placing the copula after it. The nuclear stress is always placed on the predicate:

- (12) A: *’o-gorá mǎni-ye?*^l B: *’o-gorá šwawàn-ye.*^l ‘A: Who is that man? B: That man is *our neighbour*.’
- (13) A: *hóle báqa šwawàn!*^l B: *šwawǎxún mǎni-ye?*^l A: *šwawán ’o-gorà-y.*^l ‘A: Give it to our neighbour. B: Who is your neighbour? A: Our neighbour is *that man*.’

The remarks that have been made concerning the syntax of clauses containing the positive copula apply also to clauses which contain the negative copula or a form of the verb *hwy* ‘to be’.

10.1.2. Basic Predicate Nexus

The simplest predicate consists of *predicate* + *copula/hwy*. The clause is uttered in a singled intonation group with the nuclear stress falling on the last item of the predicate:

- (1) *hulàa-yele.*^l ‘He was a Jew.’ (A:74)
- (2) *tajèr-yele.*^l ‘He was a merchant.’ (A:100)
- (3) *rāba razì-yele.*^l ‘He was very content.’ (A:99)
- (4) *tré xǎlasyè-yelan.*^l ‘We were two sisters.’ (A:91)
- (5) *yalè-yelan.*^l ‘We were children.’ (B:23)
- (6) *ga-’áhra didán ’ǎxá là-yele.*^l ‘In our town it was not like that.’ (A:80)

⁸ This immovability of the copula component in ascriptive predicates and compound verbal forms differs from what is found in many NENA dialects, in which the copula is moved and placed on the item that is the focus of new information. See Khan (2002a: 396–402) and Khan (2008b: 677–691, 824–827) for descriptions of the situation in the Christian dialects of Qaraqosh and Barwar respectively.

If the predicate of a copula clause with an impersonal grammatical subject is a 1st or 2nd person independent pronoun, the copula agrees with it in person, gender and number: *ʼanéna* ‘It is me’, *ʼát-yet* ‘It is you.’

10.1.3. Subject Constituents

If the subject of the clause is referred to by a nominal or independent pronoun, it is generally placed before the predicate. In most cases the subject is uttered in the same intonation group as the predicate and the nuclear stress is on the final element of the predicate:

- (1) *ʼǎxonáf xa-duktàr-ye.* | ‘Her brother is a doctor.’ (A:6)
- (2) *šámá ʼǎxonáf Xanàkè-yele.* | ‘His name was Xanàke.’ (A:14)
- (3) *rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela.* | ‘The custom there was like this.’ (A:9)
- (4) *zəndəgí rába rába básimà-yele.* | ‘Life was very very pleasant.’ (A:55)
- (5) *ʼéa bróna Jǎhǎn-ye.* | ‘That is the son of Jǎhǎn.’ (A:17)
- (6) *ʼonyexáe šiʼà-yelu.* | ‘They were Shiʼite.’ (A:79)
- (7) *ʼé ʼàa-y?* | ‘Is that him?’ (D:14)
- (8) *ʼaná ʼəna.* | ‘I am he.’ (D:14)

The subject is given nuclear stress when the speaker wishes to give it particular prominence. In (9) the subject has the nuclear stress since it is newly introduced and is more informative than the remainder of the clause, which is a repeated predicate frame:

- (9) *familù rába ʼayzá-y.* | ‘Their family is very good.’ (A:6)

Nuclear stress is put on demonstrative elements to strengthen the anaphoric connection with what precedes, without any contrastive force. This is found particularly in clauses that conclude a discourse section such as (10):

- (10) *ʼàa moħkám-yela.* | ‘That was strong.’ (B:56)

10.1.4. Postposing of Subject Constituent

The subject nominal in a predication is occasionally placed after the predicate resulting in the order *predicate—copula/hwy—subject*. In the attested examples the postposed subject has a referent that has been evoked previously or is at least anchored to a previously evoked referent by means of a pronominal suffix. The construction typically occurs when there is some

type of close semantic connection between the clause and what precedes. The construction binds the clause to what precedes, generally as an evaluative or supporting supplement. In (1), for example, the clause supplies information that is supplementary to the main point that the speaker is making in the preceding clause, viz. that the rooms in Sanandaj were high, by specifying how high they were. In (2) and (3) the postposition of the independent demonstrative pronominal subject occurs in clauses that are final tags at the end of a section of discourse:

- (1) *'o-waxtára baté mangal-lăxá kəryé là-yelu. | baté ntòe-yelu. | 'ay- 'otaqà | 'əqrá koštá là-yela. | tre-'əqrà-yela 'otaqáf. |* 'At that time houses were not low like here. Houses were high. The room there was not as low as this. A room there (literally: its room) was twice (the height).' (A:12)
- (2) *xá provèrb-yele 'éa. |* 'That was a proverb.' (B:65)
- (3) *ba-'ənyaxáe 'ălètun. | 'ənyaxàe | masòret-yen. | ga-hălxá-č kliwà-y 'éa. |* 'You should know these things. These things are tradition. It is also written in the *halakha*.' (B:73)

10.1.5. Preposing of Predicate

On some rare occasions the predicate may be preposed before the subject constituent with the copula remaining at the end of the clause after the subject. This is used to give the copula particular prominence. In (1) the importance of the prominent predicate 'two days (duration)' is reflected by the fact that it is the centre of concern in the succeeding discourse:

- (1) *trè-yome 'elá-yela, | yomá 'ăwà!-u | yomá duwóm gezáxwa bâte làxle | baqà | 'ela-brixulà. |* 'The festival was two days, the first day and the second day we would go to each other's houses to give festival blessings.' (B:78)

In (2) prominence is given to an anaphoric adverbial predicate to bind it more tightly with what precedes:

- (2) *ga-dokà hošá'na rabbá-yela. |* 'Hoshana Rabba was (held) there.' (B:80)

10.1.6. Postposing of Predicate

The predicate is occasionally placed after the irrealis *gărăš* form of the verb *hwy* in deontic constructions, e.g.

- (1) *ʔéla-u reš-šatóx háwén brixè.*¹ ‘May your festival and New Year be blessed.’ (B:33)
- (2) *ʔárz háwé ba-xzəmtòx.*¹ ‘May a petition be for your service (= Let me tell you).’ (A:70)

10.1.7. Splitting of Copula Clause

When the predicate is a long phrase, the copula is placed after the head of the phrase rather than at the end. This is the case in (1) and (2), where it occurs on the head of a relative phrase:

- (1) *ʔé hár ʔó broná káčalākéle daʔwātàn wílwale?*¹ ‘Is this the same bald boy who invited us?’ (D:14)
- (2) *čarčí ʔò-yele¹ ya-ʔaspá¹ mātúwa réša xmarà¹ rešá susi¹ maxšuşán par-čanè,¹ lablíwalu ga-malāwà¹ zabnìwalu.*¹ ‘A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to sell them.’ (A:70)

10.1.8. Omission of Copula

The copula is omitted in a number of contexts. Omission occurs, for example, in clauses that are closely bound semantically with a copula predication in an adjacent clause with a parallel structure, e.g.

- (1) *bšəlmané trè jorén.*¹ *xá šíʔá xá sunni-ye.*¹ ‘Muslims are of two kinds, one is Shiʔite and the other Sunni.’ (A:77)
- (2) *familù rába ʔayzá-y¹ ʔəxonəf ʔayzá.*¹ ‘Their family is very good. Her brother is good.’ (A:6)

The copula is omitted in clauses that express a situation that is circumstantial to an event, e.g.

- (3) *hulàe¹ gežíwa qāmeḥ kúle taqnú har-tá ləxà.*¹ ‘Jews went before him, all with their beards down to here.’ (B:81)

The clauses in (4)–(6) are closely bound to what precedes in that they supply background comments on what precedes rather than advancing the discourse:

- (4) *ʔéa ʔəwələḥ.*¹ ‘This is its first (stage).’ (A:57)
- (5) *ʔéa-č mawzó^{c-e} pəsrà.*¹ ‘This is the subject of meat.’ (B:25)

- (6) 'éa 'èa. | 'That is that (B:66)

The copula is omitted also in exclamatory predicates, e.g.

- (7) 'àt' b-áy kúle daraiòx' xor-'át hãmešá ħãrĭk-e d-èa! | 'You, with all your property, you are always busy with this!' (A:102)

10.1.9. Existential Function of the Copula and *hwy*

The copula or the verb *hwy* may be used to express the existence of a newly introduced referent, e.g.

- (1) txelâf' xá-dana mangâĭ-yela. | 'Under it there was a brazier.' (A:90)
- (2) xa-'astáxr ga-ħafšân-yela. | 'There was a pool in our courtyard.' (C:8)
- (3) bar-ħãnabandán xlulâ-yela. | 'After the ħãnabandan the wedding took place (literally: was).' (A:42)
- (4) hãmešá xa-čacâw ba-rešâf-yele! yá lâččgâ ba-rešâf-yela. | 'There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head.' (A:4)
- (5) qardê-č-yela. | 'It was also cold (literally: there was cold).' (A:89)
- (6) kúle náše ħáz kolíwale belù' 'ilané bãširè ħãwé. | 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)
- (7) Ĥãji 'Ishâq-yele lâ-'iléf. | 'Ĥãji 'Ishâq was next to him.' (B:84)

10.1.10. Interrogative Predicates

When the predicate is an interrogative particle, the copula or the verb *hwy* is placed immediately after this particle, in accordance with the regular syntax of copula clauses. If the subject of the clause is a nominal or independent pronoun, it is normally placed before the predicate phrase, e.g.

- (1) 'áy mà-ye? | 'What is this?' (B:81)
- (2) ħaštóx mà-ya? | 'What is your work?' (D:19)
- (3) xwán mà-yele? | 'What was a "table"?' (A:9)
- (4) ħãmám-e turkí mà-jor-ila? | 'What is a Turkish bath like?' (A:37)
- (5) hulaé Kurdəstân' čăkmà-yelu? | 'How many were the Jews of Kurdistan?' (B:1)

- (6) *bǎraxá ma-jòr-yela?*¹ ‘How was the blessing? (= What was the blessing like?)’ (B:67)

10.2. PREDICATIVE COMPLEMENTS OF THE VERB *xØr*

The predicative complement of *xØr* when used in the sense of ‘to become’ or suppletive to the verb *hwy* (§9.9.) is generally placed before the verb if it is not introduced by a preposition, e.g.

- (1) *kménwala ga-txéla-ʔaqlù¹ ke-ʔaqlú šǎf xǎri.*¹ ‘They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth.’ (A:38)
- (2) *ʔǎgar ʔay-mastá dǎrenaf-ó tʷká nošǎf¹ najàs xǎrá.*¹ ‘If I pour this yoghurt back into its container (literally: its place), it will become unclean.’ (A:80)
- (3) *rába xoš-ǰǎl xǎrǎxwa-u¹* ‘We became very happy.’ (B:33)

In (4) the complement is placed after the verb. The referent of the complement has already been introduced in the preceding context and the clause is closely bound to what precedes in that it functions as a supplementary tag to the point that is made, contrasting the situation that exists nowadays:

- (4) *našé rába táqalà lá dǎénwa,¹ rába hárs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè.*¹ *ʔátá kúle ‘olám xirté-ya puḷè.*¹ ‘People (then) did not exert themselves. They did not have much yearning for money. Now the whole world has become money.’ (A:55)

If the complement of *xØr* is a prepositional phrase, it is the normal to place it after the verb, e.g.

- (5) *ʔo-pəsrá qǎlènwale¹ xǎrwa ba-čokè.*¹ ‘They would fry meat and it would become *čoke*.’ (A:86)
- (6) *xirá-y ba-ʔafsàr.*¹ ‘He has become an officer.’ (A:17)

10.3. CLAUSES WITH THE EXISTENTIAL PARTICLES

10.3.1. Existential Clauses

The nominal complement of the existential particles (*hit*, *hitwa*, *lit*, *litwa*), i.e. the term whose existence is being asserted, is normally placed before the particle. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the nominal complement.

If this is a phrase, the nuclear stress falls on the last item of the phrase. In the text corpus the majority of examples contain the past forms of the particle:

- (1) *šeré màe-hitwa.*¹ ‘There were water taps.’ (A:37)
- (2) *ṭābāqé riwè hitwa.*¹ ‘There were big trays.’ (A:33)
- (3) *ga-dokà¹ kúl yomá pəsà-hitwa.*¹ ‘There, every day there was meat.’ (A:73)
- (4) *māni hitwa?¹ xa-gorà hitwá.*¹ ‘Who was there? There was a man.’ (A:98)
- (5) *’o-waxtára mašiné ’əqrá litwa.*¹ ‘At that time there were not so many cars.’ (A:16)
- (6) *heštàn¹ wəskí rába litwa.*¹ ‘There was not yet much whisky.’ (A:11)

A complement nominal consisting of a head and a modifier may be split by placing the existential particle immediately after the head, especially when the modifier is an attributive prepositional phrase or a relative clause, e.g.

- (7) *guranì-hitwa b-šamá ḥānabandàn.*¹ ‘There was a song called ḥānabandan.’ (A:41)
- (8) *bāšīre rāba hitwa ga-ḥáwša našé.*¹ ‘There were many grapes in the courtyard of people.’ (A:72)
- (9) *’o-waxtára xor-ḥāmām litwa ga-belá.*¹ ‘At that time there was still no bathroom in the house.’ (A:36)
- (10) *bīš bašór náše hitwa šomá la-doqìwa.*¹ ‘There were only very few people who did not fast.’ (B:44)

The existential particle may take a following proposition as its complement. In such constructions it has the sense of ‘sometimes’ (literally: ‘there are/were cases of), e.g.

- (11) *hitwa xá-šata ṭùl gāršwa ké¹ gbén xlulà holí.*¹ ‘Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.’ (A:30)
- (12) *hitwa¹ bronáké həl-bratáké la-xewále ba-’amrèf.*¹ ‘Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life.’ (A:2)

10.3.2. Possessive Constructions

Possession is expressed by existential constructions in which a pronominal suffix of the L-series is attached to the existential particle (§3.23.). As in other existential constructions, the nominal complement is normally placed before the particle with the nuclear stress on the nominal:

- (1) *tʰkané ràba hítwale.* | ‘He had many shops.’ (A:7)
- (2) *xá ʾambár rába rabtà hítwale.* | ‘He had a big warehouse.’ (A:7)
- (3) *pəštì hítwalan.* | ‘We had a back-support.’ (A:56)
- (4) *sanʾát lītwalu.* | ‘They did not a craft.’ (B:4)

On some occasions the nominal is split, the particle being placed after the head noun and a modifier postposed after the particle, e.g.

- (5) *xa-ʿədə hitwalán ké kəmriwalu čarčì.* | ‘We had a few who were called “peddlers.”’ (A:70)
- (6) *qāšāb hítwalan b-šəmə ʾAziz-Xān.* | ‘We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan.’ (A:74)

10.4. VERBAL CLAUSES

The term verbal clause refers to clauses with a predicate that contains a finite verb. They include clauses with inflected verbs derived from the past and present bases and also compound verbal forms, which consist of a resultative participle combined with a copula or a form of the verb *hwy*. The compound verbal forms behave in the same way as other forms of finite verbs with regard to the order of components in the clause, which is the main concern of this section.

10.4.1. Direct Object Constituent

10.4.1.1. Object—Verb

The normal position for the placement of a direct object constituent is before the verb. The nuclear stress is generally placed on the object if it is indefinite with a newly introduced referent:

- (1) *ləbās-e dawreš lóšwa.* | ‘He would wear clothes of a beggar.’ (A:108)

- (2) *mastà holí.*¹ ‘Give me yoghurt!’ (A:79)
- (3) *gáef širìn mǎtíwa,*¹ *lábàs mǎtíwa,*¹ *jǎlé ‘ayzè mǎtíwa.*¹ ‘They put sweets in it, they put clothes in it, they put fine clothes in it.’ (A:9)
- (4) *xa-čǎy šǎténwa-u*¹ *xánči ‘aràq šǎténwa.*¹ ‘They drank tea and they drank some arak.’ (A:10)

If the object constituent is definite and refers to a referent that has been introduced in the preceding discourse, the nuclear stress is generally placed on the verb, e.g.

- (5) *hǎmamǎké mašxniwalà.*¹ ‘They used to heat the bath.’ (A:37)
- (6) *lǎxmǎké kolawalè-o.*¹ ‘She opened out the bread (dough).’ (A:66)
- (7) *xwanǎké kmenwalà-u*¹ ‘They delivered the table.’ (A:11)
- (8) *xálef kxǎlwalè.*¹ ‘He used to eat his food.’ (A:101)

In phrasal verbs (§3.19.) the nominal object element is always placed before the verbal element, e.g. *da‘wat kol* ‘He invites’. If a phrasal verb contains a direct object nominal complement it never separates the components of the phrasal verb. It is normally placed before the phrasal verb, as is the case with the objects of non-phrasal verbs, e.g.

- (9) *rába náše da‘wàt kolíwa.*¹ ‘They invited many people.’ (A:75)

10.4.1.2. Verb—Object

Occasionally an object constituent is placed after the verb. This construction is sometimes used to give prominence to an indefinite noun with a newly introduced referent that plays a role in the ensuing discourse, e.g.

- (1) *rásm d-èele*¹ *‘afsǎrè*¹ *‘artèš*¹ *rakwíwa susi.*¹ ‘It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse.’ (A:15)
- (2) *kménwa xà nǎfár.*¹ ‘They brought somebody.’ (B:17)

An object is also postposed after the verb when its referent is bound anaphorically to the preceding discourse, either by explicit mention or by association. The construction in this case is used in clauses that are closely connected in some way to what precedes. In (3), for example, the acts of going up to the people and listening to what they say are presented as aspects of the same overall event and not independent events:

- (3) *gezálwa mäsälán xá-^əda našé ke-ga-xá meydán smixèn^l xábra ħəqèn,^l mäsílwa xabrù.^l* ‘He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square speaking and listening to what they said.’ (A:109)

In (4) and (5) the construction with a postposed object is used in a clause that recapitulates the content of what precedes rather than advancing the discourse:

- (4) *kwálwale taħwíl-e nánawakâr.^l ’ó yá ləxmà kolawà-o,^l ’ó yá ləxmāké kolawale-ò,^l kwálwale taħwíl-e d-óa dána danà.^l ’ó-č kolawale-ò^l ba-gerà.^l ba-géra kolawale-ó ləxmākè.^l* ‘He handed it (the dough) over to the baker, the woman who opened out the bread (dough), the woman who opened out the bread (dough)—he delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin. She opened the bread out with a rolling-pin.’ (B:20)
- (5) *ba-’aqle ’áy jəlé ’účlu.^l ’účlu ’e-jəlkè,^l ’aná-č ’asrànunu.^l* ‘Trample the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out.’ (C:11)

A similar function can be identified in (6), in which the verb—object clause *méla bronākè^l* recapitulates the content of the preceding verb:

- (6) *míru mà kól?^l míra ga-xá t^wká xa-ħaştà kól-u^l rába broní ’ayzà-y^l rába ta’rifəf hiwlá-u^l míru gbé hamyáte xəxile.^l ləbla-u^l méla bronākè.^l* ‘They said “What does he do?” She said “He works in a certain place. My son is very good.” She described him in glowing terms. They said “You must bring him for us to see.” She took him. She brought the boy.’ (D:25)

In (7) and (8) the clauses with the postposed object offer explanatory comments on what precedes:

- (7) *ləxmá huláa xùl^l báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxəl.^l ’át kəlox^l ħələl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ’axlét xalà.^l* ‘Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig. You can, it is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew.’ (B:65)
- (8) *’ó-waxtára mangól ləxá là-yela,^l har-nəfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šəqəl,^l čún Kurdəstán litwa gáaf.^l mən-Taràn šəriwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv.^l* ‘At that time it was not like here, whereby everybody buys an etrog and a palm frond, since there were none (of these) in

Kurdistan. They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran.’
(B:80)

In (9) the effect of pragmatically binding the final clause to what precedes is to force the hearer to interpret the event of the selling of the property against the background of the description of the prosperity described in the clauses that come before it. This results in a concessive type of meaning:

- (9) *ba-’əlhá xà zəndəgî hîtwalan ga-’Irân.* | *ba-’əlhà xə-’əstáxr ga-’əfšàn-yela.* | *tré karmalè-yelu.* | *háli hár danù hamrána čəkmàl ’əlhá-hiwula gáu.* | *šóa tmányə ’otaqè-hîtwalan.* | *qímex zəbnîlan belâké.* | ‘Indeed, we had a (good) life in Iran. Indeed, there was a pool in our courtyard. There were two vineyards. (You should) understand, in each of them, let me say, there was so much divinely given produce. We had seven or eight rooms. (Despite this) we sold all the properties.’(C:8)

10.4.1.3. Double Objects

When a verb takes two direct object complements, one of these is generally placed after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *pyaľáké zmáťle mæ.* | ‘He filled the glass with water.’
 (2) *markwíwala həl-d-ó susi.* | ‘They would cause her to mount the horse’. (A:46)
 (3) *’áy baxtá-u ’áy goràl bəxəli lablíwa həl-d-áy góra xét* ‘The woman and man envied the other man.’ (A:103)
 (4) *koliwala xá ’otáqa həsabi-u.* | ‘They would make it into a proper room.’ (B:76)

10.4.1.4. Independent Object Pronouns

A pronominal object of a present base verb may be expressed either by the light coding of a pronominal suffix or by the heavy coding of an independent pronominal phrase:

Light coding	Heavy coding	
<i>xæle</i>	<i>həl-d-o xæ</i>	‘He sees him’
<i>xælox</i>	<i>həl-didox xæ</i>	‘He sees you’
<i>xæli</i>	<i>həl-didi xæ</i>	‘He sees me’

In some cases the independent pronominal object phrase is a narrow focus, either contrastive or inclusive, and bears a nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) *nāšəqñawale-u*¹ *ʔó-č diđi nāšəqñawá-u*¹ ‘I would kiss him and he would kiss me.’ (B:33)
- (2) *ʔána diđi-č qaṭlǐ*¹ ‘They will kill me also.’ (C:9)
- (3) *ʔána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xān*¹ *tabrǐk kəmnáwa baqəf*¹ ... *dubára ʔò-č šárwa báqa diđi d-əa*¹ ‘Then I would send (some dried fruit) to the house of Daryuš-khan and convey to him good wishes ... then he also would send to me that (= the same, i.e. dried fruit).’ (B:50–51)

In some cases where the independent object phrase occurs there is no contrastive focus and the motivation to use it is to function as end-weighting to mark closure in a sequence of closely connected clauses. In (4) the two clauses in the sequence express aspects of a single event, e.g.

- (4) *susyǎké mən-sarḃāzḃanə kméwale qam-tǎrə*¹ *həl-diđi markùwa*¹ ‘He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on it).’ (A:16)

In (5) the final clause is a prominent climactic statement:

- (5) *dàyka*¹ *ʔát nōšax hazər hulá*¹ *jələ ʔayzé-č xùt*¹ *jələ ʔayzé hǎwèlax*¹ *kùle ʔāšər diđán daʔwət kolǐ*¹ ‘Mother, prepare yourself, sew fine clothes, get some fine clothes, they will invite us every evening.’ (D:6)

10.4.2. Subject Constituent

10.4.2.1. Subject—(Object)—Verb

If the clause has a subject nominal constituent, this is normally placed before the verb and before a direct object nominal:

- (1) *daǎkí híya Tarān*¹ ‘My mother came to Tehran.’ (A:5)
- (2) *kaldǎké hǎmēša rēšaf ksèwala*¹ ‘The bride had always covered her head.’ (A:3)
- (3) *yaléf naqlǐwa-u*¹ *baxtéf naqlǎwa-u*¹ ‘His children danced and his wife danced.’ (A:99)

- (4) *bronǎké rəwyà-y,¹ bratǎké rwitè-ya-u¹* ‘The boy has grown-up, the girl has grown-up.’ (A:31)
- (5) *tatóx Məsyúr Basán kǎele-ò?¹* ‘Does your father know Monsieur Basan?’ (B:60)

The nuclear stress is placed on the subject if the speaker wishes to give it particular focus, as in (6), where the subject is given contrastive focus:

- (6) *hulaà lá kǎewa.¹* ‘A Jew (as opposed to a Muslim) did not know.’ (B:20)

The subject nominal is sometimes separated from the rest of the clause by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (7) *ʔay-bronà¹ həl-d-áy bratá gbè.¹* ‘The boy loves the girl.’ (A:18)
- (8) *xá-ʔda blanè¹ smìxiwa.¹* ‘A few girls were standing (there).’ (A:12)

10.4.2.2. Object—Subject—Verb

The subject is occasionally placed after the object constituent. This construction may be used to put particular focus on the subject referent, in contexts such as (1) and (2). Here the remainder of the proposition is presupposed to be known but the identity of the subject referent in the proposition is new information:

- (1) *ʔéa hulàe trǎsté-ya.¹* ‘The Jews made this.’ (B:83)
- (2) *ʔé maşşae¹ baxtá máre belǎkè,¹ yá ʔo-baxtá-e laxmǎkè kolawale-ó,¹ tarşàwalu.¹* ‘The mistress of the house or the woman who made the bread would make these matzos.’ (B:22)

In some cases there is no such narrow focus on the postposed subject, as in (3). Here the construction is used to express the close cohesion of the clause with what precedes:

- (3) *ga-hǎzār-o no-sà¹ ʔAliǎns híye báqa Kurdəstàn.¹ ga-dóka madrásá ʔAliǎns tərşàle.¹* ‘In 1900 the Alliance came to Kurdistan. The Alliance built the school there.’ (B:12)

10.4.2.3. Verb—Subject

In certain circumstances the subject constituent is postposed after the verb. This occurs when the subject is either definite or indefinite. When the subject is indefinite, the function of the postposition is to give added promi-

nence to a newly introduced referent that plays a role in the subsequent discourse, e.g.

- (1) *pätiré ’awìra,*¹ *kyáwa ’aşàrta.*¹ ‘(After) Passover was over, Pentecost came.’ (B:37)
- (2) *bár-d-o kyáwa lelé réša šatà.*¹ ‘Then came New Year’s Eve.’ (A:63)

When the subject is definite and is not an information focus, the effect of the postposition is to bind the clause closely with what precedes. In (3), for example, the clause with the postposed subject *kništa* is presented as a supplementary comment on what precedes. In (4) the statement that the Jews did not eat meat over a certain period is tagged on as an afterthought giving explanatory background to what is said at the beginning of the passage:

- (3) *’éa tìma¹ lele¹ kúle ’amadè,¹ xalá kəxlíwa¹ gezíwa baqá kništà.¹ ga-kništà¹ mənḥà-yela-u¹ ’arbùt-yela-u¹ musáf-e ’arbít qāṛènwala-u,¹ ta-sá’at ’əsra-u pəlgè,¹ xesár fúl garšàwa kništá,¹ lelé kipùr.*¹ ‘When this finished, in the evening, when they were all ready, they ate food and went to the synagogue. In the synagogue there were evening and night prayers. They read the Musaf for the night prayers. The synagogue service lasted until half past ten or eleven o’clock on the night of the Day of Atonement.’ (B:72)
- (4) *’aşər¹ hár xārāwa qārwa mənḥà,¹ xet-’o-waxtāra¹ mutār-yele baqéf šāḥitā kolíwa.¹ tmanyà yomé¹ ’é-č tnányà yomé mən-yomà¹ šəhyòn,¹ mən-yomá reš-yarxé ’Āb¹ ḥātá yóma šəhyòn¹ pəsrà lá kəxlíwa huláe.*¹ ‘In the evening, just as it was getting near evening prayer, it was then again permitted to perform slaughtering. For eight days, for the eight days from the day of Zion, the day of the beginning of Ab until the day of Zion the Jews did not eat meat.’ (B:47)

In (5), where the subject may be interpreted as having definite status, the function of the construction is to bind the clause closely with what precedes, presenting it as belonging to the same overall event:

- (5) *béhtar-e zārà¹ tāḥènwale.¹ knénwale ga-belà.¹ yatwíwa ’ənšè¹ dána ba-dána gābènwale.¹* ‘They would find the best wheat. They would bring it home. The women would sit and sort it grain by grain.’ (B:14)

Postposition of the subject is used in two clauses in the passage in (6), which is the denouement of the foregoing narrative, and so relates to what precedes rather than what follows:

- (6) *xolâşa¹ xîra¹ b̄aruxtêf-u¹ taşmîm dwâqlu xlulá hólî baqêf.¹ xá xlulá rába mojlâl d̄awqále baqáf tatâké.¹ rába xoş-bàxt xîr 'áy brona-káčâl.¹* 'In short, she became his girl friend and they (the parents) decided to arrange a wedding for him. The father arranged a very grand wedding for her. The bald boy became very happy.' (D:27)

10.4.2.4. Subject Verb Agreement

In principle, the inflection of the verb agrees in number, gender and person with the subject nominal. A few exceptions to this are attested. This applies, for example, to some cases where the verbs *hwy* and *xØr* are used existentially and have an indefinite subject nominal, e.g.

- (1) *'ána-č b̄aruxāwalé kwèli.¹* 'I shall have friends.' (D:6)
 (2) *jələ 'ayzé h̄awèlax.¹* 'May you have fine clothes.' (D:6)
 (3) *kûle nāše h̄áz kolíwale belù¹ 'ilané b̄aşirè h̄awé.¹* 'Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.' (A:72)
 (4) *'alpá baté hulaé ga-Kurdəstān xirə-y.¹* 'There were a thousand families of Jews in Kurdistan.' (B:3)

In (5) the nominal phrase 'drum and pipe', although consisting of two conjoined nouns, has 3fs. agreement on the verb:

- (5) *dohól 'u-zorná lapláwa q̄āme.¹* 'The drum and pipe went in front.' (A:10)

Note also the 3fs. agreement of the names of festivals that are grammatical plural, e.g.

- (6) *bár d-ənyexàè¹ kyáwa h̄ānukaè.¹* 'After these came Hanukka.' (B:13)

In some temporal constructions, the 3fs. form of the verb is used to refer to the general temporal situation rather than to a specified subject referent, e.g.

- (7) *'o-waxtára x̄aráwa bár 'arbù¹ š̄erú¹ kolíwa gəlà č̄āqénwa.¹* 'Then, (when) it became after evening prayers (= when evening prayers were over), they began to pick grass.' (B:32)

- (8) *kyáwa réša lelé Lelangè.*¹ ‘The time came to the night of Purim.’
(B:53)

In (9) a 1s. subject followed by a comitative expression takes 1pl. agreement on the verb, referring both to the subject and to the complement of the comitative preposition:

- (9) *ʔána mǎntáke tatí híyex baqàl ʔIsràyəl.*¹ ‘I came to Israel with my father.’ (B:60)

A similar construction is found in (9), which lacks an independent 1s. pronominal subject constituent:

- (10) *mǎntáke d-èa! báxle qúmex híyex baqá lǎxà.*¹ ‘I came here together with him.’ (C:5)

In (11) the clause opens with a plural subject nominal and the verb has 1pl. inflection in order to express the association of the speaker with the group:

- (11) *xá-ʕada jwanqé, bǎruwǎwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ħawšà.*¹ ‘We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard.’ (A:12)

10.4.2.5. Independent Subject Pronouns

Pronominal reference to the subject of a clause is expressed by inflectional elements on the verb and by independent pronouns. The constructions with independent pronouns exhibit a ‘heavier’ coding of the content of the clause. The pronouns are generally placed before the verb:

Light coding		Heavy coding	
<i>ke</i>	~	<i>ʔo ke</i>	‘He is coming’
<i>ket</i>		<i>ʔāt ket</i>	‘You are coming’
<i>kéna</i>		<i>ʔana kéna</i>	‘I am coming’

An independent subject pronoun is used when the pronominal referent is a narrow contrastive focus marked by the nuclear stress, e.g.

- (1) *ʔāt gezét se-ó.*¹ *ʔána là gezán.*¹ ‘You go back. I shall not go.’ (C:12)

Where there is no narrow focus on the pronoun, the heavily coded constructions with an independent pronoun before the verb generally mark boundaries of some kind between sections of the discourse, signalling the onset a section.

An independent pronoun is used at the beginning of direct speech, e.g.

- (1) *míre ʿanàl baxtà gəwrí.* | 'He said "I have married."' (C:11)
- (2) *míri ʿána šarbát mən-ʿíla didáx là šáténa.* | 'I said "I shall not drink sherbet from your hand."' (A:23)
- (3) *míru rəlaʿ ʿát sarwatmànd-yet* | 'They said "Dear boy, you are rich."' (D:9)

An independent pronoun is often used when there is a change in subject referent and the attention is shifted from one referent to another, e.g.

- (4) *ʿó míre tòb.* | *zíl lagəf-u* | *méle mtúle-u* | *ʿay-zíl jóns ləblè,* | *jənsáké ləblé mātúle ga-xá tʿkaná zabnè.* | 'He (the neighbour) said "Fine (that is agreed)."' He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it.' (A:105)
- (5) *Xănăká-č mən-panjărăké mʿine-òl həl-didí xèle.* | *ʿá kúle dasgiranàx-ye!* | *ta-ʿáxá míre baqàf* | *ʿáy ʿərqàla.* | 'Xănăka looked from the window and saw me (and said) "Oh, it is none other than your betrothed!" When he said this to her, she fled.' (A:22)
- (6) *šíʿá huláe ba-năjàs káelu.* | *ʿóni ba-năjás là káenwalan.* | 'A Shiʿite considers Jews unclean. They (the Sunnites) did not used to consider us unclean.' (B:64)
- (7) *ʿáy bxè-u* | *ʿána bəxyàn.* | 'He wept and I wept.' (C:11)

A clause with an independent subject pronoun may also coincide with a shift from foreground to background, in that it expresses an activity that is circumstantial to the situation described in the preceding clause, e.g.

- (8) *xét şalmé lítwala samxá lága didí ʿána xə̀naf.* | 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me (whilst) I could see her.' (A:22)

On some occasions an independent subject pronoun occurs when there is no shift in subject referent, but there is a re-orientation on some other level of the discourse. In (9), for example, the pronoun occurs in a clause that marks a shift from an introductory section, which introduces the referent, to a foreground section that narrates his activities. Similarly in (10) and (11), the pronoun is used to mark the onset of a section describing the activities of the topical referent after preliminary clauses that present the referent into the discourse:

- (9) *xà šwáwa hítwale* | *ràba dawlamán-yele.* | *tajər-yele.* | *ʿó leláwáe kewá-o belà,* | *gbéwa yátúwa hásáb-u ktàbe holú.* | 'He had a neighbour, who

was very rich. He was a merchant. He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books.’ (A:100)

(10) *qāṣāb hūwalan b-šmā ʿAziz-Xān. hulaà-yele. ʾó pəsrāke kméwale ga-tʰkanè.* ‘We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops.’ (A:74)

(11) *rabān! rábe kništān! ham-rāb-yele, hām torà qārēwa, hām miḷà kólwa, wa-hām šoḥeṭ-yele. ʾáy gbéwa hezəl baqá xá-tʰka kəmriwala qāsābxanà.* ‘Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a *šoḥeṭ*. He had to go to a place called the butcher’s shop.’ (A:73)

In (12) from a narrative the pronoun is used in a clause that constitutes a disjunction from what precedes in that it offers an evaluative comment on the foregoing sequence of events:

(12) *ʾay-zíl jəns ləblè, jənsəké ləblé mātūle ga-xá tʰkaná zabnè. ʾáy-əč xír mangəl d-ó.* ‘He went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He became like him (the neighbour).’ (A:105)

In (13) the use of the independent pronoun at the front of each clause marks them off as separate events:

(13) *ʾána gəzna ga-pəlgùn-u! ʾanà! bərxāwalé dòqna.* ‘I shall go among them. I shall make friends.’ (D:3)

On some occasions independent subject pronouns are placed after the verb. In this case the clause is presented as having a closer connection with what precedes and does not mark the onset of a new section. Sometimes the motivation to use the pronoun in these constructions is to express a contrastive focus. The pronoun in such cases carries a nuclear stress, as in (14), where the behaviour of people in other towns is contrasted with the situation in Sanandaj (‘our town’):

(14) *ʾay-mastá dərenaf-ó tʰká nošəf! nəjəš xərá, yáni kəsif, xəràb. ʾəxá kəmriwa ʾonyexàe. wále ga-ʾəhra didán ʾəxá là-yele.* ‘“If I pour this yoghurt back into its container, it will become unclean,” that is dirty, bad. They would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that.’ (A:80)

The pronoun has a contrastive function also in (15). Here the clause contains two nuclear stresses by a process of intonation group sandhi

(§1.6.). The first expresses a focus on the name ‘Lelange’ and the second a contrastive focus on ‘we’ (as opposed to other communities):

- (15) ^H*mən-axare^H Purim,^l Lelangè kəmxex-³àxni,^l našè,^l ³ənšé-u gurè^l hárkas hewalè^l ga-belá yătùwa^l tamisì dóqwa.^l ‘After Purim—we call it Lelange—people, women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.’ (A:57)*

In other cases the postposed pronoun is not contrastive and does not bear the nuclear stress. In constructions of this nature the heavy coding of the pronoun is exploited as end-weighting to mark closure. They are attested in the text corpus in the second member of pairs of units with overlapping content, e.g.

- (16) ³axní kénwa belán yătùwa.^l ház kolíwa hén béla didán yătì ³onyexáe.^l ‘They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit.’ (A:80)
- (17) *míri ³ána šarbát mən-³íla didáx là šáténa.^l ... míri là šáténa³ ³ána.^l ‘I said “I shall not drink sherbet from your hand.” ... I said “I shall not drink it (from your hand).”’ (A:23)*

10.4.3. Prepositional Phrases

10.4.3.1. Verb—Prepositional Phrase

A prepositional phrase expressing an indirect object or some other complement of the verb is normally placed after the verb. If this phrase constitutes the end of the clause, it generally bears the nuclear stress. The nuclear stress in such cases typically expresses a broad focus that includes both the prepositional phrase and the verb:

- (1) *kámra báqa baxtì^l ‘She says to my wife ...’ (A:18)*
- (2) *gbé het-ó baqá ³aħrà.^l ‘You must come back to the town.’ (A:6)*
- (3) *gezítwa báqa béla nòšu.^l ‘They delivered the table, then went to their homes.’ (A:11)*
- (4) *xa-jám dǎélwa qám babenèf.^l ‘He put a mirror in front of its forehead.’ (A:43)*
- (5) *³axní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ħawšá.^l ‘We youngsters were standing in the courtyard.’ (A:12)*
- (6) *xirá-y ba-³afsàr.^l ‘He has become an officer.’ (A:17)*

10.4.3.2. Prepositional Phrase—Verb

On some occasions the prepositional phrase is placed before the verb. This construction is generally used when the phrase contains a referent that has some kind of prominence in the discourse, whereas the order verb—prepositional phrase is unmarked in this respect and is used for both prominent and also incidental referents.

Sometimes the referent is newly introduced into the discourse and it is marked as an information focus by the nuclear stress. In such cases the speaker may draw particular attention to it on account of its importance. In (1) the speaker wishes to draw special attention to the fuel of the oven. In (2) the ‘board’ is the essential distinctive feature of the object in question, which is given further salience by repeating it at the end of the clause:

(1) *tānurāké ba-šiwè malqíwala.*¹ ‘They heated the oven with wood.’
(A:67)

(2) *xwán mà-yele?*¹ *mən-taxtà tráşwalu,*¹ *xa-táxta rüwà.*¹ ‘What was a “table?” They made it out of board, a large board.’ (A:9)

In (3) and (4) the focal prominence has a contrastive function, setting up oppositions between referents:

(3) *ʾaná xamšà təmné¹ mən-Ḥābīb gbéna.*¹ *xamšá təmné mən-Jēfri gbéna.*¹ *təlḥá təmné m-Sāra gbéna.*¹ ‘I want (i.e. am owed) five tmans from Ḥābīb. I want five tmans from Geoffrey. I want three tmans from Sarah.’ (A:101)

(4) *ʾká d-éa ga-kništà matwíla¹ ga-bèla matwíwala.*¹ ‘Instead of holding it in a synagogue they held it at home.’ (B:37)

In (5) the fronted prepositional phrase is the main point of the question, the fact that the addressee has come is known from the speech situation:

(5) *məntáke tatòx híyet lāxa?*¹ ‘Have you come with your father?’
(B:60)

In some cases referent may acquire discourse prominence by the fact that it has already been evoked in the immediately preceding context and so is topically bound to it. Referents with such topical prominence are typically not marked by the nuclear stress. These constructions are used when not only the referent of the prepositional phrase is bound to the foregoing discourse but also the proposition expressed by the clause as a whole has a

close connection to what precedes. In (6), for example, the statement that the peddlers lived in the villages is presented as an elaborative supplement to the statement that they would make commercial trips to the villages:

- (6) *geziwa báqa maláwaè.*¹ *ga-maláwáé zəndəgì kolíwa.*¹ ‘They (the peddlers) went to the villages. They lived in the villages.’ (B:4)

In (7) the referent ‘his mother’ (*daǎkef*) has been invoked in the previous discourse. The clause with the fronted prepositional phrase *m-daǎkef* is closely connected to what precedes in that it is intended to express an event that took place immediately after the departure of the guests:

- (7) *ta-sa’át-e!* *tresār lelé!* *dokà-yelun-u!* *dána dána kúle zili-ò.*¹ *tíw m-daǎkef* *hqèle!* *múre dàyka!* ‘They (the guests) were there until twelve o’clock at night. One by one they went away. He sat down and spoke with his mother and said “Mother” ...’ (D:6)

In (8) the clause with the fronted pronominal prepositional phrase *mənu* expresses an event that overlapped with the preceding activities rather than being separate from them:

- (8) *kúle xilun-u!* *rába mtúlun-u!* *hqèlun-u!* *gxiki-u!* *pšixi-u!* *’ó-č rába xoš-ħāl xír-u!* *mónu kúle hqèle.*¹ ‘They all ate, served themselves a lot, spoke, laughed, made merry, and he was happy. He spoke with them all.’ (D:5)

Contrast the construction in (9) with a pronominal prepositional phrase placed after the verb, which is bound closely to the act of speaking expressed in the following clause:

- (9) *hqèle mónun-u!* *múre mǎ’in!* ‘He spoke with them and said “Look ...”’ (D:8)

In some cases the strategy of using prepositional phrase—verb with the verb at the end margin in order to express a tight connection of the clause with what precedes is used even where the prepositional phrase has an indefinite referent. This is seen in (10), which expresses a closely connected sequence of events expressed by clauses with the prepositional phrase before the verb. The endpoint of the sequence is marked by the clause *hqéle mónun-u ’exà-u!*, in which the prepositional phrase is placed after the verb:

- (10) *qím zíl!* *mən-xá t^wkaná jələ krà wilé-u!* *hár ’àşər!* *ta-hár-kas da’wätéf wile!* *ba-xá dásá jələ zíl.*¹ *ba-xá dásá jələ zíl-u!* *ga-pólga našáké tíw-u!* *hqéle mónun-u ’exà-u.*¹ ‘He went and hired clothes from a shop.

Each evening he went in a suit to each one who had invited him. He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth.’ (D:16)

When the fronted prepositional phrase contains an independent demonstrative pronoun, this is sometimes given nuclear stress. The effect of this is to strengthen the anaphoric connection with what precedes, e.g.

(11) *ʔəmrār-e māʔáʃ ba-d-ò kolíwa* ‘They made their livelihood in this way.’ (B:7)

(12) *ba-d-òa taršíwa.* ‘They would build with that.’ (B:56)

The fronted prepositional phrase in some cases may not have been explicitly evoked in the preceding context but is nevertheless associated in some way with what precedes. This is the case in (13), where the fronted referent ‘the window’ is typically associated with any house. This associative anaphora is expressed also in the use of the definite article *-ǎke* (§8.2.):

(13) *ʔána-č mìri* | *Mərzá Xǎnǎká ga-belà-y?* | *kəmrá ʔi* | *ʔay-zílwala mírwala báqa Mərza Xǎnǎká,* | *mírwala Mərza Xǎnǎká xá-gora gbelòx.* | *la-káyan mǎni-ye.* | *Xǎnǎká-č mǎn-panjǎrǎké mʔine-ò* | *həl-didí xèle.* | ‘I said “Is Mərza Xǎnǎká at home?” She said “Yes.” She went and said to Mərza Xǎnǎká, she said “Mərza Xǎnǎká, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.” Xǎnǎká looked from the window and saw me.’ (A:20-21)

10.4.4. Nominal Complements after Verbs of Movement

When a nominal without a preposition is used with a verb of movement to express a destination, this is normally placed after the verb. The nuclear stress is usually placed on the nominal, expressing broad information focus that includes both the nominal and verb:

(1) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.* | ‘Afterwards they would come back to the house of the bride.’ (A:39)

(2) *nóʃu lablíwale ʔorxèl.* | ‘They would themselves take it to the mill.’ (A:58)

(3) *má kul-yóma gezét ʔay-jangàl?* | ‘Why do you go to the woods every-day?’ (A:104)

(4) *ʔaná ʔo-lelé la-zìna-o belá.* | ‘I did not go back home that night.’ (A:26)

Occasionally the nominal is fronted before the verb. In (5) a demonstrative pronoun that refers to destinations is placed before the verb. This is a recapitulatory statement that is tagged onto what precedes:

- (5) *ʔnyexáe kúle geziwa.* | ‘They went to all of these.’ (B:43)

In (6) the fronted nominal has topical prominence since its referent is subject in the following clause:

- (6) *támám-e duktóre kúle zılan* | *là kéwalu máʔalij hòliwa.* | ‘I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me.’ (C:1)

10.4.5. Nominal Complements of Verbs of Naming

The name of referents may be expressed by a construction consisting of an impersonal 3pl. form of the verb *ʔnr* ‘to say’, with the named item marked by an L-suffix. The nominal complement of this construction is generally placed after the verb, e.g.

- (1) *kəmríle pa-gošà.* | ‘It is called “stretching of the leg.”’ (A:26)
 (2) *kəmríwale ʔilá dwaqà.* | ‘It was called “the joining of hands.”’ (A:34)
 (3) *kəmríwalu čarčì.* | ‘They were called “peddlers.”’ (A:70)
 (4) *ʔé kəmríwale xostè xlulá.* | ‘That was called “request of the wedding.”’ (A:32)
 (5) *ťábáqé rűwè hítwa* | *kəmríwalu xwàn.* | *ba-kurdí bšəlmaná-č kəmríwale xwānčà.* | ‘There were big trays which they called (in Farsi) *xwān* (‘table’). In the Kurdish of the Muslims it was called *xwānča.*’ (A:33)

10.4.6. Interrogative Clauses

Interrogative particles are generally placed immediately before the verb, e.g.

- (1) *māni gbet?* | ‘Whom do you want?’ (A:20)
 (2) *mà kolíwa ga-pătiré?* | ‘What did they do at Passover?’ (B:14)
 (3) *ʔnšé ga-béla má kolíwa?* | ‘What did the women do in the house?’ (B:40)
 (4) *ʔăt ma-kolét?* | ‘What do you do?’ (A:102)

- (5) *má holèt?*¹ *ʔay-ḥáštá dák hóləta?*¹ *ʔay-ḥáštá mà xără?*¹ ‘What would you do? How would you do this thing? What will become of this affair?’ (A:96)
- (6) ¹¹*matsót*¹¹ *má-jor taršiwà?*¹ ‘How did they make matzos?’ (B:17)

10.4.7. Negated Clauses

10.4.7.1. Negator before Verb

The usual way to negate a verbal clause is to place the negative particle *la* before the verb. This is either stressed or unstressed. When stressed, it takes either the nuclear or non-nuclear stress, depending on the prominence that the speaker wishes to give to the negator.

(i) Unstressed Negator

- (1) *la-káyan mǎni-ye.*¹ ‘I do not know who it is.’ (A:21)
- (2) *ʔaná ʔo-lelé la-zína-o belá.*¹ ‘I did not go back home that night.’ (A:26)
- (3) *hitwa¹ bronǎké həl-bratǎké la-xewále ba-ʕamrəf.*¹ ‘Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life.’ (A:2)
- (4) *heštán mən-ʕolám la-zilwa.*¹ ‘He had not yet passed away.’ (A:15)
- (5) *qáme didi¹ hič-kás ʔay-ḥaštá la-wilawalè.*¹ ‘Before me nobody had done such a thing.’ (A:25)

(ii) Negator with Non-nuclear Stress

- (1) *rajǎ¹ ba-ḥǎnabandàn lá ḥqéli baqóx.*¹ ‘I have not told you about the henna ceremony.’ (A:39)
- (2) *našé rába táqalà lá dǎénwa.*¹ ‘People did not exert themselves.’ (A:55)
- (3) *xá-mdi lá míri baqòx.*¹ ‘One thing I did not tell you.’ (A:77)

(iii) Negator with Nuclear Stress

One type of situation in which this occurs is where the negator has an adversative force, negating an event that the speaker assumes the hearer may expect to ensue from what precedes:

- (1) *pás har-čí 'ašrár wílu là híya.* 'Then, however much they insisted, she did not come.' (A:23)
- (2) *'ágar kiló bi-zóa xáráwa mastáke,* *là dārewal-ó t'kàf.* 'If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back (as you might expect).' (A:79)
- (3) *'awālán t'káne là 'asríwa.* *našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.* 'First of all, they did not close the shops (as you might expect). People would go outside even in the snow.' (A:81)

The negator has the nuclear stress also where the negation is given prominence due to its being placed in contrastive opposition with an assertion in the adjacent context, e.g.

- (4) *'ána šarbát mən-'íla didáx là šáténa.* *gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.* 'I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.' (A:23)

(iv) Negated Verb with Nouns Negated by hič

The verb is negated with *la* when a nominal participant in the clause is modified by the negative particle *hič*, which denies the existence of referents of the class denoted by the nominal, e.g.

- (1) *hič-kas lá-hiye.* 'Nobody came.' (D:7)
- (2) *hič-kas bāruẓèf lá xarwá.* 'Nobody became his friend.' (D:1)

10.4.7.2. Negator before other Elements in the Clause

The negative particle is placed before a nominal where this is one of a list of items that are presented over two or more adjacent clauses. The clauses usually share the same verb and the focus of information, which is expressed by the nuclear stress, is on the nominal:

- (1) *hič mēndíx xét là kəxlexwa,* *lá mastà,* *lá guptà,* *lá xalwà.* *hič mən-'ənyexàè* *'asúr-yele báqan tmánya yomè.* 'We did not eat anything

else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.’ (B:29)

(2) *lá guptà,¹ lá mastà¹ hár-čì ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxləxwale.¹* ‘We did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.’ (A:68)

(3) *xét lá zàrb dāélwa ’əláf-u¹ lá ba-putākè dāélwa¹ ’u-la yálef naqlīwa.¹* ‘He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance.’ (A:107)

Elsewhere a negator before an adjective negates the adjective rather than the predicate, e.g.

(4) *’éa là xárwa ’o-lá qrixá hǎwè.¹* ‘It could not be unwhitened.’ (B:19)

(5) *šišmé lá qliwè¹* ‘uncleaned sesamed’ (B:27)

10.4.7.3. Idiomatic Usage

A negative predicate is sometimes combined in parallel with a positive predicate as an idiomatic way of expressing an increase in generality, e.g.

(1) *báqa d-ó ’ālē¹ ... našəf,¹ našé ’áy mamlākātà¹ dāx zəndəgí kol¹ dāx lá kol¹.* ‘In order that he might know how his people, the people of his kingdom lived.’ (A:108)

10.5. EXTRAPOSITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

The structure of extraposition involves placing a nominal or independent pronoun in syntactic isolation in clause initial position and resuming it by an anaphoric pronominal element later in the clause.

A speaker sometimes opens a speech turn with a topic referent that is accessible to the hearer in the speech situation. If this is not the subject of the clause, it stands in extraposition. In conversation 1st and 2nd person pronouns referring to the participants of the current speech situation are often extraposed in this context, e.g.

(1) *bar-xa-mūdát-xet daākí híya ba-šoní ’áxa kòla¹ ’át taḥšilóx timà-y¹ gbé het-ò¹ lagá ’āxonòx.¹* ‘After a while my mother came after me and says “You—your studies are finished, you must return to your brother.”’ (A:27)

(2) *múre ’át ḥaštóx mà-ya?¹* ‘He said “What is your job?”’ (D:20)

On some occasions a construction with an initial extraposed topic referent occurs at the onset of a section of discourse that is disjoined in some way from what precedes. In (3), for example, the construction marks the onset of a section of discourse about the professions of the Jews:

- (3) *ʔnyexáe šoglù má xirá-y?*¹ ‘These—what was their profession?’ (B:4)

In (4) the extrapositional clause coincides with a shift to background description after a narrative event:

- (4) *m-zāmàn-e¹ Kuréš-e Kābīr¹ hiyén báqa Hāmāddān,¹ ʔAsfāhān,¹ Golpay-āgān.¹ ʔáy təlḥá t^vké hulaé rāba xirén gáu¹* ‘At the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan, Isfahan and Golpayagan. These three places—there were many Jews in them.’ (B:1)

In (5) the extrapositional construction with the initial 1st person pronoun, which is topical from the speech situation, constitutes an explanatory supplement to what precedes:

- (5) *ʔárba xamšá nāfāré pīlex ʔorxà-u¹ zīlex dokà,¹ mēntáke daāki.¹ ʔána tatí mēn-ʔolām zīlwa.¹* ‘We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously.’ (A:19)

In (6) the use of an extraposed independent subject pronoun at the front of the second clause disjoins the clause from what precedes in order to give the assertion of the proposition added prominence:

- (6) *ʔána là yātúna.¹ ʔána didì-č qaṭlí.¹* ‘I shall not stay. They will kill also me.’ (C:9)

A further usage of extraposition is found in (7), where the extraction of the nominal at the front creates a structural balance between the two items *xa-tikaf ... xa-tikaf*, which are set up in opposition:

- (7) *ʔáy ʔārà¹ xá-tikaf ʔaxtù ntúmu¹ xá-tikaf ʔàxni.¹* ‘This land—one piece of it you take, one piece of it we (shall take).’ (C:5)

In possessive constructions consisting of an existential particle or the verb *hwy* combined with an L-suffix, a nominal or independent subject pronoun referring to the possessor is obligatorily extraposed:

- (8) *ʔāxoní dawaxanè-hitwale.¹* ‘My brother had a pharmacy.’ (A:27)

- (9) *kúle náša béla jyà hítwale.*¹ ‘Everybody had a separate house.’ (A:71)
- (10) *ʔaxníl fàrš rába hítwalan.*¹ ‘We had a lot of bedding.’ (A:56)
- (11) *xa-ʕadá buxarì hitwálu.*¹ ‘Some people had a stove’ (A:89)
- (12) *kúle náša béla jyà hítwale.*¹ ‘Everybody had a separate house.’ (A:71)
- (13) *xa-ʔăxóna xetâfl ʕşkma šogîè hité.*¹ ‘Another brother of hers has several jobs.’ (A:6)
- (14) *ʔáy bronàl băruxá litwale.*¹ ‘This boy did not have a friend.’ (D:1)

The same applies to the expression of ability with the verb ‘to come’, in which the subject of the following main verb is expressed by L-suffixes and a nominal or independent pronoun must, therefore, be extraposed, e.g.

- (15) *ʔaxní là-kelan xăléxilu.*¹ ‘We cannot wash them. (C:11)

On some occasions the extraposed item is placed at the end of the clause. Such constructions are more cohesively bound with what precedes than constructions with an initial nominal, e.g.

- (16) *ʔaşlân na-rahătî litwalu ʔo-naşé.*¹ ‘The people were not ill at ease.’ (A:76)
- (17) *gezîwa báqa malà.*¹ *ʕarçî kəmréxwa báqu ʔonyexáe.*¹ ‘They would go to a village—we called them “peddlers.”’ (B:9)

Occasionally an extraposed nominal at the front of a clause announces the topical frame of what follows without being directly resumed in the clause, e.g.

- (18) *knişyé Kurdəstàn,*¹ *təlhá knişyé hítwalan.*¹ ‘The synagogues of Kurdistan—we had three synagogues.’ (B:58)

10.6. PLACEMENT OF ADVERBIALS

The placement of adverbials in relation to other components in the clause is conditioned by a number of factors. The majority of adverbials that occur in the text corpus are temporal or spatial expressions. The various positions can be classified as follows:

10.6.1. In Clause Initial Position

Temporal or spatial adverbials that stand at the front of a clause and are given prominence by presenting them in a separate intonation group typically mark a new orientation or section in the discourse and set the temporal or spatial frame for what follows. This frame often incorporates a series of clauses, e.g.

- (1) *xà-lele^l rába xàrj wíle^l rába xalà trásle.^l* ‘One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food.’ (D:3)
- (2) *bəqāta-č^l gbé paxasù^l hezà^l ’ay-stačé bākaraṭ-e^l d-ay-kaldà^l lablálu báqa tata-u-daākà.^l* ‘In the morning the “woman inspector” had to go and take the “sheets of virginity” of the bride to the father and mother.’ (A:50)
- (3) *lelé šābāt^l gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldākè^l ga-dokà^l xāletèf holí.^l* ‘On the eve of Sabbath the groom had to go back to the bride’s home in order for them to give him there his gift.’ (A:51)
- (4) *bar-d-èa^l ’ay-mārasóm tūm,^l našé geziwa-o belà-u^l hár-kāsu gezáłwa béla nōšef-u^l kaldá-u xətná pišwa^l geziwa ga-pardà.^l* ‘After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain.’ (A:49)

Initial adverbials that set the temporal or spatial frame for the following discourse section are sometimes incorporated into the intonation group of the clause, e.g.

- (5) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u^l mīre báqef^l* ‘One day he went to him (the neighbour) and said to him ...’ (A:103)
- (6) *bəqāta ’ášar gezəlwa^l jəns zābənwa-u^l kəlūwale.^l* ‘Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth and write down (what he had sold).’ (A:105)

Adverbials in clause initial position that are not isolated in a separate intonation group, however, often do not express such a major spatial or temporal reorientation. This applies to the usage of the temporal adverbial *bár-d-o* ‘afterwards’ in (7):

- (7) *šarbātāké méla baq^l ’u-bár-d-o túwa lagì-u^l* ‘She brought the sherbet to me and then sat by me.’ (A:24)

10.6.2. At the End or in the Middle of a Clause

When the adverbial is placed after the subject constituent or at the end of the clause, the clause generally does not involve a major spatio-temporal break from what precedes. This applies, for example, to (1), in which the second clause with the adverbial after the subject pronoun occurs in the same temporal frame, viz. ‘that night’, as the preceding clause:

- (1) *’o-lelé xa-šám mfășál híwlu baqàn-u¹ ’aná ’o-lelé la-zìna-o belá,¹ ga-doká gnèna.¹* ‘That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there.’ (A:26)

In (2) the clause with the postposed adverbial repeats the description of the situation expressed by what precedes and does not advance the discourse:

- (2) *’ó lelăwáe kewá-o belà,¹ gbéwa yătúwa ħăsáb-u ktàbe holú.¹ ... ’áy yătúwa lelè.¹* ‘He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books. ... He would sit at night.’ (A:100–101)

The adverbial is placed within the clause also when it is the focus of new information and is restricted in scope to the clause in which it occurs, e.g.

- (3) *’onyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen¹ yáni xárəj m-’Isráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.¹* ‘Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights.’ (A:62)
- (4) *kwíwale báqa dehatié ga-réša xarmàn.¹* ‘They would offer it to the villagers at the time of the harvest.’ (B:9)
- (5) *híč mändíx xét là kəxlexwa,¹ lá mastà,¹ lá guptà,¹ lá xalwà.¹ híč men-’onyexàe¹ ’asúr-yele báqan tmánya yomè.¹* ‘We did not eat anything else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.’ (B:29)

11. CLAUSE SEQUENCES

11.1. EXPRESSION OF CO-ORDINATIVE CLAUSAL CONNECTION

11.1.1. Asyndetic Connection

When main clauses are linked together co-ordinatively they are often combined asyndetically without any connective element. This applies both to series of clauses that express sequential actions and also to those that express temporally overlapping actions or situations.

11.1.1.1. Sequential Actions

- (1) *gezóxwa be-kaldà.*¹ *kaldá kménwala tèx.*¹ *markwíwala həl-d-ó susì.*¹
‘We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down. They mounted the bride on the horse.’ (A:46)
- (2) *xíra ba-dasgirani.*¹ *báqătef-o qúmna zína dokà.*¹ *híya ga-balkonăkè.*¹
*kəmrá baqì.*¹ ‘She became my betrothed, the next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me ...’ (A:20)
- (3) *daăkí híya Taràn.*¹ *kəmrá ...*¹ ‘My mother came to Tehran and said ...’ (A:5)
- (4) *šămáš-e kništà.*¹ *gezólwa susì kméwa.*¹ ‘The beadle of the synagogue would go and fetch a horse.’ (A:43)

11.1.1.2. Temporally Overlapping Actions or Situations

- (1) *’ay-susí qăšáng marzənwale-ò.*¹ *yaráq dăèlwa báef.*¹ *parčané* ‘*ayzé dăèlwa ba-susiyăkè.*¹ *qăšáng marzənwale-ò.*¹ *xa-jám dăèlwa qám ba-benêf.*¹ ‘He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative

cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.’ (A:43)

- (2) *hár-kas hewalè^l ga-belá yǎtùwa^l tǎmisi dóqwa.^l* ‘Everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.’ (A:57)
- (3) *duxwà taršíwa.^l haḷwà taršíwa.^l xurma-u-rùn taršíwa.^l dušà mǎtíwa.^l kǎrà mǎtíwa.^l guptà mǎtíwa.^l* ‘They made *duxwa*. They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese.’ (A:65)

11.1.2. The Co-ordinating Particle *u*

Main clauses are sometimes linked by the co-ordinating particle *u*. This is generally attached as an enclitic to the last item of a clause before an intonation group boundary, though on some occasions it occurs after an intonation group boundary at the onset a clause. A long variant form *unu* is sporadically used. This appears to have developed by false analogy with the sequence of 3pl. suffix + *u*, viz. *-un-u* (< **-hun-u*) (§2.3., §3.2.2.).

The particle may link series of clauses that express sequential actions and also those that express temporally overlapping actions or situations.

11.1.2.1. Sequential Actions

- (1) *morǎxǎši šaqná-u,^l ken-ò.^l* ‘I’ll take leave and come back.’ (A:7)
- (2) *xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u^l mǐre báqef^l* ‘One day he went to him and said to him.’ (A:103)
- (3) *xwanǎké kmenwalà-u^l gezíwa báqa béla nòšu.^l* ‘They delivered the table and went to their homes.’ (A:11)
- (4) *’árba xamšá nǎfǎré pílex ’orxà-u^l zílex dokà,^l mǎntáke daǎkì.^l* ‘We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother.’ (A:19)
- (5) *’axréf ba-zór miyàlun-u^l míri là šǎténaf ’ána.^l* ‘In the end they brought her by force. I said “I shall not drink it.”’ (A:23)

In a series of more than two clauses expressing sequential events, the co-ordinating particle generally connects the final two clauses, e.g.

- (6) *gezíwa be-kaldà. | yàtìwa. | xa-čây šáténwa-u | xánči 'aràq šáténwa. |*
 'They went to the house of the bride and sat down. They drank tea
 and they drank some arak.' (A:10)
- (7) *báqāta 'ášar gezàlwa | jáns zābànwà-u | kǎlùwale. |* 'Morning and eve-
 ning he would go and sell cloth then write down (what he had
 sold).' (A:105)

Since the particle is typically associated with the end-boundary of a sequence, it also expresses a degree of prominence. When speakers wish to give particular prominence to all clauses of a connected sequence, they sometimes link each one with the *u* particle, e.g.

- (8) *pàs | gezíwa báqa dokà-u | hár belà | zǎrá-e béla nóšef mǎtúwa réša xá
 ta'ná xmarà-u | lǎbálwale ga-dokà. |* 'Then they would go there.
 Every family put its own wheat on the back of a donkey and took
 it there.' (B:16)

In (9) the sequential clauses are all linked with the connective particle with the additional feature that the first clause exhibits a lengthened variant form of the particle *-unu*. The motivation for this 'heavy coding' may be to mark the onset boundary of the sequence:

- (9) *mən-d-àa | dóqwa ba-'ilèf-unu | dáewala ga-dušà-u | ga-kǎrá mǎtúwa
 gǎaf-u | kwólwala ba-'ilèf kmór bǎraxà mǎr. |* 'He held this in his
 hand, he put it in honey, he would put butter on it. He would put
 it in his hand and say "Say a blessing."' (B:34)

Since the particle is a signal of the closure of a sequence, a following clause that is *asyndetically* connected would be expected to be less closely bound. This is seen, for example, in (10), in which 'they would pick it (the herb) and bring it home' form a closely-knit sequence, presented as aspects of the same overall event. The subsequent act of putting it on the cloth at home, on the other hand, which is *asyndetically* connected, is presented as a separate event. The fact that the last clause gives explicit expression to the pronominal object in the form of an L-suffix whereas in the previous clauses it is gapped (§9.13.1.4.) is also a reflection of the pragmatic independence of the final clause:

- (10) *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plítwa waryà | čǎqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà. |
 dǎrénwale ba-dáwr-e 'é sǎfrà. |* 'When it had just sprouted out of the
 snow, they would pick it and bring it home. They put it around
 the cloth.' (B:32)

11.1.2.2. Temporally Overlapping Actions or Situations

- (1) 'óni-č xa-bašór kəmriwa hàya-u¹ xánči nóšu doqìwala.¹ 'They would say "It is a little too soon" and would be rather reluctant.' (A:31)

In (2) the clause following the particle supplies background information about circumstances of the events narrated in what precedes:

- (2) xlulà wilán-u¹ g-ó waxtára-č¹ tanhá xà 'ákás hítwa.¹ 'We held the wedding. At that time there was only one photographer.' (A:29)

If there is a series of temporally overlapping events, the particle is sometimes repeated and connects each of the events of the series, e.g.

- (3) xá-əda jwanqé da'wát kolìwa¹ mǎntáke xətnáké ta-yóma yǎtìwa,¹ naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u,¹ dearà dǎenwa 'ólef-u,¹ šǎbubà dǎenwale,¹ ta-yomà.¹ 'They would invite several young men and they would sit with the groom for the day, dance and jig. They would beat the tambourine and play the pipe for a day.' (A:35)
- (4) bar-d-èa¹ 'ay-mǎrasóm tìm,¹ našé gezíwa-o belà-u¹ hár-kǎsu gezólwa béla nõšef-u¹ kaldá-u xətná pišìwa.¹ 'After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home. Each person went to his own home. The bride and groom remained.' (A:49)

11.1.3. The Co-ordinating Particle wa

Occasionally clauses are connected by the co-ordinating particle *wa*-, which is attached to the front a clause, generally after an intonation group boundary. It is typically placed before the final clause in a series, e.g.

- (1) rabàn¹ ráb-e kništàn¹ ham-ràb-yele,¹ hám torà qǎréwa,¹ hám miḷà kólwa,¹ wa-hám šohèt-yele.¹ 'Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a šohet.' (A:73)
- (2) bəqātà-č¹ gbé paxasù¹ hezà¹ 'ay-stáčé bǎkarǎt-e¹ d-ay-kaldà¹ lablálu báqa tata-u-daǎkà¹ wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn¹ ke-'ǎlén 'ay-bratà¹ bǎtulà xirté-ya.¹ 'In the morning the "woman inspector" had to go and take the "sheets of virginity" of the bride to the father and mother. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

In (3) the particle is used before the final summarizing statement at the end of a section of discourse:

- (3) *ba-d-áy jorà^l gezàlwa,^l 'ágar čánánče xá-náfar zòlm xiräwe-lèf,^l gezàlwa^l jobràn kolwalé-u^l là šóqwa xét zólm hoì-lèf.^l wa-ba-d-áy jorà^l qudrätéf ràba xírwa.^l* 'In this way he would go and if a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him and did not allow him to suffer further injustice. In this way his power had become very great.' (A:109)

In (4) the repeated use of the heavy form *wa* appears to be used to set off the clauses in order to give their content added prominence:

- (4) *däyka^l 'aná xét^l mən-qóme-u xäre gbé hézna haštà^l wa-zəndəgí nòš^l 'ədára hònef^l wa-ba-xá zəndəgì mäténa.^l* 'Mother, from tomorrow onwards I have to go to work to manage my own life and to make a livelihood for myself.' (D:23)

11.2. -əč

This particle, which is a loan from Kurdish, is suffixed to words. If the word ends in a vowel the /ə/ vowel is elided, e.g. *'ana-č* (< *'ana* + *-əč*). The particle has an incremental function that may be proposition orientated or constituent orientated.

11.2.1. Proposition Orientated Usage

When it relates broadly to the proposition as a whole, the item to which it is attached in principle has a non-nuclear stress. It is typically attached to a phrase at the beginning of a clause with the nuclear stress occurring later in the clause, usually at the end. In such constructions the particle functions as a clausal connective. It is used by speakers to mark boundaries of some kind in the discourse.

In several cases it is used when there is a change in subject referent and is attached to a nominal or independent pronoun expressing the subject at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (1) *kámra báqa baxtì^l kámra 'éa bróna Jāhān-ye.^l xirá-y ba-'afsàr.^l 'áy-əč mîrwala 'əlhá šóqla ta-dačkèf.^l* 'She said to my wife, she said "That is the son of Jāhān. He has become an officer." She said "May God preserve his mother.'" (A:17)

- (2) *kəmrá baqìl ba-lišaná bšəlmanèl kèt gārāká?l yáni mǎni gbet?l 'ána-č mürìl Mərzá Xǎnǎká ga-belà-y?l* ‘She said to me in the language of the Muslims *kèt gārāká?*, i.e. “Whom do you want?” I said “Is Mərza Xǎnǎka at home?”’ (A:20)
- (3) *gbéwa xá-‘əda mən-náše pìre^l xanǎwadà^l hezì baqà^l xosté xlulà,^l yáni hamrí ‘ijazá húlmu báqa xanǎwadé kaldà^l hamrí ‘ijazá húlmu^l ke-‘axní xlulà holéx.^l ‘óni-č xa-başór kəmríwa hàya-u^l xánčí nóšu doqiwala.^l* ‘A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride “Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding.” They (the family of the bride) would say “It is a little too soon” and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission).’ (A:30–31)
- (4) *kwǎlwale taħwíl-e d-óa dána danà.^l ‘ó-č kolawale-ò^l ba-gerà.^l* ‘He delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin.’ (B:20)
- (5) *‘účlu ‘e-jǎlǎkè^l ‘aná-č ‘asrǎnanu.^l* ‘Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out.’ (C:11)

It is used on an adverbial placed at the front of a clause that marks a spatio-temporal change of some kind, e.g.

- (6) *g-o-dimǎfl kaldá-u xətná samxìl g-ay-lág-əč našé samxìwa.^l* ‘On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people.’ (A:47)
- (7) *bəqǎtǎ-č^l gbé paxasù^l hezà^l ‘ay-həstačé bǎkarǎt-e^l d-ay-kaldà^l lablálu báqa tata-u-daǎkà.^l* ‘In the morning the “woman inspector” had to go and take the “sheets of virginity” of the bride to the father and mother.’ (A:50)
- (8) *g-ó waxtǎra-č^l tanhá xà ‘ǎkás hítwa^l ‘áks nǎtéwa ga-Kursǎn.^l* ‘At that time there was only one photographer who took photographs in Kurdistan.’ (A:28)

On some occasions the particle is used when there is a continuity of subject but a re-orientation on some other level of the discourse. In (9), for example, the clause in question does not continue the narrative chain, but rather presents an evaluative comment on what precedes and so constitutes a shift from narrative foreground to background:

- (9) 'ó míre òb.¹ zíl lagèf-u¹ méle mtùle-u¹ 'ay-zíl jáns ləblè,¹ jənsáké ləblé mätùle ga-xá t¹kaná zabnè.¹ 'áy-əč xír mangàl d-ó.¹ 'He (the merchant) said "Fine (we are agreed)." He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the family man) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He (the family man) became like him (the merchant).'
- (A:105)

11.2.2. Constituent Orientated Usage

When the particle *-əč* relates narrowly to one particular constituent in the clause, the constituent to which it is suffixed typically takes the nuclear stress, whether or not it is in a separate intonation group. There is a narrow information focus on this constituent, which is generally inclusive in nature and rendered in English by 'also' or 'even'. The speaker is asserting that the constituent in question is to be included in the same set as other items in the adjacent discourse, e.g.

- (1) 'onyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen¹ yáni xárəj m-'Isráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.¹ 'axni-č¹ trè lelé doqəxwala.¹ 'Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights. We also celebrated it for two nights.' (A:62)
- (2) *dubára* 'ò-č šárwa báqa didí d-éa.¹ 'Then he also would send that to me.' (B:51)

When the item with the particle is an information focus it is not restricted to clause initial position, but may occur later in the clause, as in (3) and (4):

- (3) *našé geziwa wárya ba-talgà-č*.¹ 'People would go outside even in the snow.' (A:81)
- (4) 'ána didi-č qatlí.¹ 'They will kill me also.' (C:9)

In (5) the particle is used to express a contrastive focus:

- (5) *nòšu dáyíwalu ba-tănurà*.¹ *lá kwíwalu ba-ʔíla báxta bšəlmantàkè-č*.¹ 'They would put them in the oven themselves. They did not give them to the Muslim woman.' (B:22)

11.3. INTONATION GROUP BOUNDARIES

Independent clauses that present actions as separate events are generally uttered in separate intonation groups, e.g.

- (1) *ʔéa gezálwa ga-pliyáw jangàl.ʔ ilanè gardáqwa-uʔ kmèwaluʔ ga-ʔahrá zābēnwalu.ʔ* 'He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town.' (A:98)
- (2) *gezáxwa be-kaldà.ʔ kaldá kménwala tēx.ʔ* 'We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down.' (A:46)

A clause that has a close semantic connection with one that precedes, on the other hand, is frequently combined with the first clause in the same intonation group. This is found where the second clause is a subordinate complement or purpose clause:

- (3) *gbén xlulà holí.ʔ* 'They want to hold the wedding.' (A:30)
- (4) *ház kólíwa hén béla didán yāti ʔonyexáe.ʔ* 'They wanted to come to our house and sit.' (A:80)
- (5) *là šóqwa xét zólím holí-lef.ʔ* 'He did not allow them to harm him any more.' (A:109)

A clause that expresses a situation that is circumstantial to the action of another verb is typically kept in the same intonation group, e.g.

- (6) *xét šalmé lítwala samxá lága didí ʔána xāènaf.ʔ* 'She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her.' (A:22)
- (7) *syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá.ʔ* 'They came to the synagogue (while) they were not wearing shoes.' (B:46)

Clauses are sometimes linked in the same intonation group also where there is no grammatical dependency between them. In such cases the actions expressed by the clauses are presented as closely related, as if they were aspects of the same basic event. The first clause often contains a verb expressing some kind of movement, such as 'to go', 'to come', 'to rise', e.g.

- (8) *ken-ó xàènaf.ʔ* 'I'll come back and see her.' (A:7)
- (9) *báqātef-o qúmna zína dokà.ʔ* 'The next morning I got up and went there.' (A:20)
- (10) *ʔarqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-ʔotāq.ʔ* 'She fled and sat in a room.' (A:22)

- (11) *hiyen-ó zína tîwna lagêf-u*¹ 'I came back and went and stayed with him.' (A:28)
- (12) *zîl nôşef ga-pliyáw kaştiáké tşşyale-ò.*¹ 'He went and hid himself in the boat.' (B:77)
- (13) *qîm zîl.*¹ 'He got up and went.' (D:16)

Note in (14) how the L-suffix coding of the verb 'to say' has been extended by attraction to the closely connected verb 'to go', which normally takes S-suffixes:⁹

- (14) *'ay-zîlwala mîrwala báqa Mârza Xănâkâ.*¹ 'She went and said to Mârza Xănâka.' (A:21)

The close bonding of verbs in such sequences is reflected by the fact that the object constituent of the second verb is sometimes placed before the first verb, e.g.

- (15) *'oya híye Mâsyur Panžêl tərşále.*¹ 'Monsieur Pangel came and built that.' (B:58)

Note also (16) in which the pronominal copy of the object constituent occurs only on the second verb, reflecting the fact that the sequence 'they brought and they ate' is treated as a single unit:

- (16) *'o-sawzî kménwa kaxlîwale.*¹ 'They brought and ate that vegetable.' (B:68)

In (17) the two clauses combined in the same intonation group express two closely related activities that took place simultaneously:

- (17) *naqlîwa-u nandênwa-u.*¹ 'They danced and jiggled.' (A:35)

11.4. INCREMENTAL REPETITION

Speakers sometimes present sequences of clauses such as those exemplified in (1) and (2), in which a clause is repeated before the following clause is presented:

⁹ For a similar extension of transitive inflection to intransitive verbs of movement in Kurdish see Haig (2004:115).

- (2) *zīlex dokà-u¹ širiní híwlu baqàn¹ ʔu-xét xíra ba-dasgirani¹ xíra ba-dasgirani¹ bəqātef-o qínna zína dokà.*¹ ‘We went there and they gave us sweets and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there.’ (A:20)
- (2) *ʔərqála zīla tíwa ga-xa-ʔotāq.¹ ta-nōšaf tǎrǎké mǎzra ba-réša-nōšaf.¹ tǎra mǎzra ba-réša nōšaf¹ zílawa tíwa ga-dokà.*¹ ‘She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her). She closed the door behind her and went and sat there.’ (A:22)

12. SYNTACTIC SUBORDINATION OF CLAUSES

12.1. RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses take as their head a nominal, a pronoun or an adverbial, which they follow. In most cases they are syndetic, in that they are introduced by a subordinating particle. On some occasions, however, they are asyndetic without any such particle.

12.1.1. Syndetic Relative Clauses

Relative clauses of this type are most frequently introduced by the Iranian particles *ya* or *ke*.

12.1.1.1. *ya*

(i) *Definite Nominal Head*

This particle is used predominantly when the head nominal is definite. In the attested cases in the text corpus the relative clause is restrictive, i.e. it assists in the identification of the reference of the head. In all attested cases the head nominal is qualified by a demonstrative pronoun, which binds it anaphorically to the content of the relative clause:

- (1) 'áy našé *ya-ga-'áy kují yelù^l küle^l qalá d-áy zorná šāmenwalè^l kénwa waryà. 'All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound of the pipe would come outside.' (A:45)*
- (2) *ga-d-ó-t^wka ya-toryú 'ərbú 'onyexáe dabhi-ò^l* 'in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep' (A:73)

- (3) *ʔay-ʔaxoni^l ya-xáet ʔakséf ga-lǎxà-ay,^l ʔó ʔəštá šoá šané qáme-d-ea mən-ʔolám zil.^l* ‘This brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years before that.’ (A:19)
- (4) *daʔwát wīlu mən-familàn^l ... mən-d-ó famil-č ya-hiyénwa baqá širní xoràn.^l* ‘Then, in the evening, they invited ... also my family members who had come to “eat the sweets.”’ (A:26)
- (5) *ja-qáme d-éa ʔay-bráta dađki hamrà^l xa-šatá ga-Kursàn-yeli^l xà yomá^l ʔay-baxtı ʔátá ya-xăetà^l xiyàli.^l* ‘Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).’ (A:8)
- (6) *ʔo-našé ya-daʔwát kolíwalu^l* ‘the people whom they invited’ (A:42)

(ii) Indefinite Nominal Head

Sporadically the *ya* particle follows an indefinite head. This is attested in (1), in which the head is a generic class term, and (2) in which the head is qualified by the universal qualifier *kúle*. In both cases the relative clause is non-restrictive:

- (1) *xá-qəta mən-ləxmá-e hamèš dóqwa,^l zatyé ya-taršíwalu ga-béla bār-d-o.^l* ‘He would hold a piece of leavened bread, (the type known as) pitta breads, which they made in the house afterwards.’ (B:33)
- (2) *kúle belà-č^l yá kénwa dòka^l mən-nóšu qawà-u^l ya-čây,^l yá dārčîn^l kménwa mənū.^l* ‘Every family that came there would bring with them coffee, tea or cinnamon.’ (B:39)

(iii) Pronominal Head

The head may be an independent pronoun. The most common construction consists of a demonstrative pronominal head followed by a restrictive relative clause. The anaphor of the demonstrative is the descriptive content of the relative, e.g.

- (1) *dărèwa^l ʔó ya-šaqlá pułé bi-zòda hăwól.^l* ‘He would pour it out and the one who buys it had to give more money.’ (A:80)
- (2) *ʔonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yen^l yáni xárəj m-ʔIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.^l* ‘Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it (Passover) for two nights.’ (A:62)

- (3) *zargàr rába hitwalán,¹ zargàr,¹ 'onyexáe ya-dewà¹ pašri-ò,¹ déwa tarşì.¹*
 'We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would smelt gold and make gold.' (A:69)
- (4) *'onyaxáe ya-Kursàn-yelu¹ čún kùrd-yen¹ sunni-yen.¹* 'The ones in Kurdistan, since they are Kurds, are Sunni.' (A:77)
- (5) *'onyé yá tǎbǎqá 'āwǎl-yelù¹* 'those who were the first class' (B:5)

In (6) and (7) the pronominal head is separated from the relative clause by a copula or verb:

- (6) *čarčí 'ò-yele¹ ya-'aspáǎ¹ mǎtúwa réša xmarà¹ rešá susì¹ maxşuşán par-čanè,¹ lablíwalu ga-malǎwàè¹ zabnìwalu.¹* 'A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to sell them.' (A:70)
- (7) *jǎns mǎn-d-ənyexáe šaqlíwa yá kmènwa.¹* 'They bought goods from those who brought (them).' (B:8)

(iv) Adverbial Head

In (1) the head of the relative clause is a temporal adverbial:

- (1) *'átá ya-da'wǎtí wilà-y¹ ba-mà-jor hezná belú?¹* 'Now that they have invited me, how shall I go to their house?' (D:15)

12.1.1.2. *ke*

(i) Definite Nominal Head

A definite head nominal is qualified by the demonstrative pronoun *'ay* in many examples in the text corpus. The relative clause may be restrictive or non-restrictive. When it is restrictive, the demonstrative pronoun binds the head nominal anaphorically to the content of the relative clause, e.g.

- (1) *'ay-bşǎlmanè¹ ke-xálwa zǎbni ta-didàn¹ 'ay-xalwà¹ mǎn-d-ó tortà¹ yá mǎn-d-ó 'ərbá dǎwqà-y.¹* 'Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep.' (A:64)
- (2) *xáewa 'ay-ħaywǎn ké dabħile-ò¹ tǎrefá là hǎwé.¹* 'He would see that the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher.' (A:73)

An example of a non-restrictive relative clause with *ke* is the following:

- (3) ʔáy baxtá-u ʔáy gorà^l bǎxeḷì lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké^l ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl.^l ‘The woman and the man were jealous of that other man, who lived in this way.’ (A:103)

In (4) a definite head of a restrictive relative clause lacks a demonstrative pronoun:

- (4) *dubára zíl ga-bazār-u^l ga-našé ké daʔwàt wílíwale.^l* ‘Then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited.’ (D:13)

(ii) Indefinite Nominal Head

Unlike the relative particle *ya*, the particle *ke* frequently takes indefinite head nominals. In the majority of examples attested in the text corpus, the relative clause is restrictive:

- (1) *gezálwa mǎsálán xá-ʕda našé ke-ga-xá meydán smixèn^l xábra ḥǎqèn,^l mǎšílwa xabrù.^l* ‘He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square speaking and listening to what they said.’ (A:109)
- (2) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-či ke-ga-dokèn^l ke-ʔálén ʔay-bratà^l bātulà xirté-ya.^l* ‘They would show them to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.’ (A:50)

The relative clause is often separated from the head nominal by a copula, existential particle or verb, e.g.

- (3) *xa-məndix-ye^l ké pərčé komà kolú.^l* ‘It is a thing that makes hair black.’ (A:40)
- (4) *xa-ʕdá hitwálán ké kəmríwalu čarčì.^l* ‘There were a few who were called “peddlers.”’ (A:63)
- (5) *dāstané rába hitwale ke-ʔaná fəkrí lèn.^l* ‘He had many stories that I do not remember.’ (A:97)
- (6) *ʔanà^l bratí ta-xá-nāš là kównaf ké ḥaštá líte-u ʔexá.^l* ‘I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job, and so forth.’ (D:20)

When the head refers to a generic class, the verb in the relative clause is in the irrealis form, e.g.

- (7) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqḷì,^l qámxa ké kašér la-hǎwè.^l* ‘They could not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher.’ (A:60)

- (8) *kúle mǎndíx kè*¹ ... *xəlyà-hǎwe*¹ 'Everything that is sweet'. (A:33)

The particle *ke* is occasionally used to express non-restrictive relative clauses, e.g.

- (9) *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-ṭášt-e mesì*¹ *ke-qám-e-o xwartá wila-wale-ò*¹ 'He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had made white beforehand.' (B:19)

12.1.1.3. -e

On some sporadic occasions the *izafe* particle *-e* is attested on head nouns of relative clauses, e.g.

- (1) *našá-e hǎwèle*¹ *xa-karxàna hǎwèle*¹ *ya-xá mo'áššà hǎwèle*¹ 'a man who had a factory or who had an institution' (B:12)
- (2) *'o-baxtá-e laxmǎkè kolawale-ó*¹ 'the woman who opened out the bread' (B:22)
- (3) *jám-e kǎyá ke*-... 'a mirror that knows that ...' (A:93)
- (4) *ta-zámán-e ke-'anà xlulá wil*¹ 'until the time that I married' (A:4)

12.1.2. Asyndetic Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are sometimes asyndetic, with no connective particle. In the majority of cases the head noun is indefinite. On some occasions this has a non-specific referent and the relative clause is restrictive. The verb in such clauses is typically in the irrealis form, e.g.

- (1) *mǎtíwale ga-xá-t''ka qǎrìrà hǎwé*¹ 'They put it in a place that was cool.' (A:83)
- (2) *ba-tǎfawót-e našákè*¹ *čǎkmá nǎfǎre-hítwalu xála 'axlì*¹ 'according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat food' (B:17)

Generally, however, where an asyndetic construction corresponds to a relative clause in an idiomatic English translation, the relative clause is non-restrictive. The head noun may have a specific (3–6) or non-specific (7–8) referent, e.g.

- (3) *xá 'ambár rába rabtà hítwale*¹ *zmàtela*¹ *tir-'ahàn*¹ 'He had a big warehouse, which was full of metal beams.' (A:7)

- (4) *xà šwáwa hítwale¹ ràba dawlamán-yele.¹* ‘He had a neighbour, who was very rich.’ (A:100)
- (5) *xà¹ bronà¹ híye ba-‘olám¹ káččál-yele.¹* ‘A boy came into the world who was bald.’ (D:1)
- (6) *ɽ^okané ràba hítwale¹ híwale ba-‘ijarà.¹* ‘He had many shops, which he had rented out.’ (A:7)
- (7) *pəštì hítwalan¹ dǎéxwalu ba-guzà.¹* ‘We had a back-support, which we put on the wall.’ (A:56)
- (8) *xa-‘ədá buxarì hitwálu¹ ba-šiwè malqiwalá.¹* ‘Some people had a stove, which they would heat by wood.’ (A:89)

An asyndetic clause may have an indefinite pronominal head in the form of the indefinite particle *xa*, e.g.

- (9) *bár kùle¹ kyàwa¹ xa-sawzì-ye,¹ šaplultà kəmríwa baqéf.¹* ‘After everything (else) there came something that is a vegetable, which is called *šaplulta*.’ (B:68)

Another type of asyndetic structure is the construction in (10) which has a zero pronominal head:

- (10) *ʔasúr-ile báqa didàn¹ m-širinè ʔaxléx,¹ gér ʔáz ləxmà lá-hāwe-u¹* ‘We are forbidden to eat sweets, with the exception of what did not have bread (in it).’ (B:29)

In (11) and (12) the head of an asyndetic restrictive relative clause is a definite nominal. In both cases, however, the head phrase ends in *-e* and so it is possible that this has coalesced with the *izafe* particle *-e*:

- (11) *ʔo-našé kùle da‘wát wiliwalè¹* ‘all the people he had invited’ (D:8)
- (12) *ʔé hár ʔó broná káčalākéle da‘wātàn wílwale?¹* ‘Is this the same bald boy who invited us?’ (D:14)

12.1.3. *har-či, har-kas*

The generic pronominal heads ‘whoever/anybody who’ or ‘whatever/everything that’ are expressed by the Iranian constructions *har-kas* and *har-či* respectively, e.g.

- (1) *hár-kas bi-zóa hāwéle bíš ‘ayzà-y.¹* ‘Anybody who has more is (considered) better.’ (A:55)

- (2) *hár-kas hewalèl ga-belá yätùwal tāmisiš dōqwa.* ‘Anybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning.’ (A:57)
- (3) *ta-hár-kas da‘wätéf wilel ba-xá dāsá jələ zìl.* ‘He went in a suit to each one who had invited him.’ (D:16)
- (4) *hár-či ‘át kəmratl ‘ána mātúna ba-rěš ‘eni.* ‘Everything that you say, I am willing to do.’ (A:18)
- (5) *hár-či ‘át kəmratl qābùl hitì.* ‘Everything you say, I agree (to do).’ (A:18)
- (6) *hár-či ‘iléf doqāwal kwəlwa mātúwa ga-dawriākè-ul* ‘Whatever he could lay his hand on (literally: whatever his hand held) he would give and place on the plate.’ (B:51)

In (7) and (8) the heads are connected to the clause by the relative particles *ke* and *ya* respectively:

- (7) *lá guptà,* *lá mastàl hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yelē lá kəxlèxwale.* ‘We did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.’ (A:68)
- (8) *hár-či ya-hiyèlanl dwóqlan ba-‘ilè.* ‘We held in our hands everything that we could.’ (E:12)

The phrase *har-či* may modify a following noun in constructions such as (9):

- (9) *pás har-či ‘əsrār wīlu là híya.* ‘Then, whatever insistence they made (= however much they insisted), she did not come.’ (A:23)

12.1.4. The Internal Structure of Relative Clauses

When the referent of the head nominal is the subject of the relative clause, it is expressed by the subject inflection of the verb or copula. When the referent of the head has some other grammatical relation in the relative clause, this is expressed by coreferential pronominal suffixes in the appropriate syntactic position. This is illustrated in the foregoing examples. Some structures, however, require further comment.

When the referent of the head nominal has the role of direct object in the relative clause, the relative clause in principle has a resumptive element whether the head be definite or indefinite. A resumptive element tends to be omitted, however, after the generic pronominal heads *har-kas* and *har-či*, e.g.

- (1) *hár-čī 'át kəmràt' 'ána mǎtúna ba-rěš 'enì.* 'Everything that you say, I am willing to do.' (A:18)

A resumptive pronominal element is sometimes omitted when the head nominal has an adverbial function, such as locative or temporal, within the relative clause. e.g.

- (2) *ga-d-ó-t^wka ya-toryú 'ərbú 'onyexáe dabḥi-òl* 'in that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep' (A:73)
- (3) *ta-zāmān-e ke-'anà xlulá wil'í* 'until the time that I married' (A:4)
- (4) *'ātá g-áy səná didòx' ké xirèt' 'əsrí šənè' 'əsrí-u xamšá šənè,* *dàx kélox ḥaštá yalpét'?* 'Now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job?' (D:21)

12.2. CLEFT CONSTRUCTIONS

A cleft construction involves the splitting of a simple clause into two components that are linked in a predicative relationship, with part of the contents embedded in a subordinate clause. The purpose is to put particular focus on one constituent. This is attested in (1), which puts contrastive focus on the subject constituent of the first clause. The remainder of the clause is not introduced by any explicit subordinating conjunction, so the construction is best characterized as 'quasi-cleft':

- (1) *'ó bšəlmantè-ya ləxmá dǎyáwa ba-tǎnurá.* *hulaà lá kǎewa.* 'It was a Muslim (not a Jew) who put the bread in the oven. A Jew did not know (how to do it).' (B:20)

In (2) a prepositional phrase with the embedded content clause is the information focus, while the contents of the following clause are presupposed to be known from the preceding context. Again the clause outside of the focus has no explicit subordinating particle:

- (2) *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké' bet-ha-məqdáš weràn xirté-ya' 'axnī là-xar šratá ḥāwélan.* 'It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light.' (B:46)

12.3. MODIFIER CLAUSES

Non-restrictive deontic clauses such as *ʔəlhá mǎnixle* ‘May God grant him rest’ may be placed as an asyndetic modifier before or after a nominal head, e.g.

- (1) *ʔəlhá mǎnixle ʔAwlé sǎqəzí nòšefl hám ʔəčwalel hám dáewale ba-tǎnurà.*¹ ‘Awle from Sǎqəz, may God grant him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven.’ (B:21)
- (2) *h̄qeli-ó báqa tatí ʔəlhá mǎnixà.*¹ ‘I told my father, may God grant him rest.’ (B:61)

12.4. INDIRECT QUESTIONS

Various subordinate clauses that are introduced by interrogative particles may be classified as indirect questions. These are embedded under verbs such as ‘to know’, ‘to say’, ‘to ask’, ‘to see’, ‘to understand’, e.g.

- (1) *la-káyan mǎni-ye.*¹ ‘I do not know who it is.’ (A:21)
- (2) *lá kǎena má honà.*¹ ‘I do not know what I should do.’ (D:2)
- (3) *kmǎrwa xətná čəkmá kwól báqa kaldǎkè,*¹ *kaldǎké mà hitá.*¹ ‘He would say how much the groom would give to the bride and how much the bride had.’ (A:48)
- (4) *ʔoní là kǎenwa ma-yén.*¹ ‘They did not know what they were.’ (A:87)
- (5) *xáe náše mà kəmrí,*¹ *naše dàx-yen,*¹ *zəndəgíu dàx-ye*¹ *wa-ʔágar čǎnǎnče xa-našá na-rahǎtí hǎwèle,*¹ *ʔǎle báef.*¹ ‘He would see what people were saying, how people were, how their life was and, whether a person had a grievance, to know about it.’ (A:108)
- (6) *haxám-e kništà ga-doká*¹ *daruš kólwa*¹ *Mošé Rǎbénu ʔaláv ha-šalóm dàx m-olám zíl,*¹ *mà wíle,*¹ *zǎhamtá mà grǎšle báqa huláe.*¹ ‘The rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews.’ (B:52)
- (7) *lá bəqrán ʔašlàn*¹ *dóka má kolèx*¹ *ta-héma ʔahrà-u*¹ *reš-ħaštá gezèx.*¹ ‘We did not at all ask what we would do there, to which town we would go for work.’ (E:13)

Indirect polar questions are embedded without any introductory particle, e.g.

- (8) *ma'lum-la-y 'át hulaét yá bšəlmanèt.*¹ 'It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim.' (B:25)

Sometimes an embedded constituent question is preceded by the subordinating particle *ke*, e.g.

- (9) *'ənyexáe ga-fkár kwénwa ké báqa pätiré má lazóm-ye tahyà holí.*¹
'They considered what they should prepare for Passover.' (B:14)
- (10) *'o kãewa ke-ta-má lá kəmrréte.*¹ 'He knew why you did not say (it) to him.' (B:46)

Indirect constituent questions and polar questions may be introduced by the particle *daxom*, e.g.

- (11) *m'ini ga-dawràn¹ xãena mà xirá-y¹ réša 'ay-qawmì¹ dáxom mà zilá-y.¹*
'I looked around to see what had happened, what had become of my people.' (E:23)
- (12) *bəqrí mən-yalàn¹ daxóm là xiyá-y.¹* 'I asked our children whether they had seen it (our language).' (E:26)

12.5. SUBORDINATE CONTENT CLAUSES

A variety of subordinate clauses that are embedded as components of a higher clause will be brought together in this section under the broad classification of 'content clauses'. These function either as subject or direct object complements of a verb or are governed by clausal conjunctions consisting of prepositions, adverbials and quantifiers.

12.5.1. *ke*

The particle *ke* without any other clausal conjunction introduces the following types of content clause.

12.5.1.1. *Factive Complement Content Clauses*

Clauses of assumed factual content that function as nominal constituents in the main clause are sometimes introduced by *ke*.

When functioning as object, they are typically complements of verbs such as 'to say' and 'to know', and follow the main verb, e.g.

- (1) *xa-năfar-xét šărwala baqá 'ăxonăf^l hămər kè^l 'ay-bronà^l həl-d-áy bratá gbè.^l* 'She sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl.' (A:18)

In (2–4) the complement clause functions as an apposition to a nominal or demonstrative phrase:

- (2) *qámé did^l hič-kás 'ay-ħaştá la-wilawalè^l ké lăčăgá ba-rešá dasgiraní nătènef-o.^l* 'Before me nobody had done such a thing, namely that I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed.' (A:25)
- (3) *tărz-e qədúš 'ăxà-yele^l ke-xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u^l* 'The method of consecration was as follows, (namely) that they would draw a curtain.' (A:47)
- (4) *'áy zoanulá ta-d-òà há-y^l ké ba-lelé ħaştà wilí.^l* 'This excess is because of this—that I worked at night.'

On numerous occasions, however, the factual complement in such contexts is asyndetic without any connective particle, e.g.

- (5) *kəmríwa băširé 'aşlân băraxà hitú.^l* 'They would say that grapes in particular had blessing.' (A:72)
- (6) *rába nășe da'wàt kolíwa,^l čún kəmríwa qála miłá šamoé maşwà hité.^l* 'They would invite many people, because they said that it was a good deed to hear the cry (of the baby) at circumcision.' (A:75)
- (7) *ga-dokà^l rába našè^l rába hamrét dawlamán hăwèn.^l* 'There you would say that many people were rich.' (A:55)
- (8) *rásm d-èele^l 'afsărè^l 'artèš^l rakwíwa susì.^l* 'It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse.' (A:15)
- (9) *kăé 'át bšəlmanèt.^l* 'He knows that you are a Muslim.' (B:65)
- (10) *wa-maxwíwala nășé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn^l ke-'ălén 'ay-bratà^l bătulá xirté-ya.^l* 'They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.' (A:50)

An asyndetic factive complement clause is used after the verb of perception *xŎy* 'to see' as an idiomatic means of presenting an important event or situation, e.g.

- (11) *xéli Bahrám gyàn^l telefón wíle baqì^l yáni ta-Soqrát bronì^l míre ’anà^l baxtà gəwrí^l* ‘It happened (literally: I saw) that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrát my son, and said “I have married.”’ (C:4)
- (12) *xéli hóš-u xyaǎí lága d-èele.^l* ‘My thoughts were indeed with him.’ (C:7)

In (13) and (14) the purpose of subordinating a factual clause under *ke* is to present an explanation of its contents in the higher clause:

- (13) *’ò ’é ke-šomá-e šábát-e šəhyòn^l ga-xšāba doqéxwale.^l* ‘That is (the reason) that we kept the fast of the Sabbath of Zion on Sunday.’ (B:73)
- (14) *’át sarwatmànd-yet^l ké ’àt^l puǎè rába hitóx ké ’áy memaní dəwqəlox.^l* ‘You are rich, in that you have a lot of money and have offered that hospitality.’ (D:9)

12.5.1.2. *Non-factive Complement*

The particle *ke* on some occasions introduces a complement clause expressing an activity that is as yet unfulfilled or only potential from the viewpoint of the main verb, e.g.

- (1) *’ijazá hùlmu^l ke-’axní xlulà holéx.^l* ‘Give permission for us to hold the wedding.’ (A:31)
- (2) *hítwa xá-šata ùl gǎrǎšwa ké^l gbén xlulà holí.^l* ‘Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding.’ (A:30)

12.5.1.3. *Purpose*

A clause introduced by *ke* often expresses purpose, e.g.

- (1) *wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn^l ke-’álén ’ay-bratà^l bātulà xirté-ya.^l* ‘They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin.’ (A:50)
- (2) *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dǎén ba-lǎxàù^l b-lǎ səngù^l ké ’álén ’ənyexáe hulaèn.^l* ‘They had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest, so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.’ (A:78)

12.5.2. *ta-*

12.5.2.1. ‘when’

When the particle *ta-* introduces a subordinate clause that is placed before the main clause, it has the sense of ‘when’, e.g.

- (1) *ta-’äxá míre baqâf’ ’áy ’arqâla.* ‘When he said this to her, she fled.’ (A:22)
- (2) *ta-’aná hiyèna,* *tatí plîṭwa.* ‘When I came, my father had gone out.’

12.5.2.2. ‘until’

When the subordinate clause is placed after the main clause, it has the sense of ‘until’, e.g.

- (1) *mən-belá xəmè,* *mən-belá xətnākè,* *gezíwa ba-dohól ’u-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u mähälèl’ deyáwa ’aléf ta-gezíwa be-kaldà.* ‘From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, playing (the instruments) until they arrived at the house of the bride.’ (A:10)

In (2) and (3) *ta* is connected to the clause by the subordinating particle *ge-*, a variant of *ke-*:

- (2) *’é ’ajilé nătènwalu* *tá-ge qárwa pätirèl’ kəmriwa báqa ’ənšèl’ sâj matwéx.* ‘They would put the mixed nuts aside until close to Pass-over they would say to the women “Let’s put out the griddle.”’ (B:28)
- (3) *gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge ’arbit xărăwa.* ‘We would go into the fields until it was time for evening prayers.’ (B:32)

The subordinating particle *ge* is attested also in the phrase *ta-ge* before nominals denoting periods of time. Such constructions probably arose by analogy with embedded predications denoting time periods such as (2) and (3), e.g.

- (4) *báqāta gezéxwa kništàl’ xét là kexwá-o belá’ har-tá-ge lelèl’* ‘In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night.’ (B:74)

In (5) the preposition is combined with the Persian particle *’inke* before the subordinate clause:

- (5) *rəwe,¹ rəwe¹ tá-²inke xì¹ ba-xá bronà¹ taqribán ³əsri šané.¹* ‘He grew and grew until he became a boy about twenty years old.’ (D:1)

If the action of the verb in the subordinate clause is presented as unrealized from the perspective of the preceding clause, the verb is in the irrealis form:

- (6) *susyăké mən-sarbāzخانé kméwale qam-tără,¹ həl-didí markùwa¹ ta-hezn-ó báqa sarbāzخانé.¹* ‘He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door, he would mount me (on the horse), (and stay with me) until I went back to the barracks.’ (A:16)
- (7) *lá-xar ³ıla táqra báu ta-léle pătiré baraxà hamrí.¹* ‘No hand could touch them until they said the blessing on the night of Passover.’ (B:23)

Such irrealis clauses may contain the negative particle, e.g.

- (8) *mən-lăxá lá gèzna¹ ta-là-hen məntăklí.¹* ‘I shall not go from here until they come with me.’

12.5.2.3. Purpose

The preposition is used before a content clause to express purpose, e.g.

- (1) *mar-hé ta-labnăxún dóka lagèf.¹* ‘Let him come so that I may take you there to him.’ (B:60)

12.5.2.3. Result

A subordinate clause placed after the main clause may also express result, e.g.

- (1) *³ənyexáe ³əqrá šorèr-yelu ta-³əlhà-hămər mălél!¹* ‘They were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said “That is enough!”’ (A:77)

12.5.3. *baqa*

12.5.3.1. Purpose

When connected to a subordinate clause with an irrealis verb form, this preposition expresses purpose, e.g.

- (1) *leléf-o zilex baqà¹ širinù hămex-ó.¹* ‘On that very night we went to fetch the sweets.’ (A:19)

- (2) *məntáke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà^l geziwa baqá kaldá hāmenīla be-xətnà.^l* ‘The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom.’ (A:44)

In (3) and (4) the preposition takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause:

- (3) *báqa d-ó ’ālē^l ké ra’yāté, našēf,^l našé ’áy mamlākātà^l dāx zəndəgí kolí^l dāx lá kolí,^l gežól lelwāwə^l ləbās-e dawrešī lóšwa.^l* ‘In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived, he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar.’ (A:108)
- (4) *báqa d-eà-y ke-hamr^l ya-rābi škùr.^l* ‘This was in order for them to say “Thank you Oh Lord.”’ (B:47)

12.5.3.2. Cause

When the verb is realis, the preposition expresses cause. This is the case in (1) and (2), where the construction has an anticipatory demonstrative pronoun:

- (1) *ləxmá huláa xùl^l báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxəl.^l* ‘Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig.’ (B:65)
- (2) *šratá xét ’ezafá là malqíwa,^l báqa d-éa lá-xar ’íla dāēn ba-nurà.^l* ‘They did not light an additional lamp, because it was not permitted for them to touch fire, as on Sabbath.’ (B:72)

12.5.4. *qāme, qam*

The preposition *qāme* ‘before’ may be combined with a content clause introduced by *ke*. Note that the verb is in the irrealis form (§9.2.1.1. vi), e.g.

- (1) *’áy hawšá qənšáwali qāme ké hət.^l* ‘I swept the yard before you came.’

In the text corpus the preposition generally takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause, e.g.

- (2) *ja-qámé d-éa 'ay-bráta daáki hamrà¹ xa-šatá ga-Kursân-yeli¹ xà yomá¹ 'ay-baxtí 'átá ya-xăetà¹ xiyàli.¹* 'Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now).' (A:8)
- (3) *qámé d-ó-č xlúla holí¹ kíle be-bätulà-yen.¹* 'Before they marry, they are all non-virgins.' (A:50)
- (4) *qámé d-óa 'ána b-'olám henà,¹ hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,¹ maxşuşán ga-yomáwáe naxlá,¹ gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dăén ba-lăxàw¹ b-lá səngù¹ ké 'alén 'ənyexáe hulaèn.¹* 'Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.' (A:78)

In (5) the combined preposition *m-qam* is used with a causal sense:

- (5) *hič-kas¹ da'wăti lá wile-ò¹ wa-là kăena¹ m-qám d-éa 'aná¹ pərçè lití,¹ kăčâl-yena¹ yá šəmà lití 'exá.¹* 'I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don't know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth.' (D:10)

12.5.5. *bar*

In the text corpus this preposition takes a demonstrative pronoun as its immediate complement, which is bound anaphorically to the following content clause, e.g.

- (1) *bar-d-èa¹ 'ay-ħášta wilàlu,¹ xá năfar kéwa ga-belà.¹* 'After they had done this work, a person came to the house.' (B:17)
- (2) *bar-d-èa¹ 'ijazá wilwalù,¹ gbéwa xa-širní xorán-e mfăşàl doqí.¹* 'After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of "eating the sweets."' (A:32)
- (3) *bár-d-ea ke-xostá xlulá wilwalù,¹ xèta kolíwa¹ .. kəmríwale 'ilá dwaqà.¹* 'After they had performed the "request of the wedding", they did something, ... it was called "the joining of hands."' (A:34)
- (4) *bár-d-ea kništà-č timá,¹ ... kén-o béla báz-ham ba-doholá-u zornà.¹* 'After the synagogue had finished ... they go home again with the drum and pipe.' (A:53)

12.5.6. *tʷka*

The adverbial *tʷka* ‘in place of, instead of’ takes a content clause as its complement with the intermediary of a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

- (1) *tʷká d-éa ga-kništà matwìla^l ga-bèla matwíwala.^l* ‘Instead of holding it in a synagogue they held it at home.’ (B:37)
- (2) *tʷká d-óa xos-ħàl xǎrán,^l ʷlí wíli bǎxoè.^l* ‘Instead of being happy, I began to cry.’ (C:4)

12.5.7. *qarwa*

The adjectival form *qarwa* is used adverbially before content clauses. It is attested in (1) and (2), where the subject of the subordinate clauses are raised and made the complements of *qarwa*:

- (1) *qarwá pǎtiré ké xarwà^l ʷorxèl^l ʷjǎra kolíwa.^l* ‘Close to when Passover took place (literally: close to Passover—that it takes place), they rented a watermill.’ (B:15)
- (2) *qarwá-e yomá ké xarwà,^l mewá kmènwa.^l* ‘Close to when dawn broke, they brought fruit.’ (B:80)

12.5.8. *mangol, dax*

Comparative content clauses may be introduced either by the preposition *mangol* or the interrogative particle *dax* without any subordinating particle, e.g.

- (1) *xǎmuštá dǎénwa ga-dušà-u^l mangól ga-lǎxà kolí.^l* ‘They put an apple in honey, as they do here.’ (B:67)
- (2) *šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lǎxá malqì,^l kúle béla ga-doká šratá malqíwa.^l* ‘Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp.’ (B:48)

In (3) *dax* is repeated:

- (3) *har-dáx-dax ʷana-nóši ba-xà tʷká mǎténal^l ʷáy-brona-č máťe.^l* ‘Just as I attained a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place.’ (D:28)

12.6. TEMPORAL CLAUSES

Temporal ‘when’ clauses are expressed by constructions consisting of temporal adverbial phrases connected to a content clause by the *izafe* particle *-e*.

12.6.1. *wáxt-e*

- (1) *wáxt-e šomá kipúr faṣṣran-ò,*¹ *ma¹lám kéwa belà.*¹ ‘When we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house.’ (B:76)
- (2) *ʾaná wáxt-e xluá wili¹ ga-Tarān-yeli nóši.*¹ ‘When I married, I myself was in Tehran.’ (A:5)
- (3) *wáxt-e tāmíz wililè,*¹ *kewá-o kmərwà*¹ ‘When he had cleaned them, he would come back and say ...’ (B:16)
- (4) *wáxt-e híye belàn,*¹ *ʾaná xalá híwli baqəf.*¹ ‘When he came to the house, I gave him food.’
- (5) *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xáya x-kàr,*¹ *maxšusán wáxt-e ʾaxonāwaláf tiwèn.*¹ ‘Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy, especially when her brothers are sitting (in the room).’ (A:24)

The subject of the ‘when’ clause may be extraposed in front of the adverbial particle, e.g.

- (6) *qáme d-óa ʾána b-olám henà,*¹ *hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,*¹ *maxšusán ga-yomāwáe nəxlà,*¹ *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàw¹ b-lá səngù¹ ké ʾalén ʾnyexáe hulaèn.*¹ ‘Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a patch of yellow here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews.’ (A:78)

On some occasions the head adverbial is connected to the clause also by the particle *ke*, e.g.

- (7) *wáxt-e ké mamí híye belàn,*¹ *ʾaná ga-ḥəštà yeli.*¹ ‘When my uncle came to our house, I was at work.’

12.6.2. *ba-müďät-e ke*

- (1) *ba-müďät-e ké bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,¹ báž-ham rába basòr ləxle xáénwa. ‘When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little.’ (A:3)*

12.6.3. *zăman-e ke*

- (1) *hănéša xa-čáčàw ba-rešáf-yele¹ yá lăčǎgà ba-rešáf-yela,¹ ta-zămán-e ke-²anà xlulá wilí. ‘There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married.’ (A:4)*

12.6.4. *čun*

Temporal ‘when’ clauses may also be introduced by the particle *čun*, e.g.

- (1) *čún tate-ú daăkăkè¹ kəmriwa ²éa ‘astè-ya?’¹ bronăké-č qăbùl kólwa. ‘When the father and mother would say “Is she good?,” the boy would accept.’ (A:2)*

In (2) it is combined with the subordinating particle *ge-*, a variant of *ke-*:

- (2) *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plítwa waryà¹ čăqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà. ‘When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick it and bring (it) home.’ (B:32)*

12.6.5. *Asyndetic Temporal Constructions*

In some cases a clause is not embedded under a temporal adverbial but is rendered idiomatically into English by a ‘when’-clause. This includes clauses containing a perfective verb expressing a completed event that sets the frame for a following habitual action (§9.3.1.). e.g.

- (1) *²éa timàwa,¹ bár-d-o xálu kəxlíwale-u¹ geziwa ba-šon-ħaştù. ‘(When) this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.’ (B:69)*
- (2) *²o-lelə-č¹ pəsrá tim,¹ məšxà kəxlíwa. ‘On that night (when) the meat was finished, they used to eat dairy food.’ (A:63)*
- (3) *²éa qəryàlu,¹ qemíwa-u kenwá-o belà. ‘(When) they had read it, they got up and went home.’ (B:53)*

Asyndetic constructions are occasionally found elsewhere, e.g.

- (4) *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,*¹ *ʾonyexáe təqnú lá pešà.*¹ ‘(When) I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).’ (B:81)

12.7. CONDITIONAL CONSTRUCTIONS

12.7.1. Constructions with the Particle *ʾăgar*

Conditional constructions consist of a subordinate clause expressing the condition (protasis) and a main clause expressing the consequent (apodosis). The protasis is generally introduced by the particle *ʾăgar* ‘if’, which is of Iranian origin. The *ʾăgar* clause is in the majority of cases placed before the apodosis clause, though in some cases it is tagged on after the apodosis.

12.7.1.1. Form of the *ʾăgar* Clause

A variety of different verbal forms are used in protasis clauses introduced by *ʾăgar*. Many of these have been mentioned already in the descriptions of the functions of verbal forms. They are brought together here for the sake of convenience.

(i) *ʾăgar gărəš/copula (realis)*

The realis *gărəš* or the copula is used in protases referring to real situations that hold in the present, e.g.

- (1) *ʾăgar xastèt*¹ *ʾát gbé gănèt.*¹ ‘If you are tired, you must sleep.’

(ii) *ʾăgar gărəš (irrealis)*

This expresses a possible situation in the future:

- (1) *ʾăgar mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlètun,*¹ *kasəxún bazyà.*¹ ‘If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst.’ (B:23)
- (2) *ʾăgar hét bel*¹ *ləxmà kəwnóx.*¹ ‘If you come to my house, I shall give you bread.’

(iii) *ǎgar gǎrǎšwa (irrealis)*

This is used in the protasis of conditional constructions denoting either a possible situation in the past (1), a counterfactual situation in the past (2–3), or an impossible situation in the future (4), e.g.

- (1) *ǎgar mǎn-d-áy laxmá ʼaxlǐwa, ǁ kpíné là-yelu.* ʼIf they ate some of this bread, they were not hungry.’
- (2) *ǎgar ʼǎlenáwa ʼát ga-lǎxèt, ǁ ʼaná dernawa-ò.* ʼIf I had known that you were here, I would have returned.’
- (3) *ǎgar hétwa, geznáwa.* ʼIf you had come, I would have gone.’
- (4) *ǎgar qóme henáwa, ǁ konáwale, ǁ wále là-kena.* ʼIf I were to come tomorrow, I would do it, but I shall not come.’

(iv) *ǎgar grǎšle/smǐx*

The past base forms *grǎšle/smǐx* are sometimes used in the protasis of conditional constructions to express a possible event in the past, e.g.

- (1) *ǎgar tamám-e yomá ǎštà wǐlox, ǁ ʼát gbé ʼǎstǎraǎhàt holét.* ʼIf you have worked all day, you must rest.’

(v) *ǎgar gǎrǎša-y/smǐxa-y*

This expresses a real resultant state in the present, e.g.

- (1) *ǎgar tamám-e yomá ǎrǐk ǎštà xirèt, ǁ pǎl púl.* ʼIf you have been busy all day, lie down (to rest).’

(vi) *ǎgar gǎrǎšǎwele/smǐxǎwe*

This expresses a possible resultant state in the present, e.g.

- (1) *ǎgár xá-mdi lá mirǎwelǐ, ǁ gbe-bàxšet.* ʼIf I have not said something, you must forgive me.’ (B:80)

In (2) it is attested in a protasis that is attached after the main clause as a tag:

- (23) *ǎmám ʼǎmumì-yela ǁ mangál ǎmám-e turkì-ya ǎgar xiyǎwelòx.* ʼThe bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen (one).’ (A:36)

It is also used to express a possible resultant state in the past, in constructions that have a past verb in the apodosis, as in (3):

- (3) 'ǎǵár xá nǎfǎrá milǎwe,¹ našé geziwa baqá dokà.¹ 'If somebody had died, people would go there.' (B:79)

(vii) Gapped Apodosis

A negative alternative 'if not' with the remainder of the content of the apodosis gapped is expressed by 'ǎǵar-nam, e.g.

- (1) gbé hár hǎqéx ga-lǎxà¹ ga-lišaná-e 'ǎbrì¹ 'ǎǵar-nam 'òni¹ hǎli lá xǎri.¹
'Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand.' (E:64)

12.7.1.2. Clauses introduced by 'ǎǵar čǎnǎnče

On some occasions the two Iranian particles 'ǎǵar and čǎnǎnče are combined at the head of a protasis clause, e.g.

- (1) 'ǎǵar čǎnǎnče xá-nǎfar zòlm xirǎwe-lèf,¹ gezǎlwa¹ jobrǎn kolwalé-u¹ 'If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him.' (A:109)
- (2) 'ǎǵar čǎnǎnče xa-našá na-raħǎtí hǎwèle,¹ 'ǎle báef.¹ 'If a person had a grievance, he would know about it.' (A:108)

12.7.1.3. Form of the Apodosis

The verb form in the apodosis clause is generally the one that would be expected in an independent clause with the same tense, aspect and mood. In counterfactual conditional constructions, however, the past *ǵǎrǎšwa* form is used in the apodosis with functions that are not normal in independent main clauses, viz. a perfective action in the past (1) or the future (2):

- (1) 'ǎǵar hétwa, geznàwa.¹ 'If you had come, I would have gone.'
- (2) 'ǎǵar henàwa,¹ qòme konàwa,¹ wǎle là-kena.¹ 'If I were to come, I would do it tomorrow, but I shall not come.'

12.7.2. Relative Clauses with Generic Heads

Relative clauses with generic nominals or pronouns as their head are functionally similar to protasis clauses. They may contain irrealis verb forms, e.g.

- (1) *hár-kas bi-zóa hăwéle bíš* ‘ayzâ-y.¹ ‘Anybody who has (= if anybody has) more, he is better.’ (A:55)

Such initial relative phrases are sometimes not resumed by a pronominal element in the apodosis, reflecting the fact that they are interpreted as propositions rather than nominals, e.g.

- (2) *hár-či ’át kəmrət*¹ ’ána mătúna ba-rěš ’eni.¹ ‘Everything that you say, I am willing to do.’ (A:18)

12.7.3. Asyndetic Conditional Constructions

Some clauses that are not introduced by subordinating conditional particles have a function equivalent to protasis clauses. In many cases they have irrealis verb forms, e.g.

- (1) *’álnáwa ga-lăxèt*¹ *kenàwa*¹ ‘(If) I had known that you were, I would have gone to visit you.’
- (2) *’át gezátwa t’kanà*¹ *’ăxonóx dóka yelè*¹ *là kəmrátwa báqef šalóm* ‘ălexém.¹ ‘(If) you went to a shop and your brother was there, you would not say to him “Greetings to you.”’ (B:46)
- (3) *’át hulàet*¹ *hulàet*¹ ‘(If) you are a Jew, you are a Jew.’ (B:82)
- (4) *xa-năfâr*¹ *măsălán fărz holéx xa-šâh*¹ *xá-mdi na-raḥāti xirlăwelalè* *zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta ṭəlbà-y*¹ *mšurtà*¹ *wilá-y baqèf*¹ ‘(If) a person, for example, let’s suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice.’ (A:95)

12.8. CONCESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

A concessive sense may be given to a clause by using the Persian expression *ba-wăjud-e ke*, the basic meaning of which ‘despite the fact that’, e.g.

- (1) *ba-wăjúd-e ké xastèna*¹ *ḥaştá kóna ta-pəlgá lelè*¹ ‘Although I am tired, I shall work until midnight.’

- (2) *ba-wǎjúde ké 'o kpinà-y, l à xīle.* 'Although he was hungry, he did not eat.'

In these sentences, the truth of the situation expressed in the subordinate clause is not in question. The concessive sense is that the situation described in this clause might lead one to expect that the proposition of the main clause would be false but, in fact, this is not the case.

A conditional 'even if' construction is related, in that it indicates that the situation of the main clause is not expected to follow from the condition but nevertheless will do so. The difference from a concessive construction is that the truth of the protasis is not certain. In (3)–(4) this is expressed by an inclusive construction with the particle *-ǎč* (§11.2.):

- (3) *'ǎgar-ǎč xastà hǎwéna, l haštà kóna.* 'Even if I were tired, I would work.'
- (4) *'ǎgar-ǎč kpiná hǎwèwa, l 'ixalá là xilá-y.* 'Even if he was hungry, he did not eat the food.'

The Persian particle *mǎgar* 'perhaps' may be used to form concessive constructions, e.g.

- (5) *mǎgar rába naxòš xírǎwe l yá rába na-raḥàt xírǎwe l huláe kíle doqìwa.* 'Even if somebody was very ill or was very unwell, all the Jews observed (the fast).' (B:44)

A concessive sense may be expressed by constructions with relative clauses containing generic heads such as (6)

- (6) *pás har-čí 'ǎsrár wílu là híya.* 'Then, whatever insistence they made (= however much they insisted/although they insisted), she did not come.' (A:23)

13. THE LEXICON

The purpose of this chapter is to present inventories of lexical items arranged into various semantic fields in order to facilitate the comparison of the lexicon of Jewish Sanandaj with that of other NENA dialects.

The lexicon contains many loanwords from Kurdish and Persian, some of which are ultimately derived from other languages, especially Arabic. In the lists below the source language of the words are indicated insofar as this can be established. The proportion of loanwords in each semantic field is calculated on the basis of the lists.

13.1. THE HUMAN BODY

Total	80
Loanwords	15 (= 19%)

<i>gyana</i> (K)	‘body’
<i>reša</i>	‘head’
<i>pərče</i>	‘hair (collective)’
<i>məsta</i>	‘hair (individual item)’
<i>şalma</i>	‘face’
<i>babena</i>	‘forehead’
<i>’ena</i>	‘eye’
<i>gəlke</i> <i>’ena</i> (K)	‘pupil’
<i>bāurula</i> <i>’ena</i>	‘white of the eye’
<i>peḷa</i> , <i>pəḷka</i> <i>’ena</i> (K)	‘eyelash’
<i>xaša</i> <i>’ena</i>	‘eyelid’
<i>gwenya</i> , <i>gwentā</i> (pl. <i>gwenye</i>)	‘eyebrow’
<i>poqa</i>	‘nose’
<i>bəza poqa</i>	‘nostril’
<i>bole</i>	‘nasal mucus, snot’
<i>nāhala</i> , <i>nāhālta</i> (pl. <i>nāhale</i>)	‘ear’

<i>лага/нарма</i> (K) <i>naḥala</i>	‘earlobe’
<i>гупа</i> (pl. <i>гупе</i>)	‘cheek’
<i>пәма</i>	‘mouth’
<i>спалта</i> (pl. <i>спале</i>)	‘lip’
<i>сәмбеҗе</i>	‘moustache’
<i>кака</i> (pl. <i>каке</i>)	‘tooth’
<i>лиšana</i>	‘tongue’
<i>čānaga</i> (K)	‘jaw, chin’
<i>балота</i>	‘throat’
<i>қорқората</i>	‘Adam’s apple’
<i>тәф</i> (K/P)	‘spittle’
<i>тәқна, тәңта</i>	‘beard’
<i>пқара, пқарта</i>	‘neck’
<i>бар-пқара</i>	‘back of the neck’
<i>кәпана</i> (pl. <i>кәпане</i>)	‘shoulder’
<i>колака-е</i> ’ила (K), <i>қәтра қола</i> (K)	‘elbow’
’ила	‘hand’
<i>сита</i> (pl. <i>сије</i>)	‘span of the hand’
<i>қола</i> (K)	‘arm’
<i>hangәлта</i> (K)	armpit
<i>збота</i> (pl. <i>збонје</i>)	‘finger’
<i>збота рабта</i>	‘thumb’
<i>гәлка</i> (pl. <i>гәлке</i>) (K)	‘index finger’
<i>қәнчәкла</i> (pl. <i>қәнчәкле</i>) (K)	‘little finger’
<i>тәпра</i> (pl. <i>тәпре</i>)	‘fingernail’
<i>сәнга</i> (K)	‘chest’
<i>каса</i>	‘stomach’
<i>мәмона</i>	‘breast’
<i>кәләка</i> (K)	‘side, flank’
<i>рана</i> (pl. <i>ране</i>) (K)	‘thigh’
<i>хаша</i>	‘back’
<i>šәра</i>	‘navel’
<i>хана</i>	‘lap’
<i>šәрма</i>	‘fundament’
<i>сақа</i>	‘shin’
<i>бәрка</i> (pl. <i>бәрке</i>)	‘knee’
’ақла	‘leg’, ‘foot’
<i>тхела</i> ’ақла	‘bottom of the foot’
<i>реša</i> ’ақла	‘top of the foot’
<i>гарма</i> ’ақла	‘ankle’

<i>ʾāqolta</i>	‘heel’
<i>məška</i>	‘skin’
<i>ʾaraq</i> (K < A)	‘sweat’
<i>čruk</i> (P), <i>xāte šalma</i>	‘wrinkle’
<i>garma</i>	‘bone’
<i>tāpoqa reša</i> (K)	‘top of head’
<i>moxa</i>	‘brain’
<i>řag</i> (K)	‘vein’
<i>dəma</i>	‘blood’
<i>ləba</i>	‘heart’
<i>dande</i> (K)	‘rib’
<i>ļaļa</i>	‘lung’
<i>koza</i>	‘liver’
<i>kasa</i>	‘stomach’
<i>miye</i>	‘long intestine’
<i>maʾda</i> (P < A)	‘small intestine’
<i>kulya</i> (pl. <i>kulye</i>)	‘kidney’
<i>tāhela</i>	‘spleen’
<i>mārorta</i>	gall-bladder
<i>māra-mila</i>	‘penis’
<i>guna</i>	‘penis of young boy’
<i>quṭa</i>	‘vagina’
<i>jole</i>	‘urine’
<i>xəre</i>	‘excrement’

13.2. FAMILY RELATIONS

Total	43
Loanwords	9 (= 21%)

<i>gora</i>	‘man, husband’
<i>baxta</i>	‘woman, wife’
<i>tata</i>	‘father’
<i>daāka</i> (K)	‘mother’
<i>ʾāxona</i>	‘brother’
<i>xāləsta</i>	‘sister’
<i>tata rūwa</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>daāka rabta</i> (K)	‘grandmother’
<i>brona</i>	‘son, boy’
<i>brata</i>	‘daughter, girl’

<i>yala zora</i>	‘baby (m.)’
<i>yalta zorta</i>	‘baby (f.)’
<i>yale</i>	‘children’
<i>mama</i>	‘paternal uncle’
<i>ʼamta</i>	‘paternal aunt’
<i>lala</i>	‘maternal uncle’
<i>ʼamta</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>bar-ʼamona</i>	‘paternal cousin (m.)’
<i>bar-ʼamta</i>	‘maternal cousin (m.)’
<i>brata mama</i>	‘paternal cousin (f.)’
<i>brata ʼamta</i>	‘maternal cousin (f.)’
<i>temona</i>	‘wife of paternal uncle’
<i>xəma</i>	‘father-in-law’
<i>xmala</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>xətna</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>kalda</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>ʼəlma</i>	‘brother of husband’
<i>ʼilamla, ʼilalma</i>	‘wife of brother of husband’
<i>seta</i>	‘sister of husband’
<i>xətna, gora xələsta</i>	‘husband of sister’
<i>ʼat-xona</i>	‘wife of brother’
<i>baxta lala</i>	‘wife of maternal uncle’
<i>gora daäka, bawa pyara (K)</i>	‘step-father’
<i>ʼat-e baba</i>	‘step-mother’
<i>taɣfa (P < A)</i>	‘family’
<i>qawm-u kare (K/P < A)</i>	‘relatives, extended family’
<i>jwānqa (K)</i>	‘young man’
<i>brata jwān (K)</i>	‘young woman’
<i>nāwaga (pl. nāwage) (K)</i>	‘grandson’
<i>nawšar (pl. nawšare) (K)</i>	‘grandchildren’
<i>ʼarmalda</i>	‘widow’
<i>baxta la gəwra-y</i>	‘He is a bachelor’
<i>gora la-wila-y</i>	‘She is a spinster’

13.3. NATURAL PHENOMENA

Total	13
Loanwords	5 (= 38%)

<i>nəxla</i>	‘rain’
<i>gargome</i>	‘thunder’
<i>bərqə</i>	‘lightning’
<i>talğa</i>	‘snow’
<i>yax</i> (P)	‘ice’
<i>tarzǎka</i> (K)	‘hail’
<i>roxa</i>	‘wind’
<i>tofān</i> (P < A)	‘storm’
<i>šawnam</i> (K)	‘fog’
<i>bǎurula</i>	‘light, brightness’
<i>xəška</i>	‘darkness’
<i>poxa</i>	‘shade’
<i>zəlzəla</i> (P), <i>ryaṭa</i> ‘āra	‘earthquake’

13.4. BASIC ATTRIBUTES

Total	35
Loanwords	10 (= 29%)

<i>rūwa</i>	‘big’
<i>zora</i>	‘small’
<i>yǎrixə</i>	‘long’
<i>kəryə</i>	‘short’
<i>ntoa</i>	‘high’
<i>koša</i>	‘low’
<i>pǎṭuxə</i>	‘wide’
‘ <i>iqə</i>	‘narrow’
<i>šāmina</i>	‘fat’
<i>nəqlə</i>	‘thin’
‘ <i>əwya</i>	‘thick’
<i>dǎqiqə</i>	‘fine’
<i>gurj</i> , <i>gwərx</i> (K)	‘fast’
<i>yǎwāš</i> <i>yǎwāš</i> (K), <i>laqalaq</i> (K)	‘slow’
<i>ba-qəwta</i> (K < A)	‘strong’
<i>be-qəwta</i> (K < A)	‘weak’

<i>qurs</i> (K)	‘heavy’
<i>qālula</i>	‘light’
<i>rākixa</i>	‘soft’
<i>səft</i> (P)	‘hard’
‘ <i>ayza</i>	‘good’
<i>xriwa</i>	‘bad’
<i>pāšixa</i> , <i>xoš-ḥāl</i> (P)	‘happy’
<i>ləbef</i> ‘ <i>iqā-y</i>	‘He is sad’
<i>kpina</i>	‘hungry’
<i>səḥya</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>xəlyā</i>	‘sweet’
<i>māḥira</i>	‘bitter’
<i>šāf</i> (P)	‘smooth’
<i>tālila</i>	‘wet’
<i>wišā</i>	‘dry’
<i>xāmuša</i>	‘sour’
<i>qul</i> , <i>qola</i> (K)	‘deep’
<i>jəhya</i>	‘tired’
<i>tre gyane</i> (K)	‘pregnant’

13.5. COLOURS

Total	8
Loanwords	3 (= 38%)

<i>xwara</i>	‘white’
<i>koma</i>	‘black’
<i>smoqa</i>	‘red’
<i>yāruqa</i>	‘green’
<i>zayra</i>	‘light yellow’
‘ <i>abi</i> (P)	‘blue’
<i>qənya</i>	‘turquoise’
<i>qaway</i> (K < A)	‘brown’

13.6. VERBS RELATING TO BASIC ACTIVITIES

Total	22
Loanwords	5 (= 23%)

<i>pea</i> (K)	<i>xira-y</i>	‘He was born’
<i>ryš</i> I		‘to wake up’
<i>gny</i> I		‘to sleep’
<i>pāl</i> (K)	<i>lpl</i> I	‘to lie down’
<i>xyp</i> I		‘to wash, bathe (man and woman)’
<i>sxy</i> I		‘to swim; to wash (total immersion)’
<i>xll</i> I		‘to wash (an item, clothes)’
<i>jəlef</i>	<i>ləwšile</i> I	‘He got dressed’
<i>jəlef</i>	<i>šəlxile</i> I	‘He undressed’
<i>šql</i> I		‘to buy’
<i>zbn</i> II		‘to sell’
<i>mtw</i> III		‘to put (on solid surface)’
<i>ʔila</i>	<i>mtw</i> III <i>b-</i> , <i>ʔila</i> <i>dŌy</i> <i>b-</i> , <i>tqr</i> <i>b-</i>	‘to touch’
<i>dry</i> I		‘to put (into sth., onto liquid)’
<i>nty</i> I		‘to take’
<i>lbl</i> II		‘to take away’
<i>fami-ye</i> (P < A)		‘I remember’
<i>fami</i>	<i>la-y</i> , <i>fami</i> <i>zil-o</i> (P < A)	‘I have forgotten’
<i>čyr</i> I		‘to search’
<i>thy</i> I		‘to find’
<i>hgy</i> I (K < A)		‘to speak’
<i>rwy</i> I		‘to grow up’

13.7. VERBS RELATING TO MOVEMENT

Total	18
Loanwords	0 (= 0%)

<i>ʔzl</i>		‘to go’
<i>hyy</i>		‘to come’
<i>qym</i> I		‘to rise (human), to get up’
<i>nty</i> I, <i>nnty</i> Q		‘to rise (inanimate, e.g. smoke)’
<i>smx</i> I		‘to stand, to stop’
<i>ʔsq</i> I		‘to ascend’
<i>kwš</i> I		‘to descend’

<i>ke lo'a</i>	'He enters, comes in'
<i>mt̩y</i> I	'to arrive, to reach'
<i>pl̩t̩</i> I	'to leave, to depart'
<i>'rq</i> I	'to run'
<i>ršx</i> I	'to walk'
<i>'wr</i> I, <i>pr̩x</i> I	'to cross'
<i>qarwa xØr</i>	'to approach, to get near'
<i>pr̩x</i> I	'to fly'
<i>n̩dy</i> I	'to jump (up)'
<i>pr̩x</i> I	'to jump (over)'
<i>grš</i> I	'to pull'

13.8. VERBS OF PERCEPTION

Total	8
Loanwords	2 (= 25%)

<i>xØy</i> I	'to see'
<i>m-'yn</i> I	'to look at'
<i>tāmaša</i> (K) <i>'wl</i>	'to watch'
<i>š̩ny</i> I	'to hear'
<i>m-š̩yl</i> III	'to listen to'
<i>tm'</i> I	'to taste'
<i>ħali</i> (P < A) <i>xirna</i>	'I have understood'
<i>m-ryx</i> III	'to smell'

15.9. VERBS RELATING TO AGGRESSION

Total	11
Loanwords	4 (= 36%)

<i>db̩ħ</i> I	'to slaughter'
<i>qt̩l</i> I	'to kill, to beat'
<i>d̩yq</i>	'to crush, to beat, to injure'
<i>dØy</i> I (K)	'to hit, to strike'
<i>čāpala dØy</i> I (K)	'to slap'
<i>ngz</i> I	'to bite'
<i>hanga dila bai/'əli</i> (K)	'a bee stung me'
<i>črp</i> I (K)	'to tear'
<i>m-ndy</i> III	'to demolish'

m-ʔrw III

‘to destroy; to ruin’

ʔpy I

‘to destroy’

15.10 SOCIAL INTERACTION

dâx-yetʔ | ‘How are you?’*ʔòb-yena*, | *ʃkùr* | ‘I am well, thanks.’*brixà hăwét*. | ‘You are welcome.’*brixà hüyét*. | ‘You are welcome.’*ʔotà hüyét*, | *rešá ʔenàn*. | ‘You are welcome, be our guest.’*ʔalhá manté pešét ta-ʔamá-u ʔəsri šané*. | ‘God willing you will live to 120.’*ʔalhá manté ta-ʔamá-u ʔəsri šané ʔámr holét*. | ‘God willing you will live to 120.’*ʔalhá hăwé mənòx*. | ‘God be with you.’*ʔalhá ʔəstòx dóq*. | ‘May God keep your (ms.) honour’ (said to host after food).*zaḥamtà grššlox*. | ‘You have taken trouble’ (expression of thanks for a gift).*pilét zaḥamtà*. | ‘You have taken trouble’.*be-ʔenà hăwé*. | ‘May he be without the (evil) eye’ (said of a beautiful child).

TEXTS

INFORMANT A (HABIB NURANI)

A Wedding in Sanandaj

(1) ga-³aħrâ didàn¹ ga-Sanandaj¹ bráta-u broná mágar xásti waxtärè¹ ga-xásti t^wkè lóxle xáenwa.¹ ³áy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ³ätà¹ ³azâd hăwén-u¹ lóxle xâen-u,¹ lóxle pasnì-u¹ mântáke lóxle hezíwa waryá čăkmá müdätè-u¹ ta-ləxlé pasnì,¹ ³o-waxtára xlulà hólí.¹ (2) ga-dokà¹ táte-u daăkè¹ bì-zoa¹ ³əntəxâb kolíwa¹ mǎni¹ gorí ta-bronù.¹ hütwa¹ bronăké həl-bratăké la-xewále ba-³amrəf,¹ wǎle cún tate-ú daăkăkè¹ kəmriwa ³éa ³ayztè-ya?¹ bronăké-č qăbùl kólwa.¹ (3) ba-müďăt-e ké¹ bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu,¹ báz-ham rába başòr lóxle xáenwa.¹ xəmé-u xmalè¹ həl-kaldú la-xáenwa ³əqrà,¹ yáni kaldăké hăméša rěşaf ksèwala.¹ (4) şalmè doqáwa.¹ şalmé litwala¹ qáme xəmə-u xmalá ya-³ăxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà.¹ hăméša xa-čăčâw ba-reşáf-yele¹ yá lăčăgà ba-reşáf-yela,¹ ta-zămân-e ke-³anà xlulá wilí.¹ (5) ³aná wáxt-e xlulá wilí¹ ga-Taràn-yeli nóši.¹ daăkf híya Taràn¹ kəmrá tá-ləma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorèt?¹ xor-səní rába là-yele.¹ ³anà¹ ³əsrí-u təlĥà šné-yeli¹ xlùla wilí.¹ ham-dárs qărenawa¹ ham-ga-bánk ĥaštà konáwa.¹ (6) daăkf híya¹ kəmrá gbé het-ó baqá ³aħrâ.¹ xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx¹ rába zărif,¹ rába ³ayztà,¹ mən-xanăwadè ³ayztá.¹ familù rába ³ayzá-y¹ ³ăxonăf ³ayzá.¹ ³ăxonáf xa-ďuktər-ye,¹ ³ăxonáf ďuktər kakèle.¹ xá ³ăxóna xetâf¹ čăkmá šogłè hité.¹ (7) măşălàn¹ hamrónwa baqòx¹ nəft zăbónwa,¹ məşrüb zăbónwa.¹ t^wkané rába hítwale¹ hítwale ba-³ijarà.¹ xá ³ambár rába rabtâ hítwale¹ zmăţela¹ tir-³aĥàn,¹ ³asən¹ zăbónwa.¹ lùle zăbónwa.¹ wásá³el-e saxtmanì zăbónwa.¹ míri tòb¹ morăxăşi şaqná-u,¹ ken-ò.¹ ken-ó xăenaf.¹

TEXTS

INFORMANT A (HABIB NURANI)

A Wedding in Sanandaj

(1) In our town, in Sanandaj, a girl and a boy perhaps sometimes, in some places would see each other. But it did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one another and become fond of one another, or that they went out together for some time and chose one another, then got married. (2) There, the parents would generally choose who they married to their son. Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life, but when the parents would say 'Is she good?', the boy would accept. (3) When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little. The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much, because the bride had always covered her head. (4) She was shy. She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed. There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married. (5) When I married, I myself was in Tehran. My mother came to Tehran and said 'When do you want to get married?', but I was still not very old. I was twenty-three when I married. I was both studying and also working in a bank. (6) My mother came and said 'You must return to the town (Sanandaj). I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice, from a good family. Their family is very good. Her brother is good. Her brother is a doctor.' Her brother was a dentist. 'Another brother of hers has several jobs.' (7) For example, I can tell you, he used to sell oil, he used to sell drinks. He had many shops, which he had rented out. He had a big warehouse, which was full of metal beams. He would sell iron. He sold pipes. He sold building materials. I said 'Fine, I'll take leave and come back. I'll come back and see her.'

(8) ja-qáme d-èa 'ay-bratá daáki hamrà| xa-šatá ga-Kursân-yeli| xà yomá| 'ay-baxtí 'átá ya-xætà| xiyàli. (9) rás m ga-doká 'áxà-yele. ga-yomá| reš-šatà,| baqa-xætnà| mæn-be-kaldá xwân kwíwa. xwân mà-yele?| mæn-taxtà trášwalu,| xa-taxtà rüwà. géf širìn mätíwa,| ləbàs mätíwa,| jalé 'ayzè mätíwa,| kwíwalu baqá xætnäkè. rás m ba-d-áy jorà-yela. (10) dohól-u zorná lapláwa qáme. mæn-belá xəmè,| mæn-belá xætnäkè,| geziwa ba-dohól 'u-zorná mæn-d-áy kují-u mähälè,| dáyáwa 'əlaf ta-geziwa be-kaldá. geziwa be-kaldá. yätüwa. xa-čây šäténwa-u| xánči 'aràq šäténwa. (11) 'o-waxtára 'aràq rába rasmí-yela. heštàn| wəski rába litwa. xwanäkè kmenwalà-u| geziwa báqa béla nõšu. (12) 'axní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ħawšà. xá-‘əda jwanqé, bäruxəwalí, smíxəxwa ga-ħawšà. har-‘áxá təmašà koləxwa. xá-‘əda blanè| smíxiwa. 'o-waxtára baté mangal-ləxá kəryé là-yelu. baté ntòe-yelu. 'ay-‘otaqà| 'əqrá koštá là-yela. tre-‘əqrà-yela 'otaqáf. (13) 'áy-ga xa-ṭəbāqá duwóm-yela šawyáwa məšəlān ṭəbāqá haftóm-e ləxà. 'ay-‘otáq čəkmá ntoté-ya 'o-waxtára 'otaqé 'əqrá ntòe-yelu. (14) mæn-ləḥál 'o-xiyàli. míru 'éa xələstá Xanäkè-ya. šəmə 'əxonáf Xanäkè-yele, 'əlhá mənìxle. bróna rába 'ayzək-yele, rəba. 'éa xələstá Xanäkè-ya. (15) 'o-waxtára Xanäká pišwa, heštàn mæn-‘olám la-zilwa. 'aná mæn-ləḥál 'o-xiyàli. 'áy-əč 'o-waxtára 'aná 'afsār-yeli| ga-Kurdəstàn. rás m d-èele| 'afsārè| 'artès| rakwíwa susì. susì kwíwálu. (16) xa-nəfar-əč mangál nokàr, xa-sarbəz, ləpəlwa ba-šonéf rəša susì xèt. susyáké mæn-sarbəzخانە kméwale qam-tərə, həl-didí marküwa| ta-hezn-ó báqa sarbəzخانە. 'o-waxtára məšíné 'əqrá litwa, pás mæn-susì 'əstəfadá kolíwa. sarbəzxáne-č ləḥəl-yela, ga-ḥdúd təlhà kilometrè, 'arbá kilometrè 'orxà-yela. (17) 'aná xa-yomá rəša susì-yeli| 'áy-u xələstáf rád xəri, xələstáf kəmrá baqəf 'éa bróna Jəhàn-ye. šəmə daáki Jəhàn-yele. kómra báqa baxtí| kómra 'éa bróna Jəhàn-ye. xirə-y ba-‘afsār. 'áy-əč mírwala 'əlhá šóqla ta-daəkèf| 'əjáb bronək-ye. 'əjáb zəríf-ye. 'o-waxtára| 'ána-č xiyàli.

(8) Now, before my mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now). (9) The custom there was like this. On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. What was a 'table'? They made it out of a board, a large board. They put sweets in it, they put clothes in it, they put fine clothes in it, then gave it to the groom. The custom was like this. (10) The drum and pipe went in front. From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, (the music) playing until they arrived at the house of the bride. They went to the house of the bride and sat down. They drank tea and they drank some arak. (11) At that time arak was legal.¹⁰ There was not yet much whisky. They brought the table (for the groom), then went to their homes. (12) We youngsters were standing in the courtyard. We, a few youngsters, my friends, were standing in the courtyard. We were just looking. A few girls were standing there. At that time houses were not low like here. Houses were high. The room there was not as low as this (room here). A room there¹¹ was twice (the height). (13) At that time what was the second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here. While this room is as high as this, at that time the rooms were high like that. (14) I saw her from afar. They said 'That is the sister of Xanāka.' The name of her brother was Xanāka, may God grant him rest. He was a very fine lad. 'That is the sister of Xanāka.' (15) At that time Xanāka was alive, he had not yet passed away. I saw her from afar. She—once I was an officer in Kurdistan. It was the custom that officers, in the army, would ride on a horse. They would give them a horse. (16) Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse. He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door and would mount me (on the horse), (waiting) until I went back to the barracks. At that time there were not so many cars, so they would make use of a horse. The barracks were at a distance, around three or four kilometres away. (17) One day I was on a horse. She and her sister passed by and her sister said to her 'That is the son of Jāhān.' The name of my mother was Jāhān. She said to my wife, she said 'That is the son of Jāhān. He has become an officer.' She (I am told) said¹² 'May God preserve his mother, he is a wonderful boy, he is wonderfully handsome.' I saw her at that time.

¹⁰ Literally: official.

¹¹ Literally: its (i.e. of the Sanandaj) room.

¹² The *grāšwale* form is used here with an evidential sense (§9.3.2. ii).

(18) *daǎkí-č híya báqa Taràn,¹ míra baqì¹ gbé het-ó ¹ay-bratá goretà.¹ míri tǝb¹ hár-či ¹át kəmrat¹ ¹ána mǎtúna ba-réš ¹eni.¹ hár-či ¹át kəmrat qǎbùl hití.¹ ^{Ház^H} zílawa¹ mírwala baqá ¹ǎxonǎf-u¹ nóšaf là halbáta,¹ xa-nǎfar-xét šǎrwala baqá ¹ǎxonǎf¹ hǎmər kè¹ ¹ay-bronǎ¹ həl-d-áy bratá gbè.¹ ^{Ház^H} ¹oní-č qǎbùl wílwalu.¹ (19) ¹ána xa-yomá hiyen-ò,¹ zína dokà-u¹ leléf-o zíllex baqà¹ širini hǎmex-ó,¹ xá-‘ada mən-našè¹ qawmàn kè¹ bi-zóa sənù rǎba-yele,¹ mǎsǎlàn¹ ¹ǎšti-šənè,¹ šoi-šənè.¹ ¹árba xamšá nǎfǎré pílex ¹orxà-u¹ zíllex dokà,¹ mǎntǎke daǎkì.¹ ¹ána tatí mən-‘olám zílwa¹ qǎme tǎlhá-šəne qǎme d-ò.¹ tatí-u ¹ǎxoná rüwì,¹ ¹ay-¹ǎxonì,¹ ya-xǎet ‘akséf ga-lǎxà-y,¹ ¹ó ¹ǎštá šoa šənè qǎme-d-ea mən-‘olám zíl.¹ (20) zíllex dokà-u¹ širini híwlu baqàn¹ ¹u-xét xúra ba-dasgiranì.¹ xúra ba-dasgiranì,¹ bǎqǎtef-o qímna zína dokà.¹ híya ga-balkonǎkè,¹ kəmrá baqì¹ ba-lišaná bšǎlmanè¹ ^{Kèt gǎrǎká?^K} yáni mǎni gbet?¹ ¹ána-č mǎri¹ Mǎrzá Xǎnǎká ga-belà-y?¹ kəmrá ¹i.¹ (21) ¹ay-zílwala mírwala báqa Mǎrza Xǎnǎká,¹ mírwala Mǎrza Xǎnǎká xá-gora gbeldòx.¹ la-kǎyan mǎni-ye.¹ Xǎnǎká-č mən-panjǎrǎké m‘ine-ò¹ həl-didí xèle.¹ ¹á kúile dasgiranǎx-ye!¹ (22) ta-¹ǎxá míre baqǎf¹ ¹áy ¹ərqála.¹ xét šalmé litwala samxá lága didí ¹ána xǎənaf.¹ ¹ərqála zíla tíwa ga-xa-¹otǎq.¹ ta-nóšaf. tǎrǎké mǎzra ba-réša-nóšaf.¹ tǎra mǎzra ba-réša nòšaf¹ zílawa tíwa ga-dokà.¹ (23) bǎr-d-o¹ ¹ána tìwna¹ xa-čáy mēlu baqì.¹ là,¹ šarbát mēlu baqì.¹ xǎlǎstá rǎbta šarbát mēla baqì.¹ míri ¹ána šarbát mən-¹íla didáx là šáténa.¹ gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí.¹ pás har-či ¹əšrǎr wílu là híya.¹ ¹axréf ba-zór miyǎlun-u¹ míri là šáténaf ¹ána.¹ (24) ja-rásm ¹ǎxà-yele¹ xor-¹ay-bratá lá-xar ¹ay-broná xǎya x-kà,¹ maxšuşán wáxt-e ¹ǎxonǎwaláf tiwèn.¹ šalmè doqáwa.¹ ^{Ház^H} bǎr-d-o xét yǎwǎš yǎwǎš¹ híya,¹ šarbátǎké mēla baqì¹ ¹u-bár-d-o tíwa lagì-u¹ xa-dána lǎčǎgá rabtá ba-rešǎf-yela.¹ rešǎf ksəwala-u¹ yǎwǎš mən-rešǎf gəršǎli¹ šoltáli d-o-lǎg.¹ (25) baqá-¹awa¹ kǎrǎt¹ ¹ána híyeli ga-Kursǎn.¹ qǎme didí¹ hič-kás ¹ay-ħastá la-wilawalè¹ ké lǎčǎgá ba-rešǎ dasgiraní nǎtənef-o¹ dasgiraní yǎtá lǎ-¹üi.¹*

(18) My mother came to Tehran and said to me ‘You must go back and marry this girl.’ I said ‘Fine. Whatever you say, I am willing to do. I agree (to do) whatever you say.’ Then she (my mother) went and said to her (the girl’s) brother—of course not she herself, she sent somebody else to her brother to say that the boy loves the girl. Then they agreed. (19) I returned one day and went there. On that very night we went to fetch the sweets,¹³ a group of people, our relatives, who were mostly elderly, for example sixty or seventy years old. We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there, with my mother. My father had passed away three years previously, my father and my elder brother—this brother of mine whose picture you see here, he passed away six or seven years ago. (20) We went there and they gave us sweets, and then she became my betrothed. After she became my betrothed, the next morning I went there. She came onto the balcony and said to me in the language of the Muslims *kēt gārāka?*, i.e. ‘Whom do you want?’ I said ‘Is Mərza Xānāka at home?’ She said ‘Yes.’ (21) She went and said to Mərza Xānāka, she said ‘Mərza Xānāka, a man wants you. I do not know who it is.’ Xānāka looked out of the window and saw me. ‘Oh, it is none other than your betrothed!’ (22) When he said this to her, she fled. She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her. She fled and sat in a room. She closed the door behind her.¹⁴ She closed the door behind her and went and sat there. (23) After that, I sat and they brought me tea. No, they brought me sherbet. The elder sister brought me sherbet. I said ‘I shall not drink sherbet from your hand. I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me.’ Then, however much they insisted, she did not come. In the end they brought her by force. I said ‘I shall not drink it (unless she serves me).’ (24) Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy, especially when her brothers are sitting (in the room). She was shy. Then after a while, she slowly came again, brought the sherbet to me and sat by me. A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side. (25) I, for the first time, was able to do this in Kurdistan. Before me nobody had done such a thing, namely that I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed and my betrothed should sit by my side.

¹³ Symbolic act signifying the agreement of the family of the bride to the betrothal.

¹⁴ Literally: upon herself.

(26) *bàr-d-o^l leləf-o^l da‘wát wīlu mən-familàn^l mən-xanāwadàn^l mən-
 ʔāxonì^l mən-daāki^l ʔāxonà xéti,^l mən-d-ó famil-č ya-hiyénwa baqá širní xoràn.^l
 leləf da‘watàn wīlú,^l ba-ʔəstá pa-gošà holì,^l kəmriłe pa-gošà.^l ʔo-lelé xa-šám
 mfāšál híwlu baqàn-u^l ʔaná ʔo-lelé la-zìna-o belá,^l ga-doká gnèna.^l (27) ta-
 bāqātef-o zina-ò.^l qímna zína reš-Tarān báqa réša haštì,^l cún gbéwa ham-dàrs
 qārèna-u^l ham-ħaštà-hona ga-bánk.^l bar-xa-müdat-xet daāki híya ba-šoní ʔáxa
 kòla^l ʔát taħšilòx timà-y^l gbé het-ò^l lagá ʔāxonòx.^l ʔāxoní dawaxanè-hitwale,^l ʔáy
 ʔāxonì.^l gbé het-ó mēntāke d-ó komák holèt.^l (28) ʔòb,^l ʔána ħášta bánk wél
 wilāli-u^l hiyen-ó zína twna lagèf-u^l bəxlé ħaštá wilàn-u^l ħaštán ʔayztà-yela-u^l
 rába ʔayztà-yela-u.^l ta-ħlulà wilán.^l (29) ħlulà wilán-u^l g-ó waxtāra-č^l tanhá xà
 ʔākás hitwa^l ʔáks nātéwa ga-Kursān.^l ʔaxní nóšan durbín ʔākasi lítwalan.^l ʔó ʔākse
 ntéle.^l durbíne xét-əč lítwa,^l viðyo.^l ^Ház^H čəkmá ʔaksé ntenūlan,^l ʔonyexáe pišen
 báqa yādgari.^l*

(30) *ja-ʔātà^l ba-rajə^l ba-ħlulà hámna báqa didòx.^l bar-d-áy širní xoràn^l xa-
 müdat-e trè-yarxe,^l təlħà yarxé ʔul gārəšwá.^l hitwa xá-šata ʔul gārəšwa kél gbén
 ħlulà holì.^l gbéwa xá-ʔada mən-nāše pìre^l xanāwadà^l hezì baqà^l xostè ħlulà,^l yáni
 hamrí ʔijazá hūlmu báqa xanāwadé kaldà^l hamrí ʔijazá hūlmu^l ke-ʔaxní ħlulà
 holéx.^l (31) ʔóni-č xa-bašór kəmriwa hàya-u^l xánči nóšu doqìwala.^l kəmriwa
 hàya-x-kar,^l palāpál la-holmù.^l là,^l xet-bronāké rəwyà-y,^l bratāké rwitè-ya-u^l gbé
 ħlulà holì.^l (32) pás ʔijazá ħlulá kwìwa.^l ʔé kəmriwale xostè ħlulá.^l ʔé m-ʔawalāf.^l
 bar-d-èa^l ʔijazá wilwalù,^l gbéwa xa-širní xorán-e mfāšàl doq^l širní ħāwi-ò.^l (33)
 rába famíl da‘wát kolìwale.^l gezəxwa báqa širní xoràn.^l ʔābāqé rūwè hitwa^l
 kəmriwalu xwān.^l ba-kurdí bšəlmané-č kəmriwale xwānčà.^l ga-d-èəč^l širìn
 mātúwa-u^l klučè-u la-kāena,^l ʔābnābatè-u^l nuqlè-u.^l kúle mēndixanè^l kúle mēndíx
 kél širìn ħāwé,^l xəlyà-ħāwe.^l ʔéa mārāsém-e širnè xoràn-yela.^l*

(26) Then, in the evening, they invited our family, my brother, my mother, my other brother, my family members who had come to ‘eat the sweets’ (at the betrothal). In the evening they invited us to honour us by performing the ‘stretching of the leg’, they call it ‘stretching of the leg.’¹⁵ That night they gave us a copious dinner. I did not go back home that night but rather I slept there. (27) In the morning I went back. I set off and went to Tehran for my work, because I had both to study and to work in a bank. After a while my mother came after me and says¹⁶ ‘Your studies are finished, you must return to your brother.’ My brother had a pharmacy—this brother of mine.¹⁷ ‘You must come back and help him.’ (28) So, I stopped the work in the bank and I went back and stayed with him. We worked together. We worked together very well, very well. (This continued) until we held the wedding. (29) When we held the wedding, at that time there was only one photographer who took photographs in Kurdistan. We ourselves did not have a photography camera. He took photographs. There were no other cameras (and no) video. We took a few photographs and they have remained as a reminder (of the event).

(30) Now, let me tell you about a wedding. After the ‘eating of sweets’, a period of two months or three months would pass. Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding. A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage, that is to say to the family of the bride ‘Give permission, give permission for us to hold the wedding.’ (31) They (the family of the bride) would say ‘It is a little too soon’ and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission). They would say ‘It is still too soon, do not rush.’ (The family of the groom would say) ‘No, the boy is already grown-up, the girl is grown-up. They must marry.’ (32) Then they gave permission for the wedding. They called that the ‘request of the wedding.’ This (is what happened) at first. After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of ‘eating the sweets’ and distribute sweets. (33) They would invite a lot of family and we would go to the ‘eating of the sweets.’ There were big trays which they called (in Farsi) *xwān* (‘table’). In the Kurdish of the Muslims it was called *xwānča*. In this they put sweets, cakes and I don’t know what, sugar candies, confectionary. Everything, everything that was sweet. This was the ceremony of the ‘eating of the sweets’ (betrothal).

¹⁵ Giving the right of the groom to enter the house.

¹⁶ Literally: She does thus.

¹⁷ The informant points to a picture of his brother on the wall.

(34) *bár-d-o geziwa¹ bár-d-ea ke-xostá xlulá wilwalù,¹ xèta kolíwa¹ mà kəmriwale¹ háft-e xlulà?¹ 'ilá dwaqà.¹ kəmriwale 'ilá dwaqà.¹* (35) *xá-ʿada jwanqé daʿwát kolíwa¹ mənṭáke xətnáké ta-yóma yātiwa,¹ naqlíwa-u nandənwa-u.¹ dearà dāenwa ʾólef-u,¹ šābubà dāenwale,¹ ta-yomà.¹ ʾéa 'ilá dwaqà-yela.¹* (36) *bár 'ilá dwaqà¹ kaldá gbéwa lablíwa ḥāmām.¹ ʾənšè.¹ ʾo-waxtāra xor-ḥāmām lítwa ga-belá.¹ ḥāmām ʿāmumì-yela¹ mangál ḥāmām-e turkì-ya¹ ʾágar xiyāwèlòx.¹ geziwa báqa ḥāmām.¹* (37) *ḥāmām-e turkì mà-jor-ila?¹ lāxà¹ ʾotāq-ila,¹ tré təlḥá ʾəqrá lāxà.¹ šerè,¹ šeré màe-hitwa,¹ máe šāxinè.¹ tūn hitwalá.¹ ḥāmāmáké mašxniwalà.¹ mən-d-ó šeré dārenwa ga-tàs.¹ máe dārenwa ba-rešù.¹* (38) *ləfkà garšíwa,¹ kəstà garšíwa.¹ pašòr garšíwa ga-ʾaqlú.¹ xa-pašòr képa komtā-yela.¹ kménwala ga-txéla ʾaqlù¹ ke-ʾaqlú šāf xāri.¹ nimašòrà dāenwa ba-šalmù,¹ báqa šalmú ʿayzà ḥāwé.¹ ḥānà doqíwa ba-rešù.¹ rasí rajš¹ ba-ḥānā-č lā-ḥqelan.¹ ʾéa ḥāmām zalù-yele.¹* (39) *bár-d-o kenwá-o be-kaldà.¹ ga-dokà¹ nāhār kwíwalu.¹ rajš¹ ba-ḥānabandān lā ḥqéli baqóx.¹ ḥānabandān-əč¹ ʾarbá xamšá yomé qāme xlulá yelá.¹ ya-trè-yome qāme xlulá yelá.¹ tré-yome qāme xlulá yelá.¹* (40) *gbéwa xá-ʿada mən-bé xətnà¹ ḥāna doqi-ò.¹ ḥāna xa-məndix-ye¹ xá mən-māwád-e giyahì-ye.¹ mən-ʾilanà doqilé.¹ xa-məndix-ye¹ ké pərčé komà kolú.¹ māwád-e tābiʿi-ye¹ lā mangál d-áy rangé ya-ʾáta hit.¹ māwád-e tābiʿi-ye doqíwale ga-rešù.¹* (41) *gbéwa be-xətnà¹ xá-ʿada ʾənšé-u jwanqé hezi¹ ḥānà doqí ga-rešá kaldākè.¹ ga-rešá-e kaldà,¹ ḥānabandān qārenwala,¹ gurani-hitwa b-šəmə ḥānabandān.¹* (42) *bar-ḥānabandān xlulà-yela.¹ lelé xlulà¹ mən-be-xətnà¹ ʾo-našé ya-daʿwát kolíwalu,¹ familù yelú,¹ bāruxi-yelu.¹ hawkār-yelu,¹ kúle daʿwát kolíwalu.¹* (43) *šāmáš-e kništà¹ gezəlwa susì kméwa.¹ ʾay-susì qāšāng marzənwale-ò.¹ yaráq dāelwa báef.¹ parčané ʿayzé dāelwa ba-susiyākè.¹ qāšāng marzənwale-ò.¹ xa-jām dāelwa qám babenèf.¹*

(34) Afterwards, after they had performed the ‘request of the wedding’, they did something, what was it called, the week of the wedding? — ‘the joining of hands.’ It was called ‘the joining of hands.’ (35) They would invite several young men and they would sit with the groom for the day, dance and jig. They would beat the tambourine and play the pipe for a day. This was ‘the joining of hands.’ (36) After ‘the joining of hands,’ they had to take the bride to the bath. At that time there was still no bathroom in the house. The bath was public, like a Turkish bath, if you have seen one. They would go to the bath. (37) What is a Turkish bath like? There is a room here, two or three rooms like this here. Taps, there were water taps, hot water. It had a furnace. They used to heat the bath. From the taps they put (the water) in a jug. They poured the water over themselves. (38) They scrubbed with a loofah. They scrubbed with a bag (of soap). They scrubbed with a *paşor* (‘foot washer’) on their feet. A ‘foot washer’ was a black stone. They applied it to the bottom of their feet so that they would become smooth. They put cleansing mud on their face, in order to treat¹⁸ their face. They put henna on themselves. In fact, we have not talked yet about henna. This was (the custom of) their going to the bath. (39) Afterwards they came back to the house of the bride. There they gave them lunch. I have not told you about the henna ceremony. The henna ceremony was four or five days before the wedding, or it was two days before the wedding. It was two days before the wedding. (40) A group of people from the groom’s family had to obtain henna. Henna is something, it is a herbal substance. They obtain it from a tree. It is a thing that makes hair black. It is a natural substance, not like the colours that there are nowadays. It is a natural substance that they put on their head. (41) The family of the groom, a group of women and young people, had to go and put henna on the head of the bride. (They put henna) on the head of the bride, and sang the *hānabandan* to her, there was a song called *hānabandan*. (42) After the *hānabandan* came the wedding. The people whom they invited on the night of the wedding from the family of the groom were relatives, were friends, were work colleagues—they invited them all. (43) The beadle of the synagogue went to fetch a horse. He decorated the horse beautifully. He put a decorative cover on it. He put fine materials on the horse. He decorated it beautifully. He put a mirror in front of its forehead.

¹⁸ Literally: be good to.

(44) *məntáke d-áy našé ba-dohól-u zornà¹ geziwa baqá kaldá hāmeníla be-xətnà¹ mən-d-áy kují-u mǎhǎlè¹ ʔo-waxtára xór xiyabané ʔəqrà-litwa.¹ kúle kují-u mǎhǎlè-yelu¹ ga-pliyáw maxşuşàn¹ mǎhǎlè didàn,¹ mǎhǎlè yǎhudi,¹ hulaé ga-dokà-yelu.¹ kúle hulaé lā-ləxle yelú.¹ (45) ʔay-našé b-ay-kujǎwáe geziwa-u¹ dohól ʔu-zorná dəyáwa ʔəlf-u¹ ʔáy našé ya-ga-ʔáy kují yelù¹ kúle¹ qalá d-áy zorná šāmenwalè¹ kénwa waryà.¹ ga-tára hawşú samxiwa.¹ jám kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà.¹ ʔəqrá ʔəhtérám-e ləxle doqíwa.¹ (46) gezəxwa be-kaldá.¹ kaldá kménwala tēx.¹ markwíwala həl-d-ó susi.¹ bəz-ham¹ ba-dohól-u zornà¹ ʔay-našé¹ xá-ʕada píle m-qǎmaf¹ xá-ʕada píle m-bàraf,¹ ba-dohól-u zorná lablíwala be-xətnà.¹ (47) ʔátá ga-be-xətnà¹ tárz-e qədíús ʔəxà-yelè¹ ke-xá-dana pardá doqíwa-u¹ g-o-dimàf¹ kaldá-u xətná samxi¹ g-ay-lág-əč našé samxiwa.¹ (48) ʔo-waxtára¹ haxám^h-e kništàn,¹ ʔəlhá mǎnìxle,¹ kəmríwale¹ Xǎlifá Mixaʔèl,¹ Mixáʔel Dǎyanì,¹ ʔəlhá mǎnìxle,¹ ʔó kwéwale kätuwäkè,¹ kálíwala ba-xát-e nòşef.¹ kméwala ga-dokà,¹ qǎrèwala-u¹ kmórwa xətná čəkmá kwál báqa kaldäkè,¹ kaldäkè mà hitá.¹ kúle kalwíwale-u¹ pirè¹ gbéwa ʔemzà holiwalá.¹ (49) bar-d-èa¹ ʔay-mārasóm tim,¹ našé geziwa-o belà-u¹ hár-kǎsu gezəlwa béla nòşef-u¹ kaldá-u xətná pişíwa¹ geziwa ga-pardá.¹ (50) bəqǎtā-č¹ gbé paxasù¹ hezà¹ ʔay-stačé bǎkarāt-e¹ d-ay-kaldá¹ lablálu báqa tata-u-dačkà¹ wa-maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn¹ ke-ʔəlén ʔay-bratà¹ bātulà xirtè-ya,¹ bratulà xirlála.¹ be-bātulá lá xirtè-ya.¹ rasmán ʔəxà-yelè.¹ ʔátá ga-lǎxá lá bātulá baqrí-u¹ là-hitu.¹ qáme d-ó-č xlúla holì¹ kúle be-bātulá-yen.¹ (51) bār-d-o¹ léle ʔəşər-e šǎbāt.¹ léle rotá xlulá xǎrawà,¹ lelé šǎbāt¹ gbéwa xətná hezl-ó be-kaldäkè¹ ga-dokà¹ xǎletəf holí.¹ xǎletəf xa-dásá ləbàs-yelè,¹ krawāt,¹ surà.¹ (52) ləbás ʔayzé šaqlíwa baqəf-u¹ mǎtíwale ga-xa-xwàn-u¹ ga-doká yǎtíwa,¹ ʔarəq šátéwa-u¹ mazzá kəxlíwa-u¹ ʔáy-ka dolá-u zorná là lablíwa,¹ dearè lablíwa,¹ deará šǎbubà.¹ ga-doká xánci naqlíwa-u,¹ har-kǎsu gezəlwa béla nòşef.¹ (53) tá beqǎta šǎbāt.¹ bóqǎta šǎbāt gbé famíl hé belá xətnà,¹ xətná lǎbəl báqa kništà.¹ jám ʔ xǎriwa-u¹ ba-dolá-u zorná lablíwale kništà.¹ bār-d-ea kništà-č timá,¹ bǎraxà mirú,¹ kúle zlí bǎraxá sefár mirù,¹ kništá tēma,¹ kén-o béla báz-ham ba-dohól-u zornà.¹*

(44) The people went with it with drum and pipe to the bride to bring her to the house of the groom, through the alleys and streets—at that time there were not so many roads. They were all lanes and streets, especially within our streets, the Jewish streets, where the Jews were. All the Jews were (living) side by side. (45) The people went along these lanes. The drum and pipe were played. All the people who were in the lane and heard the sound of the pipe would come outside and stand at the door of their courtyard. They brought a mirror to the bride and groom. They had such respect for one another. (46) We would go to the house of the bride. They brought the bride down. They mounted the bride on the horse. (Then) also with the drum and pipe, the people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some in front of her and some behind. (47) Now, at the house of the groom, the method of consecration was as follows. They would draw a curtain. On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people. (48) Then the rabbi of our synagogue—may God grant him rest, he was called Xālifa Mixa'el, Mixa'el Däyani, may God grant him rest—he had the marriage contract which he wrote with his own hand. He would bring it there and read it and say how much the groom would give to the bride and how much the bride had. They would write everything down and the elders had to sign it. (49) After that, when the ceremony had finished, people went home, each person going to his own home. The bride and groom remained and went behind the curtain. (50) In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the parents. They would show it to other people who were there so that they would know that the girl had been a virgin, she had had virginity, she had not been a non-virgin. Our tradition was like that. Now here they do not require a virgin, they do not have (them). Before they marry, they are all non-virgins. (51) Afterwards, on the eve of Sabbath—the wedding took place on Friday—on the eve of Sabbath the groom had to go back to the bride's home in order for them to give him there his gift. His gift was a set of clothes, a tie, a shirt. (52) They bought fine clothes for him and put them in a chest. They sat there and drank arak. They ate snacks. At that time they did not bring the drum and pipe, they brought tambourines, the tambourine and flute. They danced there a little, then everybody went home. (53) Until the morning of Sabbath—on the morning of Sabbath the family had to come to the house of the groom and take the groom to the synagogue. They would gather and would take him to the synagogue with the drum and pipe. After the synagogue had finished and they had said the blessing, everybody had gone and said the blessing on the Torah—the synagogue finishes and they go home again with the drum and pipe.

(54) *xətná kménwale-o béla nošù. | ta-ʔàšər | ʔay-dohól-u zorná ga-ʔay-ħawšá dāénwa. | ħáwəš ħitwa, | ħawšé rüwè. | g-áy ħawšá dāénwa ʔəláf-u | jwanqé-u piré-u ʔənsé-u guré-u ʔáméta kúle naqlíwa. | ʔaráq šäténwa-u | naqlíwa. | kúle mäst-yelu. |*
 (55) *zəndəgí rába rába básimà-yele. | ʔátá zəndəgí rába sadà xirá-y. | našé rába táqalà lá dāénwa, | rába hōrs-u jáw litwálu báqa pułè. | ʔátá kúle ʔolám xirté-ya pułè. | hár-kas bi-zóa ħawéle bíš ʔayzà-y. | ga-dokà | rába našè | rába hamrét dawlamán ħawèn, | dawlamán là-yelu. | hár-kásu paška-nóšef ħitwale. |* (56) *zəndəgí ʔayzà kolíwa | zəndəgyú xārāb là-yele. | zəndəgí sadà-yele. | ʔay-moblamán-u ʔasxá litwalan ʔáxni. | ʔay-méz litwalan. | ʔaxni | fārš rába ħitwalan, | qalíyè. | qalíyè mandéxwalu rešá ʔārà. | paštì ħitwalan | dāéxwalu ba-guzà. | došáké ʔayzé mandéxwa rešá ʔārà, | yátéxwa reš ʔārà | b-áy jorà. | ʔátá har-lá-giz la-kélox yátət ʔāxà. |*

Festivals

(57) *pätirè | ʔaná da ʔwát konóx lelé pätiré hál lāxà! | ^Hmən-axare^H Purim, | Lelangè kəmrəx-ʔāxni, | našè, | ʔənsé-u gurè | hár-kas hewalè | ga-belá yätüwa | tāmisi dóqwa. | beláké gbé tāmám tamíz holile, | gard-u-xakéf doqile, | qalíyè napsi, | došáké napsi, | belá holile ba-jám báqa pätirè. | ʔéa ʔāwāļèf. |* (58) *bār-d-o | gbéwa hezítwa zārā šaqli, | zāráké ħāmènwale-o | ga-béla dána dána gābènwale, | tāmíz holiwale. | nóšu lablíwale ʔorxèl. |* (59) *ga-dóka ʔorxél reš-kepè-yelu, | tre-képe réša ləxle. | máe mən-láʔel kénwa tēx. | päre ba-taxtè-hitwa. | ʔay-päre măčiriwalu-ò, | ba-fəšár-e d-o-màe | ʔay-harà | ʔo-kepé tre-kepé kəmríwalu harà, | čeriwà-u | ʔay-zārà | taxnìwale | kolíwale ba-qamxà. |* (60) *lá-hezi qámxa šaqli, | qámxa ké kašér la-ħawè. | gbé zārà | nóšu taršile, | nóšu tamíz holile, | nóšu taxnile, | læxmá ^hpəšax^h holí gaéf, | maššá tarši, | kašér ħawé. |*

(54) They brought the groom to their house. Until evening they played the drum and pipe in the courtyard. There was a courtyard, (there were) big courtyards. They beat the drum¹⁹ in the courtyard and young and old, women and men all danced together. They drank arak and danced. They were all drunk. (55) Life was very very pleasant. Now life has become very easy. People (then) did not exert themselves. They did not have much yearning for money. Now the whole world has become money. Everybody who has more is (considered) better. There you would think that many people were rich, but they were not rich. Every one of them had enough for himself. (56) They led a good life, their life was not bad. Life was simple. We did not have this furniture and the like. We did not have (things) like this table, etc. But we had a lot of bedding and carpets. We would spread out carpets on the floor. We had a back-support, which we put on the wall. We spread out good mattresses on the ground and sat on the ground in this way. Now you could never sit like that.

Festivals

(57) Passover—I invite you to come here on the eve of Passover! After Purim—we call it Lelange—people, women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning. They had to make the whole house clean, remove the dust, shake the carpets, shake the mattresses, in order to make the house into a mirror for Passover.²⁰ This is the beginning.²¹ (58) Afterwards they had to go and buy wheat, bring the wheat back, sort it grain by grain in the house and clean it. They would themselves take it to the mill. (59) There the (grinding by) mill was on two stones, two stones on top of one another. Water would come down from above. There were propellers made of wood. It (the water) would turn the propellers. By the pressure of the water, the grindstones—the stones, the two stones were called grindstones—would turn and grind the wheat, make it into flour. (60) They would not go and buy flour, flour that was not kosher. They had to make flour themselves, clean it themselves, grind it themselves, make Passover bread with it, make unleavened bread, so that it would be kosher.

¹⁹ Literally: They beat on it.

²⁰ I.e. as clean as a mirror.

²¹ Literally: This is its beginning.

(61) *léle pätirè,¹ léle pätiré yätíwa baqá pəšhà.¹ pəšhá pəšhíwa.¹ kíúle našé ʔāgadá qārénwala,¹ ham-gurè,¹ ham-yalè.¹ bār-d-o¹ yätíwa¹ ʔarbá bāraxòt¹ ʔarbá pyałé šätènwa,¹ bāraxá kəmriwa.¹ čəkma məndixané ké gbé hamrí bāraxà,¹ pəsrá rešà-yele,¹ ḥāliq-yela,¹ ḥāliq taršíwa.¹ (62) ga-ʔIràn¹ ya-ga-tāmám-e mamlākāté ke-xarəj m-Israyel-yén¹ lelé pätiré trè lelé-ya.¹ b-Israyél xà lelé-ya.¹ ʔonyexáe ya-ga-golá-yen¹ yáni xárəj m-ʔIsráyəl-yen trè lelé doqíla.¹ ʔaxni-č¹ trè lelé doqáxwala.¹*

(63) *bár-d-o kyáwa lelé réša šatà.¹ ʔo-lelə-č¹ pəsrá tım,¹ məšxà kəxlíwa.¹ ga-tāmám ʔay-haftà¹ ké pätiré xirtè-ya,¹ šóa yomè¹ hič-kas¹ ^Hdəvré^H xalwá là kəxəlwa.¹ hič kas,¹ čún ʔáxni nóšan là kewalán¹ xalwáké hāmèxile,¹ lá taršəxile.¹ (64) kəmriwəw¹ ʔay-našè¹ ʔay-bšəlmanè¹ ke-xálwa zábni ta-didàn¹ ʔay-xalwà¹ mən-d-ó tortà¹ yá mən-d-ó ʔərbá dəwqà-y¹ ga-xa-pätíla dəwqá-y¹ ké pätílaké mumkán-ye pəsrá bəšlāwélu gəf.¹ pas-ʔéa baqa-dídan kašér là-y.¹ ʔaxní g-o-müddát-e tāmamef¹ ^Hdəvré xaláw^H là kəxləxwà¹ hič,¹ ta-lelé reš-šatà.¹ (65) léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šāwénwa rūwà,¹ mən-d-əy-lag reš-ay-belá¹ ta-reš-o-belá.¹ xanāwadé yätíwa¹ našé daʔwát kolíwa.¹ duxwà taršíwa.¹ hałwà taršíwa.¹ xurma-u-rùn taršíwa.¹ dušà mätíwa.¹ kārà mätíwa.¹ guptà mätíwa.¹ mastà mätíwa.¹ ʔənyexáe kíúle mätíwalu tāmám-e réša səfrá zamtíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne.¹*

(66) *ləxmà¹ hār-kas¹ ga-təłhà xanāwadé,¹ ʔarbà xanāwadé¹ ḥatmán ga-beləf¹ tānurà-ḥitwa.¹ čəkmá lelé qáme pätirè¹ baxtá hulálta ḥitwa¹ kyàwa¹ ləxmáké kolawalè-o.¹ náše ʔo-belá nóšu komākáf kolíwa.¹ (67) ləxmáké kolíwale-o,¹ xa-báxta xét dəyáwale ba-tānurà.¹ tānuráké ba-šiwè malqíwala.¹ ləxmá kolíwale-ò,¹ šaṭxiwale-ò,¹ ráq xārwa¹ ta-léle pätirè.¹ hič-kas ləxmá bazár là šāqólwa ba-pätiré.¹ hič-kas,¹ kíúle maššáe belá kolíwa.¹ (68) ba-d-ó mudātà¹ ga-d-ó šoa-yomè¹ lá guptà,¹ lá mastà¹ hār-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxləxwale.¹*

(61) On the eve of Passover, on the eve of Passover they would sit for the purpose of the Passover ceremony. They performed the Passover ceremony. Everybody read the Aggadah, both men and children. Then they would sit, four blessings—they would drink four cups and say the blessing. There were several things over which they had to say a blessing, whether it was the meat of the head, the *ḥaroseṭ* (mixture of nuts, dates and sesame).

(62) In Iran, or in all the countries that are outside of Israel, the night of Passover is two nights, but in Israel it is one night. Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it for two nights. We also celebrated it for two nights.

(63) After that came New Year's Eve. On that night the meat was finished and they used to eat dairy food. During the whole of the week of Passover,²² seven days, nobody ate dairy products, nobody, because we could not fetch milk ourselves or prepare it. (64) We would say those people, those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat. So this for us was not kosher. During the whole period we did not eat milk products, nothing, until New Year's Eve. (65) On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house. The family would sit, they would invite people. They made *duxwa*.²³ They made sweets. They made dates and egg. They put out honey. They put out butter. They put out cheese. They put out yoghurt. They put all these things out and filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things.

(66) As for bread—in (every) three families, in (every) four families there was sure to be somebody who had an oven in his house. A few days before Passover, there was a Jewish woman who came and opened out the bread (dough). The people of the house helped her. (67) They opened out the bread and another woman put it onto (the sides of) the oven. They heated the oven with wood. They opened out and spread out the bread, and it (dried and) became stiff (and was kept like this) until the eve of Passover. Nobody bought bread in the market at Passover. Nobody. Everybody made unleavened bread at home. (68) At that period, on those seven days (of Passover), we did not eat cheese, yoghurt or anything that was made from milk.

²² Literally: During the whole week in which Passover had taken place.

²³ Dish made from rice and yoghurt.

Professions of the Jews

(69) šoglé báqa hulaè^l rábau parča-fròš-yelu.^l rába ‘ātari hítwa.^l xārazi-fròš hítwa.^l dawaxanadār hítwa.^l duktərə rába hítwalan.^l tajərə hítwalan^l jəns kménwa^l zabníwa báqa parča-fròše.^l (70) ‘árz hāwé ba-xzəmtòx.^l duktərə kəkè hitwalan.^l zargār rába hitwalan,^l zargār,^l ‘onyexáe ya-dewà^l pašri-ò,^l déwa tarši.^l xa-‘ədá hitwalan ké kəmríwalu čarčì.^l čarčí ‘ò-yele^l ya-‘aspál mätúwa reša xmarà^l rešá susì^l maxšusán parčanè,^l lablíwalu ga-malāwàe^l zabníwalu.^l

Houses

(71) belè^l kúle náša béla jyà hítwale.^l mangál ləxà^l ‘apartmáne là-yela.^l hár-kas béla nòšef,^l ya-trè ṭābāqé,^l ya-təlhà ṭābāqé,^l ya-xà ṭābāqá.^l təlhà-bate g-ay-belá,^l xámša báte g-ay-belà.^l ga-ləxá ‘əsrí-u ‘arbá belèn.^l (72) lúwa ga-doká.^l kúle^l xà ṭābāqá^l yá trè ṭābāqé,^l wāle^l kúle-č ḥawšà hítwalu.^l ga-ḥawšú ‘ilanè-hitwa,^l ‘ilané mewà,^l yá xāmušè,^l maxšusàn^l bāšīre rāba hítwa ga-ḥāwša našé.^l kəmríwa bāšīre ‘aşlān bāraxà hitú.^l kúle náše ḥāz kolíwale belù^l ‘ilané bāšīre hāwé.^l

Rabbis

(73) ga-dokà^l kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa,^l pəsrá tazà.^l rabàn^l ráb-e kništàn^l ham-ràb-yele,^l hám torà qərəwa,^l hám miłà kólwa,^l wa-hám šoḥèt-yele.^l ‘áy gbéwa hezál baqá xá-t^wka kəmríwala qəšābxanà,^l yáni ga-d-ó-t^wka ya-toryú ‘ərbú ‘onyexáe dabhi-ò,^l gbéwa hezálwa ga-dóka nòšef dābəḥwalu-ò.^l xáewa ‘ay-ḥaywān ké dabḥile-ò^l ṭārefá là hāwé.^l (74) qəšāb hítwalan b-šəmə ‘Aziz-Xān.^l hulàa-yele.^l ‘ó pəsráké kméwale ga-t^wkanè.^l hár-kas gezálwa ba-‘ānazé nòšef,^l xa-nāfār-ye,^l trè nāfārén,^l təlhà nāfārén,^l ‘arbà nāfārén g-o-belà^l ba-‘ānazé nóšu pəsrá šaqlíwa.^l

Professions of the Jews

(69) As for the professions for the Jews, most of them were cloth-sellers. There were many grocers and haberdashers. There were owners of pharmacies. We had many doctors. We had merchants who brought clothes and sold them to the cloth-sellers. (70) Let me say to you,²⁴ we had dentists. We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, those people who would smelt gold and make gold. We had a few who were called ‘peddlers.’ A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to sell them.

Houses

(71) As for houses, everybody had a separate house. It was not like here (where there are) apartments. Everybody was in his own house, with either two floors, three floors or one floor. (There were) three homes in this house, five homes in this house. But here (the buildings) consist of twenty-four homes. (72) There was (nothing like this) there. Everything was one floor or two floors, and they all had a courtyard. In their courtyard there were trees, fruit trees, either apple trees—there were especially many grapes in the courtyard of people. They would say that grapes in particular brought blessing.²⁵ Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home.

Rabbis

(73) There, every day there was meat, fresh meat. Our rabbi, the rabbi of our synagogue—he was a rabbi, he read the Torah, he performed circumcisions, and he was a *šoḥet*. He had to go to a place called the ‘butcher’s shop’, that is to that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself. He would see that the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher. (74) We had a butcher by the name of Aziz Khan. He was a Jew. He brought meat to the shops. Everybody went and according to his own requirements, whether he was one person, or there were two people, or there were three people, or there were four people in the house, they would buy meat according to their requirements.

²⁴ Literally: May a petition be made for your service. This is a formulaic filler calquing an idiom of Kurdish and Persian.

²⁵ Literally: had a blessing.

(75) ^hbrit-milà^h ma^ʿmulàn^l ya-ga-bèla kolíwale^l ya-ga-kništà.^l rába nášē da^ʿwàt kolíwa,^l čún kəmríwa qála miłá šámoé mašwà hité.^l rabàn^l nòšēf^l miłà kólwa.^l (76) kéwa ga-belá ya-ga-kništà.^l bāraxà kmárwa,^l miłà kólwa.^l miłáef-əč kòlwale,^l rába rába ʿayzà,^l rába mən-duktaré ya-kolile^l rába biš-ʿayzà-yele.^l ʿašlán na-rahātí litwalu ʿo-našé,^l xór darmanè-č lítwa ʿo-waxtára darmáne dāen.^l pāroé maqlíwa^l ʿo-qilà,^l qilé pāroè^l mātíwa réša ʿo-miłà.^l

Relations between Jews and Muslims

(77) xá-mdi lá míri baqòx^l bšəlmané ga-Kursàn^l sunni-yelu.^l bšəlmané trè jorén.^l xá šíʿá xá sunni-ye.^l ʿənyaxáe ya-Kursàn-yelu^l čún kùrd-yen^l sunni-yen.^l sùnni-yen,^l mənťáke hulaé rába ʿayzè-yelu.^l wále ʿonyexáe ya-šíʿà-yelu^l mangál Hamàn,^l Taràn,^l ʿIsfahàn,^l Širáz,^l Kərmàn,^l Xorasàn,^l Balučəstàn,^l ʿənyexáe ʿəqrá šorèr-yelu^l ta-ʿəlhà-həmər mālél^l (78) qáme d-óa ʿána b-ʿolám henà,^l hulaé wáxt-e zilén waryà,^l maxšuşán ga-yomáwáe nəxlà,^l gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàu^l b-lá səngù^l ké ʿálén ʿənyexáe hulaèn,^l lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu,^l ʿənyaxáe nəjəs-yen,^l hulaé nəjəs-yen.^l (79) ʿágar xa-náfár hezəlwa ... lá ga-ʿaħrá didàn^l ga-ʿaħranè-xet,^l ʿənyexáe šíʿà-yelu,^l məsálan hamrəx ... báqa máre t^ʷkaná hāmərwa^l xá kílo xéta holì,^l mastà holì.^l ʿágar kiló bi-zóa xārāwa mastākè,^l là dārewal-ó t^ʷkāf,^l dārewa^l ʿó ya-šaqlá pulé bi-zòda hāwól.^l (80) kmárwa ʿágar ʿay-mastá dārenaf-ó t^ʷká nošāf^l nəjəs xārā,^l yáni kəsif,^l xārāb.^l ʿāxá kəmríwa ʿonyexāe,^l wále ga-ʿaħra didán ʿāxá là-yele.^l ʿaxní kénwa belán yātíwa.^l ħáz kolíwa hén béla didán yāti ʿonyexáe.^l yāti^l xàlan ʿaxlíle.^l

(75) They would generally perform circumcision either in the house or in the synagogue. They would invite many people, because they said that it was a good deed to hear the cry (of the baby) at circumcision. Our rabbi would perform the circumcision himself. (76) He would come to the house or the synagogue. He would say a blessing and perform the circumcision. He circumcised him²⁶ very well. He was much better than the doctors who do it. The people were not ill at ease, yet they did not have medicines at that time to apply. They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags.

Relations between Jews and Muslims

(77) One thing I did not tell you, the Muslims of Kurdistan are Sunni. Muslims are of two kinds, one is Shi'ite and the other Sunni. The ones in Kurdistan, since they are Kurds, are Sunni. They are Sunni and were very good to the Jews. But those who are Shi'ites, like (those of) Hamadan, Tehran, Isfahan, Shiraz, Kirman, Khorasan, Baluchistan, they were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said 'That is enough!' (78) Before I was born, when the Jews went outside, especially on rainy days, they had to put a yellow patch here, on their chest so that they (the Muslims) knew that they were Jews, lest the Muslims touched them, for they were unclean, the Jews were unclean. (79) If somebody went—not in our town, in other towns, where they were Shi'ites, for example let's say— and said to a shop owner 'Give me a kilo of such-and-such a thing, give me yoghurt', if the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back. He would pour it out and the person buying it would have to give more money. (80) He would say 'If I pour this yoghurt back into its container,²⁷ it will become unclean,' that is dirty, bad. They would say things like that, but in our town it was not like that. They would come to our house and sit. They wanted to come to our house and sit. They would sit and eat our food.

²⁶ I.e. the child.

²⁷ Literally: its place.

Winter

(81) 'āwāḷān t^wkāne lā 'asrīwa.¹ našé gezíwa wárya ba-talgà-č.¹ xor-t^wkané lā 'asrīwalu.¹ wa-ba-čālawà-č¹ rásm ga-dokà-yele¹ mäsälān ga-axér-e páyiz qárwa sətwa¹ hár xanāwadé ta-nòšef,¹ hár məšpaḥá ta-nòšef,¹ gezəḷwa¹ xa-dána tórta šāqəḷwala.¹ kmewal-ó ga-béla nòšef.¹ (82) rában kéwa dābəḥwal-ó baqəf.¹ tāmiž kəḷwala.¹ xáéwa ṭārefà lá-hawya,¹ xārəb lá-hawya.¹ 'o-waxtára qāšāng¹ ... 'o-nāqolə-u māqolə-u¹ 'onyexáe yá 'gdiḏim^u-yen¹ xārəb-yen,¹ lá kəxlilū¹ doqwalú-u šəḷəṭwalū.¹ (83) pəsráké kwálwale ba-ḡilá máre beləkè.¹ máre beləké mən-d-áy pəsrà¹ mätúwale ga-tānurá bāšəḷwale.¹ kəmríwale qawurmà.¹ nātənwale¹ ga-t^wká qārírā mätúwale.¹ yaxčál litwalan xor-'o-waxtárá.¹ mätúwale ga-xá-t^wka qārírā hāwé¹ péš ta-sətwà.¹ (84) 'áy qawurmá 'əxà-yele¹ galglíwale ga-pliyáw məšxá nòšef,¹ məšxá tortəkè,¹ lá məšxà,¹ denulá.¹ ga-denulá nòšaf bašlíwala qāšāng.¹ mätúwale ga-xá ... 'ó waxtára qoqə-hitwa.¹ qoqé xa-zárf, zrífek-yelu mən 'ápre smoqà.¹ 'ənyexáe mätúwalu ga-sətwà.¹ mən-d-óa rába 'əstəfáda kolíwa.¹

(85) GK: qalyá hítwa?¹

(86) qalyá qälənwale.¹ 'o-pəsrá qälənwale¹ xárwa ba-čokè.¹ bšəlmané ḥāz kolíwa¹ 'axní mändíx šárex baquí ga-lelé reš-šata,¹ šwawāni¹ 'ašnāni,¹ 'ənyexáe rába 'ašnəe-yelu.¹ (87) qeməxwa¹ xá ḥāmalá kməxwa.¹ xa-xwān rába rabtá taršəxwa ... mäsälān 'axní xá-mdi taršəxwa b-šəma dānəgazoè.¹ 'oní lā káenwa ma-yén.¹ širní mätəxwa baqū¹ šərəxwale baqū¹ ba-čonwán-e reš-šata.¹ 'óni rába mo'taqəḏ-yelu¹ ké mən-xále reša šatá didán 'axli.¹ (88) 'áxni mäsälān¹ pəšpəra taršəxwa¹ g-ò-lele.¹ duxwà taršəxwa,¹ qaysurón šərəxwa baqū.¹ 'óni-č qemí hár 'o-yomà¹ sangākí,¹ ləxmá sangākí taršəwa,¹ gezíwa šaqliwa-u¹ mən-kārà-u¹ dušà-u¹ guptà-u¹ mastà-u¹ 'ənyexáe mätíwa gáaf¹ 'u-šáriwa báqa béla didàn.¹

Winter

(81) First of all, they did not close the shops. People would go outside even in the snow. Indeed they did not close the shops. In addition, there was a custom there, for example at the end of autumn just before winter²⁸ each family, each family went in their turn and bought a cow. They would bring it back to their home. (82) Our rabbi would come and slaughter it for them. He cleaned it. He checked lest it be ritually unclean, lest it be polluted. Then he carefully took out what had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away. (83) He then gave the meat to the head of the household. The head of the household put out some of this meat and cooked it in an oven. They called this *qawurma*. They took it and placed it in a cool place. We still did not have a fridge at that time. They put it in a place that was cool for it to remain until winter. (84) This *qawurma* was like this, they would stir it round in its own oil, the oil of the cow. Not oil, fat, they cooked it well in its own fat. They put it in a—at that time there were pots. Pots were a container made of red clay. They would serve this in winter. They greatly enjoyed this.

(85) GK: Was there *qalya*?

(86) They would fry *qalya*. They would fry meat and it would become *čoke*. The Muslims wanted us to send them something on New Year's Eve, our neighbours and acquaintances—many of them were our acquaintances. (87) We would bring a porter and we made a big tray ... for example we made something called *danagazoe*.²⁹ They did not know what they were. We put out such sweets for them and sent them to them, for New Year. They were determined to eat our New Year food. (88) For example we made an omelette on that night. We made *duxwa*.³⁰ We sent them *qaysuron*.³¹ On that same day they would make loaves of bread, they would go and buy butter, honey, cheese, yoghurt. They would put these on it (the tray) and send them to us.

²⁸ Literally: close to winter.

²⁹ A sweet made from sesame.

³⁰ A dish made of rice and yoghurt.

³¹ A dish made of apricot.

(89) *lelāwāe sətwa yātəxwa¹ dāwre ləxle.¹ lele sətwa ga-doká yārixà-yele¹ gardèç-yela.¹ báqa d-óa beláké mašxniwalè.¹ xa-‘ədə buxarì hitwálu¹ ba-šiwè malqíwalá,¹ ‘o-béla mašxniwale.¹ (90) ‘axní mäsälän¹ xá-mdi hitwalán b-šəmá kursì.¹ mangál d-áy ^Hšulhàn^H təlḥà kárāte d-éa,¹ ‘arbà kárāte d-éa,¹ biš ntóta xançì.¹ xá lă‘éfa dāénwa ba-rešāf.¹ txeləf¹ xá-dana mangəl-yela,¹ har-ga-‘ārā çəqyàwalu.¹ ga-dóka zoxəl¹ dārənwa.¹ zoxəl¹ dārənwa gəaf.¹ gogərd dāénwa ba-zuxaləké¹ malqíwale ga-dokà¹ ‘o-kursí šaxnàwa.¹ (91) kúle yātəxwa b-dāwre ləxle.¹ ga-xá xanāwadé didàn,¹ ‘axní xamšá xonāwalè-yelan,¹ tré xələsyè-yelan,¹ tatá dačkà,¹ yātəxwa b-dāwre ləxle.¹ rába tomè kəxləxwa,¹ tomè.¹*

King Solomon

(92) *tatí yātùwa¹ ‘əlhá mənixà¹ dāstán ḥəqéwa baqàn¹ mäsälán rájə¹ b-Šlómo ha-mèlex,¹ reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex¹ ‘əqrá ‘aqól xirà-y¹ ga-‘olám mangaléf là xirá-y.¹ híç-kas ‘áql-e Šlómo ha-mèlex lá xirlale.¹ (93) kəmrìwa¹ xa-jám xirlale Šlómo ha-mèlex,¹ mangál sinəmà xirté-ya.¹ šəméf xirá-y jám-e jāhānmà.¹ yáni jám-e kəyá ke-ga-‘olám ... xəel-o,¹ ‘əqrà ḥoxméf rába xirté-ya.¹ (94) rába-č ḥāriš xirá-y,¹ xa-başór ... ‘arbì ‘ənšè xirlale.¹ ‘arbí ‘ənšé ... ktúba xirèn,¹ gér ‘az-d-ó ya-xirlale¹ šigà-u¹ ^Hpilagšim^H ‘onyexàe¹ bə-ḥāsāb.¹ mäsälän¹ šáta zilá-y lá xà baxtéf.¹*

(95) *ḥoxmàef¹ ga-‘olám mašhür xirté-ya.¹ har-čì məltè¹ ḥasrət ləblá-y báef.¹ xa-nāfār¹ mäsälán fārz holéx xa-šəh¹ xá-mdi na-raḥāti xirləwelalè¹ zilá-y mən-d-ó xéta təlbà-y,¹ mšurtà¹ wilá-y baqəf.¹ (96) mirà-y¹ má holèt?¹ ‘ay-ḥášta dāx hóləta?¹ ‘ay-ḥášta mà xără?¹ rába dólte ‘olām¹ ḥāmésa baqéf xéta ləblá-y,¹ ^Hmā-tanà^H ləblá-y.¹ xəzáne jāwahəratəf¹ ga-‘olám mašhür xirté-ya.¹ (97) xá waxtəra¹ ‘əqrá ḥāriš xirà-y¹ zilá-y¹ təlābá málka Šābà.¹ málka Šābà gwirté-ya.¹ ‘ó-č rába dawlamàn xirté-ya.¹ tāmám-e ‘olām¹ ḥasratəf ləblá-y.¹ mirà-y¹ dāx ‘ay-kúle ḥoxmá ‘əlhá hiwté-ya báqa d-áy bronà?¹ dāstané rába hütwale ke-‘aná fəkrí lèn.¹*

(89) During the winter nights we would sit together in a circle.³² A winter night was long there and it was cold. For this reason they heated the house. Some people had a stove, which they would fuel³³ by wood and they would heat the house. (90) We had something called a *kursi* ‘seat’, like this table, three times (the size) of this, four times (the size) of this, it was a bit higher. We would put a quilt on top of it. Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground. They put coals there. They put coals in it. They put a match to the coals and they ignited them there and the seat became warm. (91) We all sat together. In our single family we were five brothers and two sisters, and together with father and mother, we sat together. We ate a lot of nut kernels.

King Solomon

(92) My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story, for example concerning King Solomon, about King Solomon, that he was so intelligent that there was nobody like him in the whole world. Nobody had acquired the intelligence of King Solomon. (93) They said King Solomon had a mirror, which was like a cinema. Its name was ‘Mirror of the World’, that is a mirror that knows what is in the world. He would see this, so great was his wisdom. (94) He was also very lustful. He had at least forty wives—forty wives who were officially married to him³⁴—in addition to those (wives) that he had, (there were also) temporary wives and concubines, who were without number. For example, he went to one of his wives (once) in a year.

(95) His wisdom became famous in the world. Every nation became jealous of him. (If) a person, for example, let’s suppose a king, (if) something unpleasant had happened to him, he went and requested from him (King Solomon) a thing and he (King Solomon) gave him advice. (96) He (the other) said ‘What would you do? How would you do this thing? What will become of this affair?’ Many nations brought something to him, brought gifts. The treasury of his jewels was famous in the world. (97) Once he was so lustful that he went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba. He married the Queen of Sheba. She also was very rich. The whole world became envious of him. They said ‘How is it that God has given all this wisdom to this young man?’ He (my father) had many stories that I do not remember.

³² Literally: around each other.

³³ Literally: kindle.

³⁴ Literally: had become by marriage document.

The Tale of the Jealous Neighbour

(98) *xa-waxtārā tatí yātūwa¹ xá ḥākayát ḥāqéwa baqān.¹ hūtwa-u lītwa¹ mən-ʾəlhá biš-pīr¹ hič-kas lītwa.¹ māni hūtwa?¹ xa-gorà hitwá.¹ ʾéa gezəlwa ga-pliyáw jangāl.¹ ʾilanè gardáqwa-u¹ kmèwalu¹ ga-ʾaḥrā zābənwalu.¹ ba-d-éa zəndəgí kólwale.¹ (99) ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qānaʿat kólwa.¹ rába razì-yele.¹ rába xòš-yele.¹ lelāwáe kewa-ò¹ belá yātūwa.¹ xa-dána pút ḥālabí dóqwala ba-ʾilèf-u¹ dāélwa gāaf-u¹ yaléf naqlīwa-u¹ baxtéf naqlāwa-u.¹ xòš-yela ḥāmēša.¹ (100) xà šwáwa hūtwa!¹ rāba dawlamán-yele.¹ tajər-yele.¹ ʾó lelāwáe kewá-o belà,¹ gbéwa yātúwa ḥāsāb-u ktābe holí.¹ tá pəlgà-lele¹ xa-sáʿat bār pəlga-lele yātūwa.¹ hár qāre¹ hár ʾay-ḥāsāb kólwale.¹ (101) ʾó waxtāra¹ ʾay-^Hmaxšīrim^H lītwa ke-ḥāsāb hólí bàaf.¹ čòrt-yela.¹ čòrt xa-məndīx-yela¹ məndixáne górd-yelu ga-pliyáw xa-sim,¹ dána dána ʾənyexáe ḥāsāb kolíwalu.¹ ʾáy yātúwa lele,¹ āwál lele gezəlwa-ó belà,¹ xálef kxəlwalè,¹ yātúwa ta-saʿatè¹ tré bār pəlga lele.¹ ʾaná xamsà təmné¹ mən-Ḥābīb gbéna.¹ xamsá təmné mən-Jəfri gbéna.¹ təlḥá təmné m-Sàra gbéna.¹ ʾarbá təmné ʾəzyó híwli baqāf,¹ báqa Šəmʿun.¹ (102) ʾənyexáe gbé yātú ba-ḥāsāb mātewà.¹ baxtef zīla ṭālābè¹ kámra ʾət¹ b-áy kúle daraiòx¹ xor-ʾát ḥāmešá ḥārk-e d-èa!¹ ʾáy šwáwa didàn¹ gezəl šiwe mən-jangāl kmé zābənnu.¹ xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šāqəl báqa yalèf-u¹ g-ay-pút dāél naqòle naqlí baqèf.¹ ʾət ma-kolét?¹ (103) ʾáy baxtá-u ʾáy gorà¹ bāxeḥi lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké¹ ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl.¹ míra daáká lá qoràlox!¹ xá-yoma zíl lagèf-u¹ müre báqef¹ müre flanakas¹ ʾát ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kár mayayòx kxəl?¹ hàlox.¹ ʾaná jəns kəwná ba-ʾilòx¹ láble zābne¹ ʾáyza kásbi hùl ta-nóšox.¹*

The Tale of the Jealous Neighbour

(98) Once my father sat and told us a story. There was, there was not, there was nobody more senior than God. Who was there? There was a man. He used to go to the woods. He used to gather (branches from) trees, bring them back and sell them in the town. He would make himself a livelihood by this. (99) He was very content with this life. He was very satisfied and very happy. In the evening he would come home and sit. He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum). His children danced and his wife danced. Life was always happy.³⁵ (100) He had a neighbour, who was very rich. He was a merchant. He would return home in the evenings and had to sit and do the accounts and books. He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading and doing the accounts. (101) At that time there were none of those machines with which one does accounts. It was an abacus (that one used). An abacus is something (containing) things that were round on a wire. One by one he would calculate them (the accounts). He would sit at night. In the early evening he would go back home, eat his food and sit until two o'clock in the morning.³⁶ 'I am owed five tmans by Ḥabib.³⁷ I am owed five tmans by Geoffrey. I am owed three tmans by Sarah. I gave her today eight tmans, (I gave also) to Šəm'un.' (102) He had to sit and enter these things into the accounts. His wife went and criticized (him). She says 'You, with all your property, you are always busy with this! This neighbour of ours goes and brings branches of wood from the woods and sells them. He buys a little bread and cheese for his children. He drums on the tin and they dance to it. What do you do?' (103) The woman and the man were jealous of the other man who lived in this way. She said 'This cannot continue.'³⁸ One day he went to him (the neighbour). He said to him, he said 'So-and-so, what use is this life to you? I shall give you some cloth. Take it and sell it. Take the earnings for yourself.'³⁹

³⁵ Literally: It was always good.

³⁶ Literally: after midnight.

³⁷ Literally: I want five tmans from Ḥabib. The toman was an Iranian unit of currency.

³⁸ Literally: Mother should not bury you. I.e. you should not go to the grave without changing things.

³⁹ Literally: Give the good business to yourself.

(104) má kul-yóma gezét 'ay-jangà! 'ay-kúle zaḥamtá garšèta-u?! kmet-ó xamšá qārān kwilòx. 'aná puḷ káwna ba-'ilóx. jəns káwna ba-'ilóx, se-zəbne! yomá 'əmə šéqel puḷé təḥèt. (105) 'ó míre ṭòb. zíl lagèf-u' méle mtùle-u' 'ay-zíl jəns ləblè, jənsəké ləblé mätùle ga-xá t'kaná zabnè. 'áy-əč xír mangàl d-ó. bəqāta 'ásər gezəlwa' jəns zəbənwa-u' kälüwale. 'éa xamšā qārané, 'ó təḥà qārané, 'ó 'arbā qārané, 'ó xamšā qārané. (106) lelāwāe gbéwa hezəlwa belà' tajərākè' ḥəsabéf hawle-ó baqèf, ḥəmār 'əqrá zəbni, 'əqrá-č puḷèf-ye. (107) xét lá zàrb dəélwa 'əláf-u' lá ba-putākè dəélwa' 'u-la yálef naqlíwa. baxtéf míra báqa gorākè, míra' lá-gban 'áy ḥəsáb-u ktàbe. šòlètle! se-báqa jangàl, 'ilanākè mélu, zəbnu! ba-lāxá zəndəgi holét, dú ga-pulāké ba-naqlèx!

Nadir Shah

(108) 'ó waxtára kəmrí ga-'Irān! Nádər Šáh 'Afsār' rəba qudréf xirlále. báqa d-ó 'ələ' ké ra'yáté, našèf, našé 'áy mamlākātà' dāx zəndəgi kolí' dāx lá kolí, gezəl lelāwə' ləbās-e dawrešì lóšwa. ləbās-e xārāb ləšwa, gezəlwa mǎ'ínwa g-áy-lag, g-ò-lag, xáe náše mà kəmrí, našé dāx-yen, zəndəgyú dāx-ye! wa-'ágar čānānče xa-našá na-raḥātí. ḥəwèle, 'əle báef. (109) gezəlwa bar-trè našé' sāməxwa, mǎšilwa. gezəlwa māsālán xá-əda našé ke-ga-xá meydān smixèn' xábba ḥəqèn, mǎšilwa xabrù. ba-d-áy jorà' gezəlwa, 'ágar čānānče xá-nəfar zòlm xirāwe-lèf, gezəlwa jobrān kolwalé-u' là šóqwa xét zòlm holì-lef. wa-ba-d-áy jorà' qudrətéf rəba xírwa.

(104) Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble? You bring back (the wood) and they give you five qarans.⁴⁰ I shall give money into your hand. I shall give you cloth, go and sell it! You will make 100 shekels in money a day.’ (105) He (the merchant) said ‘Fine (that is agreed).’ He went to him, brought it (the cloth) and put it down (for him). He (the other) went and took the cloth, he took the cloth away to put it in a shop and sell it. He became like him (the merchant). Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth and write down (what he had sold): this one five qarans, that one three qarans, that one four qarans, that one five qarans. (106) In the evenings he had to go home and give back to the merchant his accounts and say ‘I have sold such-and-such’ and (say) that his money was such-and-such. (107) He no longer played on the drum, he did not beat the can and his children did not dance. His wife said to the man, she said ‘I don’t want these accounts and books. Throw it away! Go to the woods. Bring pieces of wood and sell them. Live a life here. Beat on the drum and let us dance!’

Nadir Shah

(108) At that time, they say, in Iran, Nadir Shah Afšar was very powerful. In order that he might know how his subjects, his people, the people of his kingdom lived,⁴¹ he would go at night wearing the clothes of a beggar. He would wear ragged clothes and would go and look this side and that side, to see what people were saying, how people were, how their life was and, if a person had a grievance, he would know about it. (109) He would go and stand behind two people and listen. He would go, for example, to a group of people who were standing in a square, speaking and listening to what they said. In this way he would go and if a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him and did not allow him to suffer further injustice. In this way his power had become very great.

⁴⁰ Unit of currency (= 1/10 of a toman).

⁴¹ Literally: how they lived, how they did not live.

INFORMANT B (YESKEL PAZ)

The Historical Background of the Jews

(1) *bəqróx mən-didìl kəmrètì hulaé Kurdəstànì čəkmā-yelu?*¹ *wa-čəkmā šənə ga-dōka xirən?*² *mən-ləma hiyén báqa Kurdəstàn?*³ *ʾárz hòna,*⁴ *m-zāmàn-e!*⁵ *Kurəš-e Kābīr!*⁶ *hiyén báqa Hāmāddān,*⁷ *ʾAsfāhān,*⁸ *Golpayāgān.*⁹ *ʾáy təlhá tʾkə hulaé rāba xirén gáu.*¹⁰ *čün!*¹¹ *Šīrāz-u!*¹² — *Šīrāz ʾo-waxtāra ba-šəme ʾEstəxr xirtə-y!*¹³ — *ʾEstəxr-u!*¹⁴ *ʾEsfāhān-u!*¹⁵ *Golpayāgān-u!*¹⁶ *Hāmāddān,*¹⁷ *ʾənyexáe paetaxtè!*¹⁸ *Kurəš-e Kābīr xirén,*¹⁹ *səlsələ-e ʾaxamaneš.*²⁰ (2) *hulaé ke-hiyén báqa dōka!*²¹ *bār-d-o!*²² *pārā-kandā xirén mən-dokā!*²³ *hiyén báqa Kurdəstàn,*²⁴ *xá ʾəda,*²⁵ *lá külè.*²⁶ *xá ʾəda mən-ʾEsfāhān hiyén.*²⁷ *xá ʾəda mən-Golpayāgān hiyén.*²⁸ *xá ʾəda mən-Šīrāz hiyén.*²⁹ *xá ʾəda mən-Hāmāddān hiyén!*³⁰ *báqa Kurdəstàn.*³¹ (3) *ʾó waxtāra ʾənyexáe ga-Kurdəstàn!*³² *qārīb-e!*³³ *ʾalpā baté.*³⁴ *ʾalpā baté hulaé ga-Kurdəstàn xirə-y,*³⁵ *Kurdəstàn-u!*³⁶ *ʾatrāf-e Kurdəstàn.*³⁷

Professions of the Jews

(4) *ʾənyexáe šoglù má xirə-y?*³⁸ *trè ʾəbāqé xirén.*³⁹ *xá ʾəbāqà!*⁴⁰ *ħākimè xirén.*⁴¹ *xá ʾəbāqà!*⁴² *bāzazè-u!*⁴³ *ʾātarè-u!*⁴⁴ *b-áy jóra xirén ga-ħəštā.*⁴⁵ *xá ʾəda-č!*⁴⁶ *čarčiyè xirén.*⁴⁷ *čarčī yāni gezīwa báqa malāwāè.*⁴⁸ *ga-malāwāe zəndəgì kolīwa.*⁴⁹ *ʾó-č hār kāsbi kolīwa.*⁵⁰ *šanʾát litwalu.*⁵¹ *kāsbi kolīwa ga-dokā.*⁵² *ba-kāsbi pulè tāhənwa-u!*⁵³ *kmenwa-ó ga-sətwá məntāke yalú-u baxtú kəxliwalu.*⁵⁴ *zəndəgì kolīwa.*⁵⁵ (5) *ʾonyé yá ʾəbāqá ʾəwəl-yelù!*⁵⁶ *ħākimè-yelu,*⁵⁷ *māgól ʾəyfā-e!*⁵⁸ *Ĥākim Rafaèl,*⁵⁹ *babá-e daāká Daryuš,*⁶⁰ *Ĥākim Rafaèl,*⁶¹ *ʾəxoná Ĥākim Šəmʾün.*⁶² *xə-ʾəyfā Ĥākim Šəmʾün xirén.*⁶³ *xá ʾəyfā xət xirén Ĥākim Bašì,*⁶⁴ *ʾəyfā-e didān.*⁶⁵ *ʾəgā-e Daryuš Xān!*⁶⁶ *ʾšəšəletéʿ*⁶⁷ *ga-lāxā kliwtè-y,*⁶⁸ *lága didí ha-yà.*⁶⁹ *ʾənyexáe ga-Kurdəstàn!*⁷⁰ *ʾéa-ʾəbāqá-e ʾəwəl xirén.*⁷¹ (6) *xá ʾəbāqá xət-əč xirén!*⁷² *bīš tex-ò,*⁷³ *ʾonyexə!*⁷⁴ *təjarát xīrlalu məntāke xarəj.*⁷⁵ *zilén baqā!*⁷⁶ *Rusīya,*⁷⁷ *zilén báqa Turkīya.*⁷⁸ *jəns šəqlá-y,*⁷⁹ *miyá-y ga-Kurdəstàn zəbnà-y.*⁸⁰ *ʾənyexáe ħəštú xirtə-y.*⁸¹ *nāft miyá-y mən-dōka,*⁸² *ga-Kurdəstàn zəbnà-y.*⁸³ *ʾó waxtāra nāft!*⁸⁴ *ga-bušké rüwè-yele.*⁸⁵ *bušké ʾəsri putè.*⁸⁶

INFORMANT B (YESKEL PAZ)

The Historical Background of the Jews

(1) You have asked me saying ‘The Jews of Kurdistan—how many were they? How many years were they there? When did they come to Kurdistan?’ I tell you,⁴² at the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan, Isfahan and Golpayagan. In these three places there were many Jews. This was because Shiraz—at that time Shiraz was (known by) the name of Istakhr—Istakhr, Isfahan, Golpayagan, Hamadan, these were the capitals of Cyrus the Great, of the Achaemenid dynasty. (2) The Jews who came there were later scattered from there and came to Kurdistan, some of them, not all. Some came from Isfahan. Some came from Golpayagan. Some came from Shiraz. Some came from Hamadan to Kurdistan. (3) At that time those in Kurdistan were about one thousand families. The Jews of Kurdistan were one thousand families, Kurdistan and the surrounding districts.

Professions of the Jews

(4) What was their profession? There were two classes. One class were doctors. One class were cloth-merchants, grocers. They had work such as this. Some others were peddlers, peddler, that is they went to the villages. They lived in the villages. They would do business. They did not have a craft. They did business there. They made money in business, brought it back and used it to support their children and wife.⁴³ They lived (like this). (5) Those who were of the first class were doctors, like the family of Hākim Rafael, the father of the mother of Daryuš, Hākim Rafael, the brother of Hākim Šəm‘un. There was a family of Hākim Šəm‘un. Another family was Hākim Baši, our family. Mr Daryuš has here written down his family tree, here it is by me. This was the first class in Kurdistan. (6) There was another class, which was lower. They had business abroad. They went to Russia and they went to Turkey. They bought goods, brought them to Kurdistan and sold them there. This was their job. They brought oil from there and sold it in Kurdistan. Then oil was in large barrels. Barrels of twenty cans (in capacity).

⁴² Literally: May I make a petition.

⁴³ Literally: They ate it with their children and wife.

(7) *xamsár puté kmènwale-u^l ga-Kurdəstān zābnīwale.^l dubāra jāns lablīwa mən-Kurdəstān,^l kātirā,^l sa^llāb,^l řewī,^l dālāq.^l ʔənyexāe lablīwa^l báqa dóka zabnīwale.^l m-dóka jāns kmenwāle-o Kurdəstān-u^l ga-dóka zabnīwale.^l ʔamrār-e mā^láš ba-d-ò kolīwa.^l (8) xá-ʕda-č bazari-yelu.^l ga-bazār ḥášta kolīwa.^l ʔənyexāe kasəbé zorə-yelu.^l jāns mən-d-ənyexāe šaqlíwa yá kmènwā,^l magòl^l ʔága be-Ḥayūm,^l ʔoni jāns kménwa,^l be-Móše be-Sosanə jāns kménwa.^l ʔənyexāe jəns kménwa.^l ʔé-əč šaqlīwale mǎnu,^l zabnīwale^l ʔotà kolīwa-u^l hām pūle d-óni kwīwalu^l hām nóšu zəndəgí kolīwa bəf.^l (9) pás ʔəa^l ʔé ʕdā^l ga-Kurdəstān^l baqyú-č ga-malāwə-yelu.^l geziwa báqa malà^l čarčī kəmréxwa báqu ʔənyexāe.^l hár mǎla^l trè báte,^l tǎlhà báte^l xá-bela gəaf-yele^l mən-d-áy hulaè.^l kénwa jāns mən-ʔəhra lablīwa báqa dokà,^l mən-Sanandaj,^l ʔəhrā^l jāns lablīwa báqa dokà.^l kwīwale báqa dehatiyé ga-réša xarmān.^l jāns b-pulé šaqlíwa mǎnu.^l kenwá-o ʔəhrā,^l pulè^l ʔǎlabkār kwiwale-ó baqu.^l nóšu zəndəgí kolīwa ba-d-èa.^l*

(10) ʔéa Kurdəstān-ye^l wa-ta-jāng-e benulmǎlǎli ʔəwǎ^l piš-ʔéa.^l jāng-e benulmǎlǎli ʔəwǎ^l wǎxt-e piš-ʔéa,^l ʔənyexāe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zīli.^l mīli.^l rábau zīli baqà^l Ḥāmādán ʔu-Kərmansāh.^l ḥátá zīli baqá ʕrāq^l báqa Bağà.^l xá-ʕdu qími híyen báqa ʔIsrāyəl,^l hár g-ó waxtārà.^l ʔó waxtāra-č ʔIsrayél mangól ʔátá là-yela.^l

(11) *xá-ʕda-č hítwalan ga-Kurdəstān^l mən-ma^llǎmulà ləxmá kəxlīwa,^l ma^llǎm-yelu,^l yāni^l ḥaxām-yelu,^l rǎb-yelu.^l ʔənyexāe ga-dóka hítwalan.^l yalé hulaé Kurdəstān geziwa béla d-onyexàe,^l qǎrənwa,^l hulaulà qǎrənwa.^l (12) ta-bár-d-o ʔAliāns híye báqa Kurdəstān.^l ga-hǎzār-o no-sà^l ʔAliāns híye báqa Kurdəstān.^l ga-dóka madrāsá ʔAliāns təršǎle.^l yalé hulaé kurdəstani^l zīli báqa madrāsá ga-dóka xət.^l šəru^l wīlu ba-yǎlopé hulaulà-u^l yǎlopé fǎransà-u^l ʕbrī,^l fǎrsi.^l ʔənyé ḥaštú ʔèla.^l kasəbé ʔomdé litwalan ga-Kurdəstān,^l hamrét xà.^l našá-e hǎwèle,^l xakarxàna hǎwèle^l ya-xá mo^lʔāsāsà hǎwèle^l xamsā-me nǎfǎré,^l trè-me nǎfǎré^l ʔəmì nǎfǎré ga-dóka ḥaštá holi,^l ʔó litwalu.^l*

(7) They brought fifteen cans of it and sold it in Kurdistan. Then they took goods from Kurdistan, such as gum, fox (fur), fox, marten (fur). They took these there and sold them. They brought back goods from there to Kurdistan and sold them there. They made their livelihood in this way. (8) Another group were market stall keepers. They worked in the market. They were small merchants. They bought goods from those who brought them (from abroad), like Ağa be-Hayim, they would bring goods, and the family of Moše be-Sosane would bring goods. They would bring goods. They (the small merchants) would buy from them, sell the goods and make a profit. They would give them (the big merchants) their money and they would also make a livelihood by this themselves. (9) Now, the remainder of this class in Kurdistan was in the villages. They would go to a village—we called them ‘peddlers.’ In each village there was one house in every two or three (who bought) from these Jews. They would come and take goods there from the town, from the town of Sanandaj, they would take goods there. They would offer it to the villagers at the time of the harvest. They would buy the goods from them with money. They would come back to the town and give the money of the creditors back to them. They would make a livelihood in this.

(10) This was Kurdistan up until just before the First World War. Just before the First World War most of them (the Jews) perished from famine, they died. Many of them went to Hamadan and Kermanshah. They even went to Iraq, to Baghdad. Some went to Israel, already at that time. At that time Israel was not like now.

(11) We had a group of people in Kurdistan who earned their livelihood from the teaching profession, they were teachers, that is they were sages, they were rabbis. We had such people there. The Jewish children of Kurdistan went to the homes of these people and studied Judaism. (12) Later the Alliance (Israélite) came to Kurdistan. In 1900 the Alliance came to Kurdistan. The Alliance built the school there. The Jewish children of Kurdistan went (until that time) to another school there. They began to learn Judaism, learn French, Hebrew and Persian. This was their work. We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all.⁴⁴ A person who had a factory or an institution with five hundred people, two hundred people, a hundred people who worked there—they did not have this there.

⁴⁴ Literally: Tell me one (if you can).

Festivals

(13) *hulaé 'áhra Sanandâj, mangól hulaé sáer-e t^mké xèt, 'eläwæ| doqiwalu küle. 'awál pätirè. duwóm 'aşartà. lā-la-‘omer| bár-d-o 'aşartà. pésah šèni| bár-d-o 'aşartà. bár 'aşartà kèxwa, šoasár ba-tämüz-yele-u| bár-d-o tš‘á ba-‘Āb. šābāt naḥamù. bár-d-o roš-ha-šanà. kipùr. bár d-ənyexàe| kyáwa ḥānukaè. bár ḥānukaé məzdané 'ilanè. bár-d-o lelangè.*

(14) *mà kolíwa ga-pätirè?| pätiré ga-lága didàn| rába moḥkām doqíwala. xá-yarxá bár 'ilanè, 'ənyexáe ga-fkór kwénwa ké báqa pätiré má lazám-ye tahya holí. béhtar-e zārā| tāḥənwale. kménwale ga-belà. yatwíwa 'ənsè| dána ba-dána gābənwale, lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef ḥāwè, 'ayzà la-ḥāwé, ḥaməš ḥāwé. bār-d-o 'ód pà'am[#]| bādiqā kolíwale| ké dubara tāmüz. (15) ba'dàn| qarwá pätiré ké xarwà, 'orxèl| 'ijāra kolíwa. 'orxèl, ṭaxonà, 'ijarā kolíwa, šāmāš gezólwa báqa dokà| gbéwa hezólwa tāmüz ḥòlwala, ké lá báda qamxà| ga-dóka ḥāwè. 'ay-ləxmá lá-xar ḥaməš xāzər. (16) 'ó waxtāra| wáxt-e tāmüz wililè, kewá-o kmərwà| 'orxél Qasəm| yá 'orxél Dārāqurdalè, yá 'orxél Ḥaplùl| 'éa 'āmadéni bāqa| hulaè. pàs| geziwa báqa dokà-u| hár belà| zārā-e béla nōšef mātíwa rēša xá ta'ná xmarà-u| lābəlwale ga-dokà. kólwale qamxá ḥāsabi-u| kmewale-ó bēla. lá šóqwa bšəlmaná 'íla dāé bəf, hár nòšu. bšəlmaná ḥáq litwale 'íla dāé bəf. 'éa rajó| ba-qamxà. (17) 'átá xet-mà kolíwa?| bār-d-o| gbənwala ləxmā tarší, 'matsòt[#] tarší. 'matsót[#] má-jor taršiwà?| kménwa xà nāfár. bar-d-èa| 'ay-ḥášta wilálu, xá nāfar kéwa ga-belà, tāqəlwale baquí, yáni 'əmer kəmríwa baqéf. hár 'əmer| xá kilo-u pəlgè. xá-kilo-u pəlge| mən-d-áy qamxà| dārénwa ga-pliyáw xá kasá rabtā. mātíwale ga-pliyáw xá mäsälà, tārəzù, taqlíwale. 'èa| béla Daryúš gyān, mäsälàn, xamsár 'omeré gbé. béla didìl tresār gbé. béla d-ó 'əsrì gbé, béla d-ó ṭlài, ba-tāfawót-e našākè, čəkmá nāfäre-ḥítwalu xála 'axli. b-ày-jora| 'éa taqlíwale. 'éa ba-‘āla ḥdà matwíwale.*

Festivals

(13) The Jews of the town of Sanandaj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals. First Passover. Secondly Shavuot—Lag Ba-‘Omer, then Shavuot, second Passover, then Shavuot. After Shavuot we came to the seventeenth of Tamuz. After that the Ninth of Ab. Sabbath *Naḥamu*. Then New Year. The Day of Atonement. After these came Ḥanukka. After Ḥanukka Tu bə-Shvat.⁴⁵ Then Purim.

(14) What did they do at Passover? In our community they observed Passover very strictly. A month after Tu bə-Shvat, they considered what preparations should be made for Passover. They would find the best wheat. They would bring it home. The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it, whether it be something that is not good or whether it be leaven. Then they would make another inspection (to ensure) that it was clean again. (15) Afterwards, close to the time Passover took place, they hired a water-mill. A water-mill (that is) a mill. They hired it and a beadle would go there. He had to go and clean it, lest there was flour there. The bread must not become leavened. (16) Then, when he had cleaned them, he would come back and say ‘The mill of Qasim, or the mill of Daraqurdale or the mill of Ḥaplul are ready for the Jews (to use).’ Then they would go there. Every family put its own wheat on the back of a donkey⁴⁶ and took it there. They made flour as it should be made and brought it home. They did not allow a Muslim to touch it, only they themselves (were allowed). A Muslim was not allowed to touch it. This is what concerns the flour. (17) Now, what else did they do? After that they had to make bread, make matzos. How did they make matzos? They brought somebody. After they had done this work, a person came to the house and weighed (out the flour) for them, that is (he weighed out) what they call an ‘omer. Each ‘omer was a kilo and a half. They poured out a kilo and a half of the flour into a large bowl. They put it onto scales, scales. They weighed it. The family of dear Daryuš, for example, needs fifteen ‘omers. My family needs twelve. His family needs twenty, his family thirty, according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had to eat the food. In this way they weighed it out. They put it aside.

⁴⁵ Literally: the gifts of the trees.

⁴⁶ Literally: on the load of a donkey.

(18) *bār-d-o* | *kénwa tănurà*. | *tănurá gbèwa* | *qâme-o* | *maqlîwala* | *ké tănurá* | *haméš là hawyá*. | *xáštî báte hîtwa* | *tănurá-e* | *‘āla-ḥādá maxšûš baqâ* | *pätirè hîtwalu*. | *‘áxni mäsälân* | *tănurá ga-belà* | *‘āla-ḥādá báqa pätirè hîtwalan*. | *‘ilá lá dāénwa báaf ta-pätirè*. | (19) *bār-d-o xá náfár kéwa dokà* | *‘òmer ‘éčwa*. | *qamxà ‘éčwale*. | *kólwale ba-lešà*. | *kólwale ba-lešá ga-pliyáw xa-tášt-e mesî* | *ke-qâme-o xwartá wilawale-ò* | *xwaré xiriwà-u* | *məqrəxiwalu-ò*. | *maxšuşàn kmárna* | *məqrəxiwalu-ò*. | *‘éa là xárwa ‘o-lá qrixá hāwè*. | *gbé maqrəxiwale-ò* | *lá bàda* | *xoràka* | *haméš ga-d-éa xila-hāwè*. | (20) *‘éa kmènwale-u* | *‘éčwale*. | *kwólwale taḥwîl-e nanawakâr*. | *‘ó yá læxmà kolawà-o*, | *‘ó yá læxmāké kolawale-ò*, | *kwólwale taḥwîl-e d-óa dána danà*. | *‘ó-č kolawale-ò* | *ba-gerà*. | *ba-géra kolawale-ó læxmākè*, | *‘ó-ya læxmāké dāyále ba-tănurà*, | *‘ó bšəlmantè-ya læxmá dāyáwa ba-tănurá*. | *hulaà lá káewa*. | (21) *wále ga-xaštî tʷkè* | *hîtwa fáqat hulaà-yele* | *‘əlhá mǎnícle ‘Awlé sǎqəzì*. | *‘əlhá mǎnícle ‘Awlé sǎqəzî nòšef* | *hám ‘éčwale* | *hám dāéwale ba-tănurà*. | *‘ó sǎqəzì-yele*. | *‘òa lá šóqwa bšəlmanè* | *dāéle ba-tănùra*, | *nòšef dāéwale ba-tănùra læxmākè*. | *‘éa læxmà*. | (22) *‘ó waxtára* | *kyáwa réša maššàe*. | *təlhá dané maššàe taršíwa*. | *xá maššà* | *xá mǎmonà*. | *xá maššá tré mǎmonè*. | *xá mašša təlhá mǎmonè*. | *léle pätirè* | *bāraxá tré təlhá kəmréxile* | *bār-d-o kəmnóx*. | *‘é maššàe* | *baxtá máre belākè*, | *yá ‘o-baxtá-e læxmākè kolawale-ó*, | *taršàwalu*. | *nòšu dāyíwalu ba-tănurà*. | *lá kwíwalu ba-‘íla bǎxta bšəlmantākè-č*. | *nòšu dāyíwalu ba-tănurà*. | (23) *‘ənyexáe maxšûš-yeni* | *lá-xar ‘íla táqra báu ta-léle pätirè baraxà hamrí*. | *kəmríwa báqa didàn* | *‘amàn* | *mən-d-áy læxmá là ‘axlétun*. | *‘ágar mən-d-áy læxmá ‘axlétun*, | *kasāxún bazyà*. | *yalè-yelan*. | *tahdíd koliwalán*. | *lá báda mən-d-áy læxmá ‘axlétun* | *ta-léle pätirè baraxèf hamríla*. | *‘èa-č* | *ba-d-áy jorà*. | *‘éa rájə* | *ba-ləxmàn*. |

(18) After that they came to the oven. They had to heat the oven beforehand so that the oven did not contain leaven. There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover. We, for example, had a separate oven for Passover. People did not touch it until Passover. (19) Then a person would come and knead the ʿomer. He kneaded the flour and made it into dough. He made it into dough in a copper bowl, which he had covered in white beforehand.⁴⁷ They had become white, they had coated them with white. I say especially ‘They had coated them with white.’⁴⁸ This could not be unwhitened. They had to coat it with white lest leaven had been eaten in the food. (20) They brought it and he kneaded it. He handed it over to the baker, the woman who spread out the bread (dough), the woman who opened out the bread (dough)—he delivered it (the dough) to her piece by piece. She opened it out with a rolling-pin. She spread the bread out with a rolling-pin—the one who puts the bread in the oven. It was a Muslim who put the bread in the oven. A Jew did not know (how to do it). (21) But in some places there was sometimes only a Jew (who did it, such as) ʾAwle from Sāqəz, may God give him rest. ʾAwle from Sāqəz, may God give him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven. He was from Sāqəz. He did not allow a Muslim to put it in the oven. He put the bread into the oven himself. That is bread. (22) Then she (the baker) came to (make) matzos. They made three (types of) matzos. One matzo with one lump.⁴⁹ One matzo with two lumps. One matzo with three lumps. On the night of Passover we say a blessing, then two and three. I shall tell you later. The mistress of the house or the woman who made the bread would make these matzos. They would put them in the oven themselves. They did not give them to the Muslim woman. They themselves put them in the oven. (23) They were special. No hand could touch them until they said the blessing on the night of Passover. They would say to us ‘Be careful, do not eat this bread. If you eat this bread, your stomach will split.’ We were children. They used to threaten us. You must not eat this bread until they say its blessing on Passover night. This (was done) in this way. This concerns our bread.

⁴⁷ Literally: made white.

⁴⁸ I.e. the verb *m-qrx* is used specifically to denote the covering of vessels used for Passover with a protective white coating.

⁴⁹ Literally: breast.

(24) 'ó waxtára^l kménwa qawurmà kolíwa ba-payíz,^l qawurmá maxšús báqa pätirè.^l qawurmá nätènwa^l därenwale ga-qoqé gəli,^l qoqé tınanè.^l qoqá säfāl kəmriwa baqéf,^l qoqé säfāli.^l därenwale ga-d-əa,^l máe lilá därenwa rešəf.^l matwíwale ga-t^wká rába qārírà^l ké báqa pätiré mən-d-əa 'axlí.^l (25) 'áláwa ba-d-áy ləxma pätiré ké taršəxwalè,^l mən-t^wka maəf^l mən-bèe dāréxwa gáef.^l hár 'ómer xamsār dāne,^l 'əsrà dāne,^l trəsar dāne^l bée dāréxwa gəef^l t^wká maè.^l 'éa matwíwale^l ləxmà kolíwa báef,^l 'éa bíš həya házm xárwa.^l kúle béla là taršíwa,^l xàšti báte.^l 'éa-č mawzó'-e pəsrà.^l (26) 'ò-waxtára^l mən-äwáq-e payíz,^l 'é-ga guré gezíwa bazār^l tomè šaqliwa,^l 'arzóx hòna,^l gozè šaqliwa,^l šezè šaqliwa,^l štālwè šaqliwa,^l 'ajilé šaqliwa.^l báqa pätiré gbé taršilu.^l (27) šišmè šaqliwa,^l ga-belá gbéwa qalwíwalu,^l šišmé lá qliwè.^l šišmé därenwalu bar-xá qalı,^l bar-xá qalı həsabi.^l gbéwa ba-'ilá 'o-toqú doqiwalé-o.^l lá xár ba-xá-mdi xət.^l bšəlmanè lá koliwa.^l hár hulaé ta-nòšu kolíwalu.^l doqiwalu-ò^l mawišíwalu-ó báqa pätirè,^l báqa həliq.^l 'éa xá mdix.^l (28) 'é 'ajilé nätènwalu^l tá-ge qárwa pätirè^l kəmriwa báqa 'ənšè^l sāj matwéx.^l sāj maxšùš-yele,^l yóma maxšùš.^l yatwíwa^l tāmām-e 'é 'ajilé qālènwalu.^l 'íla lá táqra bàu,^l 'íla həməš,^l həməš lá xārí.^l (29) 'asúr-ile báqa didàn^l m-širinè 'axléx,^l gér 'áz ləxmà lá-həwe-u^l betà-u^l 'ó ləxmá pätirè-u^l məntáke 'ó qawurmà,^l 'ó pəsrá ya-məntáke lilá.^l lilákè trəšwalu.^l mən-d-óa 'azəð-yele baqàn.^l 'ò kéwalan 'axléx.^l híč məndíx xət là kəxlexwa,^l lá mastà,^l lá guptà,^l lá xalwà.^l híč mən-ənyexàè^l 'asúr-yele báqan tmányá yomè.^l

(24) Then they brought *qawurma*, which they made in the autumn, *qawurma* specially for Passover. They took the *qawurma* and put it in earthenware pots, earthenware pots—they would call this a clay pot, clay pots. They put it in this and put liquid fat of a sheep's tail on top of it (to preserve it). They put it in a very cold place, so that they could eat it for Passover. (25) In addition to this Passover bread, which we used to make, we (made other bread in which) instead of water we put eggs. In every 'omer we would put in fifteen, ten, or twelve eggs, instead of water. They put this in and made bread with it. This would be digested more quickly. They did not make it in every family, (only in) a few families. This is the subject of meat. (26) Now, from the beginning of autumn the men would go to the market and would buy seed snacks, I say to you,⁵⁰ they would buy walnuts, they would buy almonds, they would buy peaches, they would buy mixed nuts. They had to make them for Passover. (27) They bought sesame, which they had to clean in the house, (since it was) uncleaned sesame. They poured the sesame over a carpet, a suitable carpet. Then they had to take away their husks by hand. It was not possible to do it with something else. The Muslims did not do this. Only the Jews did it for themselves. They took them (the husks) away and dried them (the sesame) for Passover, to (make) *ḥāliq* paste.⁵¹ This is one thing. (28) They would put the mixed nuts aside until close to Passover they would say to the women 'Let's put out the griddle.' The griddle was a special one, (for) a special day. They sat and fried all those mixed nuts. Nobody touched them, with a hand polluted with leaven, so that they did not become polluted with leaven. (29) We are forbidden to eat sweets, with the exception of what did not have bread (in it), egg, the Passover bread, together with the *qawurma* and the meat with the fat of the sheep's tail. They made the fat of the sheep's tail. It was permitted for us to eat any of this. We could eat this. We did not eat anything else, not yoghurt, not cheese, not milk. None of these (did we eat), they were forbidden to us for eight days.

⁵⁰ Polite conversational filler, literally: I make your petition (= I present to you).

⁵¹ A paste made of sesame, nuts and dates eaten at the Passover meal to represent the mud of Egypt.

(30) bār tmányá yomé lelé¹ réša šatá kyáwa qǎme.¹ 'o-lelé mošaé¹ ^Hxàg.^{H1}
 lelé réša šatá kyáwa qǎme,¹ xá səfrá šawèxwa¹ mən-d-ày réše lo'á¹ ḥátá 'ò réše
 lo'á.¹ ga-belà¹ nunyè taršíwa,¹ nunyè.¹ 'arz-hòna-č¹ dušà šaqléxwa.¹ kārà
 šaqléxwa.¹ maššè šaqléxwa.¹ guptè šaqléxwa.¹ duxwá taršíwa.¹ qārčè šaqléxwa.¹
 'óa sáwzi jàd¹ kəmriwa gilaxà,¹ gilaxá taršíwa.¹ (31) 'asfanáj bašòr hítwa
 'o-waxtára.¹ 'asfanáj taršíwa.¹ pəšpàra taršíwa.¹ qámxa-u bèta taršíwa.¹ hałwà
 taršíwa.¹ har-xormá qǎlénwa-u taršíwa.¹ 'éa matwíwa rešá səfrà-u¹ 'ášər-e ḥàg,¹
 yáni sá'at 'árba bār korá,¹ təlḥá bār korá,¹ xamšà bār korá,¹ gezíwa báqa sahrà.¹
 (32) gezéxwa báqa sahrá tá-ge 'arbit xǎráwa.¹ ga-dóka našé yatwíwa¹ 'araq šā-
 toè-u¹ mašrúb šātoè-u¹ mǎndi xalá-u 'onyexàe-u¹ 'o-waxtára xǎráwa bār 'arbit¹
 šərú' kolíwa gəłà čaqénwa.¹ čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plítwa waryà¹ čaqénwa-u
 kmenwa-ó belà.¹ dǎrénwale ba-dáwr-e 'é səfrà.¹ (33) 'ána géznawa be-Daryuš-
 xǎn.¹ géznawa¹ 'éla brixulà hámna baqéf.¹ jamáke ga-dóka nǎténwale¹ yá xa-
 mǎnorá b-d-ó jorà.¹ har-mən-d-ò¹ nǎténawa¹ doqnáwa ba-'ilì-u¹ kəmnàwa¹ 'éla-u
 reš-šatóx hǎwén brixè.¹ nǎšəqnàwale-u¹ 'ó-č didì nǎšəqwá-u¹ rába xoš-ḥǎl
 xǎrǎxwa-u¹ (34) yatwǎxwa-u¹ bǎraxá máre belǎkè,¹ xá-qəṭa mən-ləxmá-e ḥamès
 dóqwa,¹ zatyé ya-taršíwalu ga-béla bār-d-o.¹ mən-d-ò¹ dóqwa ba-'ilèf-unu¹
 dáewala ga-dušà-u¹ ga-kǎrá mǎtíwa gǎaf-u¹ kwǎlwala ba-'ilèf¹ kmǎr bǎraxà már.¹
 'o-č bǎraxá ha-moší kmǎrwa-u¹ kxəlwalà.¹ 'éa pǎtirè.¹

(35) yóma reš-šáta baqǎta-č¹ tǎmám-e hulaé kúle gezíwa báqa sahrà,¹
 gezíwa sàyr.¹ xá-nǎfar ga-béla lá yǎtíwa.¹ kúle gezíwa báqa sàyr-u¹ mən-d-áy
 xála yá-lele trəšwalú,¹ mən-d-éa lablíwa mənù.¹ 'o-waxtára¹ xá-òda xèt¹ pəsrá
 'ála-ḥǎdá ntəwalu¹ naṭrìwale,¹ kolíwale kǎbǎb.¹ 'àšər¹ guré kènwa¹ dóka yatwíwa
 ba-'aràq-u¹ ba-xamrǎ,¹ ba-'aràq yatwíwa,¹ 'éa taršíwa báqu.¹ kǎbǎb kolíwa-u¹
 'àraq šǎténwa ga-doká-u¹ kenwa-ò.¹

(30) After eight days New Year's Eve came upon (us). That night was the end of the festival. New Year's Eve came and we spread out a cloth from this end of the room to that end of the room. At home they cooked fish. Moreover,⁵² they bought honey. They bought butter. They bought unleavened bread. They bought cheese. They made *duxwa*.⁵³ We bought mushrooms. The mixed herbs called *gilaxa*—we would cook *gilaxa*. (31) At that time spinach was scarce—we cooked spinach. We made omelettes. We made flour and egg dishes. We made *hałwa*.⁵⁴ They also fried dates and prepared them. They placed them on the cloth. In the evening of the festival, that is at four o'clock in the afternoon, three in the afternoon, five in the afternoon, they would go to the fields. (32) We would go into the fields until it was time for evening prayers. People sat there and drank arak, drank (other) drinks, (ate) some food and the like. Then, after evening prayers they began to pick herbs. When they had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick them and bring them home. They put them around the cloth. (33) I would go to Mr Daryuš. I would go to wish him a happy festival. They would raise mirrors there or a candlestick in the same way. I would lift up such (a mirror), hold it in my hand and say 'May your festival and New Year be blessed.' I would kiss him and he would kiss me. We became very jolly. (34) We sat down. (Then came) the blessing of the head of the household—he would hold a piece of leavened bread, pitta breads, which they made in the house afterwards.⁵⁵ He held this in his hand, he put it in honey, he put butter on it. He would put it in his hand and say 'Say a blessing.' He then would say the (blessing) 'The One Who brings out (bread from the earth)' and eat it. This is Passover.

(35) On New Year's Day, in the morning, all the Jews went to the fields, they would go on a picnic. Nobody stayed in the house. Everybody went on a picnic. They took food that they had made (the previous) evening. Others who had put meat aside and preserved it made it into kebabs. In the evening the men would come and sit there with arak, with wine. They would sit with arak, which they made for themselves. They would make kebabs and they would drink arak there, then they would come back.

⁵² Literally: Let me make petition also (= let me say also).

⁵³ A dish consisting of yoghurt and rice.

⁵⁴ A sweet made of flour.

⁵⁵ I.e. after the end of Passover.

(36) *naqolè-yela-u¹ nandoè-yela-u¹ sàz-yela.¹ zàrb-yela.¹ ʿonyexáe kenwáwa tá ... kenwáwa belá¹ ʿazadí ḥásabì hítwalu¹ wa-bšəlmané mozaḥāmù lá xāriwa ʿensafán.¹ bšəlmané ʿaḥrà¹ muzahāmù lá xāriwá.¹ kəmriwa jažnyanà,¹ kəmriwa báqa d-éa jážn-e fāṭir.¹ jážn-e fāṭir yáni mà?¹ yáni ləxmá fāṭir,¹ ləxmé ké là xəmyá-y.¹*

(37) *pätiré ʿwira.¹ kyáwa ʿāšarta.¹ léle ʿāšartà¹ ʿó belá yá lāḥà m-šalma-ḥaliyé¹ xá miléf milwà,¹ yāšiwà mātúwa ga-beléf.¹ tʿká d-éa ga-kništà matwila¹ ga-bèla matwíwala.¹ ʿašxāš¹ daʿwàt kólwa.¹ gezíwa dòka¹ yatwíwa ta-yomà¹ torà-u¹ məšnayotè-u¹ xèta,¹ kúle ʿənyexàe,¹ zohàr-u¹ ʿənyé kúle qārénwalu ta-qárwa-e yomà.¹ (38) qarwá-e yomà¹ šofár máxénwa baqán.¹ šofár máxénwa.¹ ʿèa¹ ʿalamát-e xoš-ḥàli-yele.¹ bàr-d-o¹ xá-səfra kmènwa¹ šəwènwa.¹ ʿanwáʿe mewajáte bikür,¹ yáni mewajáte tazà¹ məsálán mangól ^Hšəsek^H dác ʿáta ga-lāxá táza mətyá-y kmèn.¹ méwa kménwa matwíwa.¹ bāraxá kəmriwa¹ ʿaškabà maždríwa.¹ (39) kúle belà-č¹ yá kénwa dòka¹ mən-nóšu qawà-u¹ ya-čây,¹ yá dārčîn¹ kménwa mènul¹ məntáke qànd.¹ kwíwale bá-ʿila máre belàkè.¹ ʿó máre belà-č ba-nobà¹ tārəšle,¹ ʿéa be-Daryuš-xàn-ye¹ ʿóa be-Manawar-xanəm-ye,¹ ʿóa be-Negàr-ye,¹ ʿéa be-Ḥqbāl-ye,¹ ʿéa be-didòx-ye.¹ ʿéa kmènwale,¹ kəmriwa baqu.¹ ʿó waxtàra¹ maʿalmáké ga-dokà¹ ʿaškabá maždərwa-u¹ kúle bāraxá kəmriwa-u¹ šātènwale.¹ ʿéa ʿèa.¹ (40) yóma xarwà-u¹ kúle gezíwa báqa kništà.¹ gezíwa báqa kništà-u¹ bàr-d-o¹ ʿənšé ga-béla má kolíwa?¹ kálanè taršíwa-u¹ šəlkenè,¹ pərsaxè.¹ ʿéa ga-belá taršíwalu.¹ (41) kálané mà-yelu?¹ qamxá kmènwa,¹ kolíwale ba-lešà¹ mangól ləxmà.¹ ʿo-waxtàra¹ ʿéa pašlè dārénwa gáf.¹ pašlé yāruqé dārénwa gáf,¹ mandénwalu réša sāj.¹ ʿo-waxtàra¹ mandénwalu pliyáw kārà,¹ kārè pšilà.¹ ʿéa kmènwale-u¹ šákár dārénwa rešəf-u¹ kəxlíwale.¹ ʿéa kálanè-yelu.¹*

(36) There was dancing, there was jiggling. There were musical instruments. There was a drum. Then they came home. It was a proper holiday and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them. The Muslims of the town did not disturb them. They said (in Kurdish) *jažnyana* [It is their festival]. They called it *jažn-e faṭir*. What does *jažn-e faṭir* mean? It means unleavened bread, bread that has not risen.

(37) Passover passed by and Pentecost came. On the eve of Pentecost, any household in which somebody had died—may it be far from the face of those present—would hold a gathering. Instead of holding it in a synagogue, they held it at home. He would invite people. They would go there and they would sit until dawn reading Torah, Mishnah, and all such things, Zohar, all of these until near dawn. (38) Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us. They would blow the shofar. This was a sign of happiness. Then they would bring a cloth and lay it out. They bring types of first fruits, that is fresh fruits, like loquat, which has just become ripe here. They would bring fruit and lay it down. They said a blessing and performed⁵⁶ a memorial of burial. (39) Every family that came there would bring with them coffee, tea or cinnamon, together with sugar. They would deliver it to the master of the house. The master of the house would make (presentations) in turn. ‘This is (a gift of the) family of Daryuš-khan. This is (a gift of) the family of Manawar-xanəm. This is (a gift of) the family of Negar. This is (a gift of) the family of Iqbāl. This is (a gift of) your family. They would bring this and they would be announced.⁵⁷ Then, the rabbi there would perform the burial memorial. Everybody would say the blessing and they would drink to him. That is that. (40) The dawn came and they would all go to the synagogue. They went to the synagogue. Then what did the women in the house do? They would make *kālāne* (onion pastries), *šəlkene* (cakes) and *pərsaxe* (sesame pastries). They made them in the house. (41) What are *kālāne*? They would bring flour and make it into dough, like bread. Then they would put onions in it. They would put green onions in it and put them on a griddle. Then they put them in butter, melted butter. They brought it and put sugar on it and ate it. This is *kālāne*.

⁵⁶ Literally: send (i.e. to heaven)

⁵⁷ Literally: they would say to them.

(42) šalkené mà-yelu?| beé kmènwa.| qamxá dārenwa ga-bečkè.| ba-xalwà taršíwalun-u.| ^Fsolusyòn^F taršíwa.| ^é ^Fsolusyón^F kménwale reša sāj.| dārenwa reša sāj-u| ^{éa} kolíwale xá ^Hta^Hm.^H| xá xorak-e rába ‘ayzà.| ^{ó-č} dārenwale ga-pliyáw məšxà,| šákar dārenwa rešəf-u| kəxlíwale.| ^{éa} xorakù-yelè| rába ‘ayzà ^{o-yomà}.|

(43) yomá dowòm| tāmām-e hulaé kúle geziwa báqa sàyar,| hár mangól yóme reš-šatà.| kúle geziwa báqa sàyar.| geziwa ^{Amányà-u}| báqa ^{Amalyà-u}| báqa Saqawà-u| báqa Zafariyà-u| Mowarakawà-u| Xasràwa-u.| ^{ənyexáe} kúle geziwa.| geziwa,| b-^{əšər}| bəxle kenwa-ò,| hár ba-d-ó jorá yá ^{aržòx} wilí.| yóma dowòm,| ^{əšər} kenwa-ò| ^{áraq} šátoè-u| kéf walà| tá geziwa-ó belà.| ^{əa-č} ^{əšartá}.|

(44) ^{átá} hiyéxin reša .. ^{tš’a} ba-^{Āb}.| ^{tš’a} ba-^{Āb}| hulaé rába yaqurtá doqíwala.| ^{nawád} dar-šáde^p hulaé šomà-yelu,| šomé šəhyòn.| ^{tš’a} ba-^{Āb},| kúle hulaé doqíwale.| bíš bašór náše hítwa šomá la-doqíwa.| mágar rába naxòš xírāwe| yá rába na-raħàt xírāwe| ^{elá} huláe kúle doqíwa.| bawāř-hul,| yála trəsar šənè,| xámsar šənè dòqwale.| (45) mən-^{əšref-o}| sá‘at xamšà bar-korá| xalà kəxlíwa,| xét là kəxlíwa| har-tá qáwme lelè.| lélef-o geziwa báqa kništà| ga-dóka šratà lá malqíwa.| tanhá xa-šratá matwíwa báqa xa-šám^c.| matwíwa kè| ^{ħaxámäkè}| héle qārè| qam-^{ənèf} hawýá.| wále híč-kas šratá litwale.| (46) kenwà-o-č béla,| mən-kništá-č kenwà-o| šratá litwalu.| be-šratà-yelu.| ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké| bet-ha-məqdás weràn xirté-ya| ^{axní} là-xar šratá hāwélan.| ^{ħáta} xášti ^{ašxáš-e} ^Hqitsoni^H-hitwalan| syamé là lošíwa kénwa kništá.| syamé là loší kénwa kništá,| be-syamé geziwa-o belà.| ^{aqlá} qlāpí geziwa-o belá.| yomá ^{šəhyón-e} bəqāta-č| šalóm là dārenwa lóxle.| be-šalòm.| ^{ħáli} xārèt?| šalòm lá dārenwa.| ^{át} gezátwa ^{kanà},| ^{əxonóx} dóka yelè,| là kəmrátwa báqef šalóm ‘alexém.| ^o kəwə ke-ta-má lá kəmréte,| ^{čún} ^{əzyo} šalòm la-xár hamrét.| ^{əhyòn-yela}.|

(42) What are *šalkane*? They would bring eggs. They put flour in the eggs. They mixed⁵⁸ them with milk. They made a solution (i.e. a mixture). They brought the solution and put it on a griddle. They put it on a griddle and made it into something tasty. It was a very delicious food. They put it in oil. They put sugar on it and ate it. This was their food, (and) very delicious (it was), on that day. (43) On the second day all the Jews went on a picnic, just like at New Year. They all went on a picnic. They went to Amanya, to Aməlya, to Saqawa, to Zafariya, to Mowarakawa, to Xasrawa.⁵⁹ They went to all of these. They went and returned together in the evening, in the same way as I said to you (before). On the second day, in the evening they would come back, drink arak and have fun, until they went home. This is Pentecost.

(44) Now we have come to the Ninth of Ab. The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly. Ninety percent of the Jews fasted, the fast of Zion. All the Jews observed the Ninth of Ab. There were only very few people who did not fast. Even if somebody was very ill or was very unwell, all the Jews still observed (the fast). Believe me, a boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it. (45) That evening at five o'clock in the afternoon they would eat food, but did not eat again until the night of the next day. On that night they went to the synagogue and did not light a lamp there. They only placed one light in the form of candle. They placed it so that the rabbi could read and it could be before his eyes, otherwise nobody had a light. (46) Also (when) they came home, they came home from the synagogue, they did not have a light. They were without a light. It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed that we were not permitted to have a light. We even had a few extremists who did not wear shoes when they came to the synagogue. They did not wear shoes when they came to the synagogue. They went home without shoes. They went home barefoot. Also on the day of Zion in the morning they did not greet one another. (They met) without greeting. Do you understand? They did not offer a greeting. If you went to a shop and your brother was there, you would not say to him 'Greetings to you.' He knew why you did not say it to him, since on that day you could not say a greeting. It was (the day of) Zion.

⁵⁸ Literally: made them.

⁵⁹ Names of places around Sanandaj.

(47) ʔəṣər^l hár xărăwa qárwa mənḥà,^l xet-ʔo-waxtára^l mutàr-yele baqéf^l šāḥiṭà kolíwa.^l tmanyà yomé^l ʔé-əč tmánya yomé mən-yomà^l ṣəḥyòn,^l mən-yomá reš-yarxé ʔAb^l ḥátá yóma ṣəḥyòn^l pašrà lá kəxlíwa huláe.^l híč pašrá ḥáq lítwalu dabḥi-ò.^l šāḥiṭà lá xărăwa ga-pliyáw huláe.^l mən-yóma ṣəḥyòn^l ke-xărăwa^l bár kóra ṣəḥyón šāḥiṭà kolíwa.^l ʔò-waxtára^l xàšti baté ké^l moráfâh-yelu,^l máre doltà-yelu^l ʔərbá dabḥiwà-o^l qorbàn kolíwa.^l báqa d-èà-y ke-hamr^l ya-rábi škùr.^l šábát naḥamù-ya ʔátá.^l xíra naḥamú bár korà,^l wáxt-e šábát naḥamù^l kúle doqìwala-u^l mangól xá ʔelá ḥàsabi^l geziwa báqa sáyər-u garděš.^l ʔéa šábát naḥamù.^l

(48) ʔátá hiyéxin baqà^l ḥānukaè.^l ḥānukaè,^l tmanyà yomé^l ḥānukaè doqìwala.^l šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-lāxá malqì,^l kúle béla ga-doká šratá malqìwa.^l halbátá šám^c là-yela ga-doká.^l kúle širà-yele.^l ʔà^l kmèxwale-o.^l ʔənšé pìr^l plulyè taršíwa ba-kətanà.^l ʔənšé pìr^l ba-mašwá-e nòšu^l kwìwa.^l báqa hár-kas gezálwa kəmriwa^l xán hól baqán báqa šráe ḥānukaè^l kwálwa baqu.^l ʔóa matwáxwale pliyáw ʔo-sáfāl^l ʔo-waxtára šráe ba-d-áy jorá malqèxwa.^l kúlani-č ʔo-lelə^l məzmór šel-Ḥānuka qāréxwala,^l ha-nisím-u nəflawotáf qāréxwalunu,^l ba-xoš-ḥalí-u ba-šadi^l mangól lāxà,^l ^Haval^H rába bíš ʔayzà.^l ʔea-č ʔəa.^l tmanyà lelé hítwalan.^l lelé ʔāwà^l xà-dana malqéxwa,^l lelé duwòm^l trè-dane,^l təlḥà-dane,^l ta-léle xéta tmanyà-dane malqéxwa.^l ʔea-č ba-d-èele.^l

(49) ʔátá kəxwa rěša bár Ḥānukaè.^l xărăwa^l məzdáne ʔilanè.^l məzdáne ʔilané Ṭú la-Šwàṭ.^l Ṭú la-Šwàṭ^l xamsár-e Šāwàṭ.^l mà koléxwa?^l kúle belà^l ʔanwá^c-u ʔaqsəme^l mewà ga-belá,^l ʔó-waxtára sətwa-yele-u,^l yaxčál lítwa,^l mà kolíwa?^l tälènwale^l ga-belà.^l ʔaspaglè tälénwa,^l kāmèrè tälénwa,^l ʔarmonyè tälénwa,^l bāširè tälénwa,^l xāmušè tälénwa.^l báqa ləma gbétulu?^l báqa lelé məzdané ʔilanè.^l xášti šwətyè nāténwa^l báqa lelé məzdané ʔilanè.^l (50) ʔo-waxtára lelé məzdané ʔilanè,^l ga-rěša kursì^l xa-səfrá šāwènwa,^l ʔonyexáe kúle matwíwalu rěša ʔay-kursì.^l ʔo-waxtára^l ʔána šárnawa báqa béla Daryuš-xàn^l tabrík kəmnáwa baqéf.^l mən-d-ənyexáe kúle hár-xa xa-dána mātunáwa ga-xá dawri-u^l kəwnáwale ba-ʔíla bronì,^l ya-kəwnáwale ba-ʔíla nokarì,^l kəwnáwalu lablíwalu məntáke d-éa báqa be-Daryuš-xàn^l ʔelóx hawýá brixtà.^l

(47) In the evening, just as it was getting near evening prayer, it was then again permitted to perform slaughtering. For eight days, for the eight days from the day of Zion, the day of the beginning of Ab until the day of Zion the Jews did not eat meat. They were not permitted to slaughter any meat. Slaughtering was not permitted among the Jews. From the day of Zion, after noon of (the day) of Zion, they slaughtered. At that time a few families who were comfortable, who were rich, slaughtered a sheep and made a sacrifice. This was in order for them to say ‘Thank you, oh Lord.’ It is now Sabbath *Naḥamu*. When it was the afternoon of Sabbath *Naḥamu*, when it was Sabbath *Naḥamu*, everybody observed it like a proper festival and went on a picnic and an outing. This is Sabbath *Naḥamu*.

(48) Now we have come to Hanukkah. Hanukkah—they observed Hanukkah for eight days. Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp. Of course there was no wax there. Everything was vegetable oil. We brought that (from outside). Old women would make wicks out of flax. Old women would give them as their good deed. To everybody who went (to them) they would say ‘Give us a little for the Hanukkah lamps’ and he would give to them. We put it (the vegetable oil) in a pot. At that time we lit lamps in this way. All of us that night read the psalm of Hanukkah, we would read ‘the miracles and His wonderful acts’, with happiness and joy, like here, but much better. That is that. We had eight nights. On the first night we lit one (candle), on the second night two, three, until the night ... we lit eight. That is that.

(49) Now we came to (the period) after Hanukkah. (The festival of) the Gifts of Trees took place. The Gift of Trees was Tu Bə-Shvat, Tu bə-Shvat, the fifteenth of Shvat. What did we do? Every family (had) all types of fruit in the house—at that time it was winter, there was no refrigerator, what did they do? They hung it (the fruit) in the house. They hung quinces, they hung pears, they hung pomegranates, they hung grapes, they hung apples. For when do you need them? For the night of the Gift of Trees. Some preserved watermelons for the night of the Gift of Trees. (50) Then on the night of the Gift of Trees they would spread a cloth on the seat and they would put all of them on the seat. Then I would send to the house of Daryuṣ-khan and convey to him good wishes.⁶⁰ I would put one of each of these on a plate and give it to my son, or I would give it to my servant, I would give them and they would take them with this (plate) in order (to say) ‘May your festival be blessed’ to the family of Daryuṣ-khan.

⁶⁰ Literally: I would say ‘blessings’ to him.

(51) 'ó-č rába ḥàs kólwa-u¹ qémwa 'ó-č xa-məqdār¹ m-éa nătəwale¹ dubára 'ò-č šárwa báqa didí d-əa.¹ 'ó-č šàrwa,¹ o-waxtāra¹ mà'ləme má kolíwa,¹ ma'ləmé kništā?¹ təlḥà kništé hitwalan.¹ təlḥà kništé hitwalán,¹ xá kništá rabtā-yela,¹ 'u-xá kništá zortā-u¹ xá kništá ^Hhadāš.^{H1} ma'lóm-e kništá rabtā¹ báqa sakənìn-e kništá nošəf,¹ 'āhalí-e kništá nošəf mănora¹ maždārwa,¹ hár mangól d-əa.¹ mănora maždārwa¹ báqa d-əa¹ 'elóx hawyá brixta.¹ máre belākè-č¹ ba-tāfawòt¹ pùl kwəlwa¹ xán xamšà qārané,¹ trè qārané,¹ hár-či 'iléf doqāwa¹ kwəlwa mătúwa gadawriakè-u¹ kwəlwale ba-'ilá šagərdəf¹ 'u-ləbəlwale báqa mālākè,¹ báqa ma'ləməkè.¹ 'éa-č 'əa.¹ məzdané 'ilanè¹ b-əy jorá wilán.¹ (52) 'átá kéxin baqá Lelangè.¹ Purim.¹ Lelangé ma-jòr-yela?¹ xá-šo qáme Purim¹ šatá Mošé Rābénu 'alāw ha-šalòm-yela.¹ kúle gezíwa báqa kništā.¹ ga-kništá 'o-lelə¹ ḥaxám-e kništā,¹ ḥaxám-e kništā ga-doká¹ daruš kólwa¹ Mošé Rābénu 'alāw ha-šalóm dàx m-'olám zíl,¹ mà wile,¹ zāḥamtá mà grāšle báqa huláe.¹ ba-d-áy jorà¹ šārḥ kwəlwa báqa didàn,¹ 'u-b-əy jorá-č¹ mən-'olám zíl.¹ ga-dóka kúle na-rahàt xāriwa-u¹ kenwá-o belà.¹

(53) kyáwa rēša lelé Lelangè.¹ yóm Lelangé kúle šomà-yelu.¹ hulàe¹ rüwé tazorè¹ kúle šomá doqíwa.¹ 'àšə¹ šomá là faṭriwa.¹ gezíwa báqa kništā,¹ mägilà qārenwa ba-kništá,¹ mägilá-e 'Estèr.¹ xà¹ məndí xét hitwalan¹ ke-ga-t^wke-xét lit¹ ba-šəmə tánu-širà.¹ tánu-širà¹ ma'ləmé dokà¹ xá-mđi trāšwalu maxšúš-e nòšu-yela¹ ke-ba-'aramít kləwtə-ya.¹ 'átá maxwénaf 'ólox 'át.¹ 'əa¹ maxšúš-e Kurdəstān-yela.¹ ga-Sanandāj-yela,¹ ga-ḥič-t^wka xét 'éa litwa.¹ ḥátá ga-Həmadān¹ ke-markáz-e Šúšan ha-birà-yela,¹ Mordāxáy-u 'Estér ga-dóka yelù,¹ 'ána dóka xirəna,¹ ge-ga-dóka 'éa là káenwa qārenwala¹ 'éa litwalu qārenwala.¹ 'éa maxšúš-e nòšan-yela.¹ 'arz-hòna¹ 'éa qārenwala.¹ 'éa qəryálu,¹ qemíwa kenwá-o belà.¹ qemíwa kenwá-o belà,¹ ga-doká šomá faṭriwa.¹ 'əa¹ Lelangè-yela.¹ (54) bəqáta gezíwa bazà¹ kúle kəmriwa¹ ta'nitóx hāwé qābùl.¹ ta'nít dwəqlox.¹ ta'nitóx hāwé qābùl.¹ 'elóx hawyá brixta¹ 'əlhá mantè.¹ kúle šatá ba-ləbá bāsima-u¹ qáləb šəq doqéte.¹ bar Lelangè¹ pätirè-yela¹ ké 'arzóx wili,¹ qáme-o miri baqóx.¹

(51) He was very moved and he also would take some of the same and then he also would send that to me. He used to send it. Now, what did the rabbis do? We had three synagogues, one synagogue was large, one small and one new. The rabbi of the big synagogue would send a menorah to the congregation of his synagogue, the people of his synagogue, like that one (over there). He would send a menorah in order (to say) 'May your festival be blessed.' The householder would give money in varying amounts, a little, five qarans, two qarans—whatever he could lay his hand on he would give and place on the plate, give it to his servant and he would take it to the rabbi, to the rabbi. That is that. We held (the festival of) the Gift of Trees in this way.

(52) Now we come to *Lelange*, Purim. What was *Lelange* like? A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him. Everybody went to the synagogue. In the synagogue that night, the rabbi of the synagogue, the rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews. In this way he gave us a sermon and (told us) how he (Moses) passed away from the world. Everybody there became sad and they went home. (53) The night of Purim came. On the day of Purim everybody fasted. The Jews, old and young, would all keep the fast. In the evening they did not break the fast. They would go to the synagogue and read the Scroll in the synagogue, the Scroll of Esther. We had something else, which was not found elsewhere, by the name of *Tānu-šira* ('Give a song').⁶¹ *Tānu-šira*—the rabbis there created something that was special to them, which was written in Aramaic. I shall show it to you in a minute. It was a speciality of Kurdistan. It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place. Even in Hamadan, which was the centre of Shushan the capital—Mordechai and Esther were there, and I have been there (and found) that there they did not know how to read it (the Purim song). They could not recite it. It was special to us. I tell you, they used to read it. When they had read it, they got up and went home. They got up and went home, and broke their fast there. This was Purim. (54) In the morning they went to the market and everybody said 'May your fast be accepted. You have fasted. May your fast be accepted. May your festival be blessed, God willing. May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body.' After Purim was Passover, which I have told you about before.

⁶¹ A song specially composed for Purim.

Houses

(55) *baté Kurdəstān* | *kūle* ʾajūr-yelu | *xəšt*. | ^H*təqrə*^{H-č} | *ga-doká* *kūle* ʾilanè-yelu. | ʾilanè mandénwa *reša* *garé*. | *bār-d-o* | *pušè* *mandénwa* *rešéf*, | *ya-ḥašir* *mandénwa* *rešéf*, | *ya-pušè*, | *ya-gaḷaè*. | ʾilané *xelapá* *mandénwa-u* | *tiná* *dārénwa* *rešéf-u* | *tiná* *ba-tunà*. | *koliwále* ʾamètef-u | *kménwa* *ba-rešéf*. | ʾòà | *zəndəgiyú* *ba-d-ò-yele*. | (56) *batú* *rāba* *moḥkám* *là-yelu*. | *wále* *g-áy* ʾaxər-ò | *bár* *qrawá-e* *benulmälälí* ʾawəl, | *našé* *máre* *doltá* *xiri-u* | *xa-bašór* *púl* *píl* *ga-ʾilù*. | *hiyèn-u* | *baté* *trəšlu*, | ʾajūr, | *ba-ʾajurkarí* *ḥaštá* *koliwa*. | ʾajūr *mà-yela*? | ʾé *xəšta* | *labliwale* *matwiwale* *ga-kurà*. | *kuré* *maqlíwa*. | *mən-d-óa* *šaqlíwa*. | *xet-ʾó* *lá* *toràwa*. | ʾòà *moḥkám-yela*. | *ba-d-òà* *taršíwa*. | *binağáte* *batú-č* *ba-kepé* *čwarpalù* *kménwalu* *garé*, | *kepé* *mən-maʿdán-e* *turanè*. | *palṭíwalu*, | *kmènwalu*, | *zabniwalu*. | *mandénwa* *ga-pliyáw-e* *xéta* *ke-bānāké* *mandéwalu* *báqa* *d-èa*. | ʾay-guzá *moḥkám* *sāmáx* *rešéf*. | ʾèele. | (57) *litwalu* *baté* ^H*rab-komót*^H *mangól* *ga-xárəj* *xáexin*. | *doká* *fawqéf* *hítwa* *təlḥá* *ṭābāqé*. | *m-təlḥá* *ṭābāqé* *bi-zóa* *litwa*. | ʾəstəqamát *litwale*, | *xéta* *litwale* *nāṭəre*. | *lā-kewale* *mən-təlḥá* *ṭābāqé* *bi-zóa*, | *munkán-yele* *lāpəlwa*. | *bānāe* *Kurdəstān* *mən-təlḥá* *ṭābāqé* *bi-zóa* *là* *taršíwa*. | ʾèele. |

Synagogues and the Alliance Israélite Universelle

(58) ʾárz *hònox*, | *knišyé* *Kurdəstān*, | *təlḥá* *knišyé* *hítwalan*, | *kništá* *rabtà-u* | *kništá* *zortà*. | ʾonyexáe *šáyad* *ga-ḥdíúd-e* *tré-me-u* *xamší* *šəné* | *tarix* *hítwalu*. | *tré-me-u* ʾarbí, *tré-me-u* *xamší* *šəné* | *tarix*-*hitwalu*, | *wále* *kništá* ^H*ḥadāš*^H | *ga-^Pḥázár-u* *no-šà^P* *trišá*. | ^P*ḥázár-u* *no-šà-u* | *pānj* | *no-šá-u* *šəš*. | *ga-d-ò-waxtāra*, | ʾalpà-u | ʾəč^c-*à-me-u* | *xamšà*, | ʾóà *híye* *Másyur* *Panžél* *təršále*. | *Másyur* *Panžél* *ráis-e* *madrásá* ʾaliāns-yele. | *mən-ṭārāf-e* ʾaliāns *hiyéwa* *báqa* *Kurdəstān*. | (59) *gbét* ʾälét-əč ʾaliāns-e *Kurdəstān* *máni* ʾəftətāḥ *wilalè*? | *Məsyúr* *Basàn*, | *ráis-e* *madrásá* ʾaliāns-yele | *ké* *híye* *báqa* ʾIrān | ʾó *madrásá* ʾaliāns-e *Taràn* | *təršále-u*. | *bār-d-o* | *híye* *báqa* *Hāmān-u* | *híye* *báqa* *Kurdəstān-əč*. |

Houses

(55) The houses of Kurdistan were all of brick, mud brick. The roofs there were all (made of) trees. They put trees on the roof. Then they put straw matting on it, or they put mats on it, either straw matting or leaves. They laid out willow trees. They put mud on it, mud with straw. They mixed it up and put it on it. They lived like this.⁶² (56) Their houses were not very strong. But in recent times, after the First World War, people became rich and some money fell into their hands. They came and built houses with brick, they worked in bricklaying. What is a brick? It is a mud brick, which they took and put in a kiln. They lit kilns. They bought this. It did not break anymore (once fired). It was very strong. They built with this. They raised the foundations of their houses to the roof with dressed stone, stones from a quarry in the mountains. They extracted them, brought them and sold them. They put them in things which the builder prepared for this purpose. The wall would stand firmly on this. That is it. (57) They did not have multi-storey houses like we see abroad. There were three storeys at the most. There were (no houses with) more than three storeys. There was no reinforcement, they did have a thing to keep them (from falling). It could not (stand) more than three storeys high, since it could fall. The builders of Kurdistan did not build higher than three storeys. That is it.

Synagogues and the Alliance Israélite Universelle

(58) I tell you, the synagogues of Kurdistan—we had three synagogues, a large synagogue and a small synagogue. They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty years old, but a new synagogue was built in 1900—1905 or 1906. At that time, 1905, Monsieur Pangel came and built it. Monsieur Pangel was the head of the school of the Alliance. He had come to Kurdistan on behalf of the Alliance. (59) Do you also want to know who opened the Alliance of Kurdistan? It was Monsieur Basan, the head of the school of the Alliance, who came to Iran and built the school of the Alliance of Tehran. Then he came to Hamadan and came to Kurdistan.

⁶² Literally: Their life was in this.

(60) 'éa xábra ḥāqènox.¹ ga-^phāzār-u no-šà-u¹ panjà-u yák,^{pl} 'ána məntáke tatí híyex baqà¹ 'Isràyəl.¹ Məsyúr Kohèn¹ ké rāís-e madrásá 'aliāns-e Hāmān-yelē¹ xírwa rāís-e madrásá 'aliāns-e¹ Yerusālayəm.¹ baxtéf didí xèla-u¹ zína lagù.¹ 'ó-waxtára ga-doká míre baqí¹ kmár məntáke tatòx híyet lácxa?¹ míri 'i.¹ kmár tatóx Məsyúr Basán káele-ò?¹ míri là-käena.¹ kmár 'ágar káele-ò,¹ ga-lāxà-y.¹ mar-hé ta-labnāxún dóka lagēf.¹ (61) ḥqeli-ó báqa tatí 'əlhá mānixà.¹ tatí kmər¹ 'i¹ kàenef-o.¹ qúmex məntáke Məsyúr Kòhen¹ zílex lagēf.¹ zílex lagēf,¹ xa-^ppír márd-e nawád-u šés salà,^{pl} 'əč'í-u 'əštà-šəne 'amréf-yelē.¹ xaṭrâte nóšef ḥqèle baqán¹ kedāx hiyá-y báqa 'Irān.¹ 'ó ga-zāmān-e Mozáfár-din Šāh.¹ hiyá-y báqa 'Irān báqa tasís-e madrásá 'aliāns.¹ (62) yarxá-u pəlge ga-Tarān nəṭrā-xira-y,¹ ba-wásāt d-éa 'orxá šülluq xirtē-ya¹ là-məhre šāre báqa Kurdəstān,¹ báqa Hamān,¹ tabəl'axerá gezəl lagēf¹ kmár 'aná là-keli yātunà.¹ báqa Šádr-e 'A'zám kmár baqēf¹ wāzír 'aná là-keli yātuná.¹ 'ágar la-xārà¹ ba-'ána hezn-ó báqa Fārānsa.¹ 'ó-waxtára 'ó-č zādè¹ mən-Mozáfár-din Šāh.¹ xá-ʿəda mandélu məntākēf-u¹ bagariyè maždāre báqa Hāmān.¹ (63) 'óa hiyéwa bàqa Kurdəstān.¹ 'aqlāb-e¹ təqna-xwarè¹ ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwà¹ kàewalu-o.¹ dána ba-dána m-tatí bāqərwa¹ da-már xàena¹ 'agá Ben-Sasón pišà-y?¹ 'Awlé Sāqəzi pišà-y?¹ là-käena.¹ mǎni pišà-y?¹ mǎni pišà-y?¹ mǎni pišà-y?¹ kúle bāqərwa.¹ ḥáta bəqré Moše ben-Nəftali Xāmanà pišà-y?¹ ba-rešòx!¹ 'āxá dāména təmal-yè.¹ kúle 'ənyaxàe bāqórwale.¹

The Christians of Sanandaj

(64) ga-Sanandáj suràe hítwa.¹ məntáke huláe xāráb là-yelu bəxlé.¹ huláe-u suráe bəxle 'ayzè-yelu,¹ cún hár-tənu 'āqalyàt-yelu.¹ bšəlmáne Kurdəstān-əč sūni-yelu.¹ ši'á là-yelu.¹ huláa ba-nājás là káenwale.¹ ši'á huláe ba-nājəs káelu.¹ 'óni ba-nājás là káenwalan.¹

(60) Now I shall tell you a story. In 1951 I came to Israel with my father. Monsieur Cohen, who was the head of the school of the Alliance of Hamadan, had become the head of the school of the Alliance of Jerusalem. His wife saw me and I went to their home. Then he said to me there, he says 'Have you come here with your father?' I said 'Yes.' He says 'Does your father know Monsieur Basan?' I said 'I do not know.' He says 'If he knows him, he is here. Let him come so that I may take you there to him.' (61) I told this to my father, may God grant him rest. My father says 'Yes, I know him.' We went to his home with Monsieur Cohen. We went to his home (and met) an old man ninety-six years old, his age was ninety-six. He told us his reminiscences as to how he came to Iran. He came to Iran in the time of Mozafaredin Shah in order to found the school of the Alliance. (62) For a month and a half he had kept him in Tehran—on account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road,⁶³ he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan—until in the end he goes to him and says 'I cannot sit (idly).' He says to the Grand Vizier 'Minister, I cannot sit (idly). If it is not possible, let me go back to France.' Then he (began to) fear Mozafaredin Shah. He commissions a group (to go) with him and sends him to Hamadan with carts. (63) He had come (in this way) to Kurdistan. He knew most of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time). He asked my father one by one 'Tell me, let me see, is Agha Ben-Sason alive? Is 'Awle Sāqəzi alive?' I do not know who (he asked whether he) was alive. He asked about them all. He even asked 'Is Moshe ben Nəftali Xāmana⁶⁴ alive?' Really! I remember it as if it were yesterday.⁶⁵ He asked him about all these.

The Christians of Sanandaj

(64) In Sanandaj there were Christians. They did not get on badly with the Jews. The Jews and the Christians got on well together, because both were a minority. The Muslims of Kurdistan were Sunnites. They were not Shi'ites. They did not consider a Jew unclean. A Shi'ite considers Jews unclean, but they used not to consider us unclean.

⁶³ Literally: The road had become a disturbance.

⁶⁴ The grandfather of a person present in the room.

⁶⁵ Literally: I imagine it thus (that) it is yesterday.

(65) ḥáta kəmriwa¹ xá^Fprovérb^F hitwa ga-baynú.¹ ləxmá huláa xùl¹ báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxəl.¹ 'át kəlox¹ ḥālāl¹-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa 'axlét xalá.¹ ga-belá huláa là gné.¹ ga-belá suràa góne.¹ ta-mà?¹ hulàa¹ miłá xirà-y.¹ ma'lùm-la-y 'át hulaét yá bšəlmanèt.¹ wále suraáké là,¹ miłá là xira-y.¹ 'əgár ga-bela-suráa melèt¹ káe 'át bšəlmanèt.¹ xá^Fprovérb^F-yele 'éa.¹ tawäjðh farmnét?¹ 'éa-č 'əa.¹

New Year

(66) 'əma¹ baqyá-e xéta là miráli baqóx,¹ 'elè.¹ 'éla roš-ha-šanà.¹ roš-ha-šanà,¹ xá-yoma qáme roš-ha-šaná¹ 'aqláb-e batè¹ 'ərbá dabḥiwa-o báqa qorbán.¹ pälénwal-ó ga-fāqir-u həžžār.¹ 'éa 'əa.¹ (67) bār-d-o¹ lelé roš-ha-šaná kúle geziwa báqa kništà.¹ kenwá-o belà¹ bāraxà kolíwa.¹ bāraxá ma-jòr-yela?¹ 'əwá¹ kārātà¹ bāraxà¹ ha-gəfen.¹ bār-d-ó¹ dušá dāénwa ba-xāmuštà.¹ xāmuštá dāénwa ga-dušà-u¹ mangól ga-lāxà kolí.¹ dušá-u xāmuštà¹ 'ó-ya bāraxá kmərwa¹ kwəlwa báqa kùlè.¹ 'ənyaxáe ya-tíwiwa dokà,¹ 'ət¹ bāraxà mār,¹ bāraxà mār,¹ bāraxà mār.¹ dána ba-dána kxəlwale-u¹ kmərwa šatóx brixtà hawýá 'əlhá manté 'ay-šatá,¹ báqa kùlè.¹ (68) bār-d-o¹ lałà kménwa qáme.¹ bār-d-o¹ pəsrá kallà kménwa qáme,¹ pəsrá rešá tortá 'ərbà.¹ bār-d-o¹ pəsrá 'ərbà¹ 'armotà kménwa qáme.¹ bār-d-o¹ nunyè kménwa qáme.¹ bār kùlè¹ kyàwa¹ xa-sawzì-ye,¹ šaplultà kəmriwa baqéf.¹ 'o-sawzì kménwa kəxlìwale.¹ bāraxà kəmriwa.¹ 'éa bāraxà-yela.¹ (69) 'éa timàwa,¹ bār-d-o xálu kəxlìwale-u¹ geziwa ba-šon-ḥaštù.¹ bəqāta geziwa kništà,¹ har-tà-ge¹ sa'ət-e¹ 'əsrà-u-pəlge¹ xesār ga-kništá-yelu.¹ ga-Kurdəstán tà-xesar,¹ bi-zóa là garšáwa.¹ ga-dokà¹ séfár natyàwa-u¹ bāraxá kəmriwa-u¹ šāḥarìt-u¹ musāf qārénwa ga-kništá-u¹ 'arz-hòna¹ ša'aré rašòn qārénwale.¹ kùle yalé qārénwala bi-zóa-u.¹ 'éa qārénwa-u¹ kénwa-o belà.¹

(65) They (the Sunnite Muslims) would even say—they had a proverb among themselves: ‘Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig. You can, it is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew. Do not sleep in the house of a Jew. Sleep in the house of Christian.’ Why? A Jew is circumcised. It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim. But the Christian is not, he is not circumcised. If you die in the house of a Christian, he knows that you are a Muslim. That was a proverb. Are you paying attention? That is that.

New Year

(66) But I have not told you about the rest of the things, the festivals. The festival of New Year. New Year—one day before New Year, most families slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice. They would distribute it to the poor and needy. That is that. (67) After that, on the night of New Year everybody went to the synagogue. They would come home and make a blessing. What was the blessing like? First, the blessing of the vine. Then, they put honey on an apple. They put an apple in honey, as they do here. The one making the blessing would give honey and apple to everybody. (He would say to those who were sitting there ‘You say a blessing, (you) say a blessing, (you) say a blessing.’ Each in their turn would eat it and he would say ‘May your year be blessed, God willing, this year’, he said this to everybody. (68) Then they brought forward the lungs (of the sheep). Then they brought forward the meat of the head (of the animal), the meat of the head of an ox or sheep. After that, the meat of the sheep, they brought forward a pomegranate. After that they brought forward fish. After everything came something that is a vegetable, which is called *šaplulta*. They brought that vegetable and ate it. They said a blessing. That was (the ceremony of) the blessing. (69) When this had finished, then they ate the food and went to get on with their work.⁶⁶ In the morning they went to the synagogue. They were in the synagogue until half-past-ten or eleven. In Kurdistan (they stayed) until eleven, it did not last any longer. There, the Torah scroll was raised up and they said a blessing. They read *šaharit* and *musaf* in the synagogue. I tell you, they read the *ša‘are rašon* prayer. All the children read it and more. They read it and went home.

⁶⁶ Literally: They went after their work.

(70) 'áṣər gezíwa baqà¹ 'awún kăparà,¹ 'ăġár šăbát là hawyáwa.¹ gezíwa báqa 'awún kăparà.¹ 'awún kăpará mà-yele?¹ ga-lăxà-č hít¹ tašlîx.¹ gezíwa baqá qam-mâe.¹ xá roxanà,¹ xa-jogá máe rāwān hawyáwa.¹ gezíwa ta-dokà.¹ tašlîx qārənwa-u¹ xa-sá'at mătīmîwala-u¹ kenwá-o belà.¹ kenwá-o belà,¹ qāwme-č dubára hám-čonin,¹ yóma trè,¹ 'é tre-yòme.¹ leləf-o-č hár ba-d-ó jorà¹ bāraxà kəmriwa.¹

The Day of Atonement

(71) bār-d-o¹ kipùr kyáwa qáme.¹ ma'elá kipùr¹ hár belà¹ čəkmá năfərə jwān hítwa gáef-u¹ pîr¹ fárq la-kól gorà¹ xà-dana kălšəsér baqéf dabhiwá-o.¹ hár năfàr¹ ga-béla didăxún xamsá năfərə hitwa¹ zükür-yelu,¹ xamsá kălšésere dabhiwá-o baqéf.¹ zé ḥălîfaténu qārénwale baqéf,¹ 'éa kwîwa.¹ 'ó-waxtára šărîwalu baqá făqîré.¹ xayú yá tràu năténwalu ta-nóšul¹ 'éa kwîwalu báqa făqîré saqè.¹ (72) 'éa tîma¹ lelə¹ kúle 'ămadè,¹ xalá kəxlîwa¹ gezíwa baqá kništà.¹ ga-kništà¹ mənḥà-yela-u¹ 'arbît-yela-u¹ musáf-e 'arbît qārénwala-u,¹ ta-sá'at 'əsrá-u pəlgè,¹ xesár tûl garšawa kništá,¹ lelə kipùr.¹ kenwá-o belà¹ šratá lá malqíwa.¹ tanhá 'ó šratá ya-hítwa ga-¹otáq məlqàwalu,¹ 'óa lá-xárwa gyaná holîl-o¹ gbéwa 'ó hawyàwa,¹ šratá xét 'ezáfá là malqíwa,¹ báqa d-éa lá-xar 'îla dăén ba-nurà,¹ mangól šăbát.¹ (73) bîš¹ qitsonî-č¹ yela mən-šăbát,¹ čún kəmriwa¹ har-gíz hulâa ba-šăbát šomà lá dóq¹ wáile kipúr majbúr-ye šóma dòq.¹ 'axní hulâe¹ 'ăġár šomá šəhyón lăpól yomá šăbát¹ lá doqèxile.¹ mandéxile yomá xšabà.¹ 'ăġár šomá Lelangè,¹ Purîm,¹ lăpól yomá šăbát,¹ là doqèxile.¹ xamsüşab doqèxile.¹ tá-ma 'é xamsüşab doqèxile¹ 'ó xšabà?¹ šomá-e šadî¹ mandéxile qâme¹ šomá-e 'ăzâ¹ mandéxile xäre.¹ 'ò 'é ke-šomá-e šăbát-e šəhyòn¹ ga-xšaba doqéxwale.¹ ba-¹ənyaxáe 'ălêtun.¹ 'ənyaxàe¹ masòret-yen.¹ ga-hălaxá-č kliwà-y 'éa.¹ 'é 'èa.¹ (74) šomá doqèxwa.¹ bóqāta gezéxwa kništà¹ xét là kexwá-o belà¹ har-tá-ge lelə.¹ máġar xášti jwané heziwà-o,¹ xà-sa'at,¹ trè-sa'áte,¹ ga-béla gănénwa-u henwà-o.¹ kúle ga-kništà-yelu.¹ hič-kas lá gézwa-o belà.¹ ta-ləma?¹ ta-sa'ət-e¹ šoà,¹ šóa-u pəlgè.¹ 'arbît temàwa-u¹ 'ó-waxtára kexwá-o belà.¹ kexwá-o báqa belà-u¹ bərkát ha-lābanà ga-wárya kəmrexwa.¹ bərkát ha-lābanà qārèxwala-u¹ bār-d-o kéxwa-o belà.¹ 'è-ya.¹

(70) In the evening they went (to perform the ceremony of) ‘the atonement of sins’, if it was not Sabbath. They went (to perform the ceremony of) ‘the atonement of sins.’ What is ‘the atonement of sins’? It (is performed) here also, *tašlix*. They went up to water, a river, a stream that was running water. They went there. They read (the prayer of) *tašlix*. They finished it in an hour and went back home. They went back home and also the next day the same, the second day—it was two days. That night in the same way they recited a blessing.

The Day of Atonement

(71) After that came the Day of Atonement. On the eve of the Day of Atonement, each family, however many people there were, young or old, it does not matter—they would slaughter a cock for each man. Every person—(if) there were in your family five people who were male, they would slaughter five cocks for him. They would recite ‘This is our substitute’ and would give it to him. Then they would send it to the poor. They would keep one or two for themselves and send them to the poor to cleanse them (of their sins). (72) When this finished, in the evening, when they were all ready, they ate food and went to the synagogue. In the synagogue there were evening and night prayers. They read the Musaf for the night prayers. The synagogue service lasted until half past ten or eleven o’clock on the night of the Day of Atonement. They came back home but did not light a lamp. Only the lamp that was in the room and they had (previously) lit—they could not extinguish that. That had to remain, but they did not light an additional lamp, because it was not permitted for them to touch fire, as on Sabbath. (73) It was more strict than on Sabbath, because they said that a Jew should never fast on Sabbath, but on the Day of Atonement he is obliged to fast. We Jews, if the fast of Zion (ninth of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. If the fast of *Lelange*, Purim, falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We keep it on the Thursday. Why do we hold this one on Thursday but that one on Sunday? The fast of joy we put forward and the fast of mourning we put back. That is why we kept the fast of the Sabbath of Zion on Sunday. You should know these things. These things are tradition. It is also written in the *halakha*. That is that. (74) We kept the fast. In the morning we went to the synagogue and we did not come back home again until night. Perhaps a few youngsters went back, slept for an hour or two at home and then came back. Everybody was in the synagogue. Nobody went back home. Until when? Until seven o’clock or half past seven. The evening prayer finished and then we went home. We went back home and said the blessing of the moon outside. We read the blessing of the moon and then went back home. That is it.

Tabernacles

(75) báqa 'ilanè. | 'ilanè | hár mən-yóma bār kipúr. | mən-yóma bār kipúr | gezáxwa waryà | tuḷè šaqláxwa | kəmréxwa baqéf tuḷè | 'ilanè xelapá. | gezáxwa baqá bazàr. | gālaé 'ilanè | bšəlmané čăqènwa. | bšəlmané kmènwa | 'axní šaqlàxwalu mənú, | kmáxwa-o belà. | s^wkà taršéxwa. | (76) ja-lelè | wáxt-e šomá kipúr fəṭran-ò, | ma^lám kéwa belà. | bāraxà kmárwa | nišán-e s^wkáke mätùwa | g-è-t^wka s^wká dāeni-ó, | g-e-t^wká. | 'o-waxtāra | bəqāṭef-o | šəru^c koléxwa ba-tārošé s^wkākè. | 'arbà nāfāré belà-yelu, | təlḥà nāfāré belà-yelu, | hár šəru^c kolíwa ba-tārošəf-u | xà | 'alunàk taršíwa. | mangól lāxá là-yelè | hezí xa-dána šaqlì. | nòšu taršíwala-u | kolíwala xá 'otáqa ḥāsabì-u | fārš šāwénwa gāaf-u | qaḷí mandènwa, | došáké matwíwa gāaf-u | pardé ddénwa gāaf-u | ḥāsabì. | (77) xa-dána qārà kolíwa báaf. | kəmriwa 'éa qārà mangól qārà-e ké baqà | Yóna ha-nābi, | baqá Yóna ha-nabì | wáxt-e 'əlḥá ššre baqá Babàl, | míre Babàl | sé mar-baqù | 'aná Baból mārūnaf, | ké 'āt-xór qəryàlox. | 'ána Baból mārūnaf | wa-'ó lá gezəlwa. | zíl nóšef ga-pliyáw kaštiáké tššyale-ò. | bār-d-o məndélu pliyawà. | míru 'āt | gonāhkār-yet-u | məndélu pliyáw daryà-u | zíl pliyáw kása xá nunilà. | 'ò | xá dastán-e 'āla-ḥādà hitá-u, | 'aná kéli baqóx qārəna bār-d-o. | (78) 'ò | koléxwale ba-s^wkākè | kəmréxwa 'éa qārà-e | Yoná ha-nabì-ya. | bār-d-o | xá-dana betà | bāzèxwala. | 'o-betá-č koléxwala ba-glalà-u | 'asréxwala ba-^Htəqrà, ^Htəqrá^H s^wkākè. | harmonyè koléxwa báaf. | bāširè koléxwa báaf. | xāmušè koléxwa báaf. | 'aspaglè koléxwa báaf. | koléxwala xá tazyìn, | xá ^Hša'šum^H báqa kúle náše. | 'ó-waxtāra, | trè-yome 'elá-yela, | yomá 'āwàl-u | yomá duwóm gezáxwa bāte ləxle | baqà | 'ela-brixulà. |

Tabernacles

(75) (Now) to (the festival of) trees (Tabernacles). (Preparations for) Tabernacles began right after the Day after Atonement. From the day after Atonement we would go outside and buy shoots, we called them shoots of willow trees. We would go to the market. The Muslims picked leaves of trees. The Muslims brought them and we bought them from them. We would make a booth. (76) Now, at night, when we had broken the fast of the Atonement, a rabbi would come to the house. He would say a blessing, mark out (the place) of the booth and they would place the booth in that place, in that place. Then, in the morning, we would begin to make the booth. Whether there were four people in the family or there were three people in the family, everybody began to make it, they made a booth. It was not the case that they went to buy one, as (they do) here. They would make it themselves. They would make it into a proper room. They laid out bedding in it. They would put down a carpet. They put mattresses in it. They put proper curtains in it. (77) They put a gourd in it. They would say that this was like the gourd which (appeared) for Jonah the prophet, for Jonah the prophet, when God sent him to Babylon and said 'Go and tell Babylon that I shall destroy Babylon', as you surely have read. (God said) 'I shall destroy Babylon' and he (Jonah) hid in the boat. Then they threw him in. They said 'You are sinful' and threw him in the sea. He went into the stomach of a fish. That is a story by itself,⁶⁷ which I can tell you afterwards. (78) We used to put that in the booth. We would say 'This is the gourd of the prophet Jonah.' Then we would prick an egg. We put the egg on a thread and tied it to the ceiling, the ceiling of the booth. We put pomegranates on it. We put grapes on it. We put apples on it. We put quinces on it. We made it into a decoration, a delight for everybody. Now, the festival was two days, the first day and the second day we would go to each other's houses to give festival blessings.

⁶⁷ Literally: That has a story by itself.

Hoshana Rabba

(79) *bàr-d-o* | *kyáwa ta-yomà* | *hošá'na rabbà*. | *lelé hošá'na rabbà* | *hár belà* | *lähá m-šálma ḥaliyé molèf*, | *'ăgár xá năfără milăwe*, | *našé gezíwa baqá dokà*, | *ga-doká tá yomà*, | *yatwíwa ga-dokà*, | *torà qărénwa-u* | *nabiyún-u kätubüm qărénwa*. | *'árz hòna*, | *măšnayotè qărénwa-u* | *zohâr qărénwa* | *ta-qarwá-e yomà*. | *qarwá-e yomà* | *'ó-waxtára šălihót kəmriwa baqáf*. | *šălihót hitwalan*. | *šoà šălihót hitwalu-u* | *šoà šălihót qărénwala-u* | *băraxá kəmriwa-u* | *šofár măxènwa-u* | *tà yomá*. | (80) *qarwá-e yomá ké xarwà*, | *mewá kmènwa*. | *ga-doká băraxà kəmriwa-u*, | *m-doká qemíwa gezíwa baqá kništà*. | *hošá'na rabbá ga-kništà*, | *ga-dokà hošá'na rabbá-yela*. | *'ó-waxtára mangól lăxá là-yela*, | *har-năfár xá toránj-u xá luláv šăqəl*, | *čún Kurdəstán litwa gáf*. | *mən-Taràn šăriwa báqa didán toránj-u luláv*. | *ga-doká hár kništá xà-dana hitwalá*. | *băraxà kəmriwa ga-dóka* | *ga-kništà*. | *'o-lelé ga-hošá'na rabbà-č* | *măčiriwale ba-rešá kúile našè*. | *băraxá toranjulà kəmriwe*. | *'éa-č 'èa*. | *'ăgár xá-mdi lá mirăwelì*, | *gbe-bàxšet*. |

Raza Shah

(81) ^H*sipùr* | *Răzá Šăh ḥăqénox*. | *Răzá Šăh* | *mən-Săqəz ké báqa Kurdəstán*. | *zılwa baqá* | *Tawrèz*. | *mən-Tawrèz híye baqá Săqəz*, | *mən-Săqəz híye Kurdəstán*. | *ga-Săqəz* | *gezíwa 'əstəqbalèf* | *tămám-e rüwanè*. | *rüwanè bšəlmanè*, | *rüwané suràe*, | *rüwané hulàe* | *gezíwa qəmeḥ*. | *hulàe* | *xá 'əsrá xamsàr năfäre*, | *hulàe* | *gezíwa qəmeḥ kúile təqnú har-tá lăxà*. | *'áy-əč ke-qəme* | *mă'in-ò* | *kmár 'áy mà-ye?* | *kəmri 'axní qorbàn* | *təqnè-ya*. | *bàr-o kol-ó* | *ta-raís-e šahrbanì* | *ta-raís-e polis* | *kmár baqèf* | *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò*, | *'onyexáe təqnú lá pešà*. |

Hoshana Rabba

(79) Then came Hoshana Rabba.⁶⁸ On the eve of Hoshana Rabba, every family—may death be far from the face of those present—if somebody had died, people would go there (to that home), (they would go) there for the day and sit there. They would read Torah. They would read the Prophets and Writings. I say to you,⁶⁹ they would read the Mishnayot and they would read the Zohar, until near dawn. Near dawn, then—we called it penitential prayers. We had penitential prayers. They had seven penitential prayers. They read seven penitential prayers. They said blessings and blew the shofar until dawn. (80) Close to when dawn broke, they brought fruit. They said a blessing there and got up from there and went to the synagogue. Hoshana Rabba was in the synagogue. Hoshana Rabba took place there. At that time it was not like here, whereby everybody buys an etrog and palm frond, since there were none (of these) in Kurdistan. They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran. There every synagogue had one. They would say a blessing there in the synagogue. That night on Hoshana Rabba they would carry it (the etrog) round over the head of all the people. They call it blessing of the etrog. That is that. If I have not said something, you must forgive me.

Raza Shah

(81) I shall tell you the story of Raza Shah. Raza Shah came from Sāqəz to Kurdistan. He had gone to Tabriz. From Tabriz he came to Sāqəz, from Sāqəz he came to Kurdistan. In Sāqəz all the dignitaries went to receive him. The Muslim dignitaries, the Christian dignitaries, the Jewish dignitaries went before him. Some Jews, about ten or fifteen people, Jews went before him, all with their beards down to here. He comes forward ‘Look’ he says ‘What is this?’ They say ‘With respect,⁷⁰ it is a beard.’ He turns round to the head of police, the head of police and says to him ‘When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven).’

⁶⁸ Literally: Then it came to Hoshana Rabba.

⁶⁹ Literally: I make petition.

⁷⁰ Literally: We are a sacrifice.

(82) Rǎzá Šǎh gezàl¹ ʔəstərahàt kól.¹ ke-ó dokà.¹ ʔənyexáe là šoq¹ ta-təqnú gǎrénila ga-doká b-gàu.¹ ke-ò,¹ xǎe ʔənyexàe¹ xà-dana təqná lítu.¹ kmár da-mǎʿin-ò¹ ʔàtá ʿayza-y¹ yá ʔo-waxtǎra?¹ ʔáy ʔəbyá-y ga-ʿayn-e-ħǎl¹ hǎmár mazháb ʔəqrà rába xéta lá-y báqa təqná.¹ ʔát hulàet,¹ hulàet.¹ ʔáy təqná mà-ya?¹ ʔát bšəlmanèt,¹ ʔáy təqná mà-ya?¹ bar-ʿaléh-e dīn¹ wǎle là-ʔəbya-y¹ róšan hole-ò.¹ ʔéa ħič.¹ (83) híye báqa Kurdəstàn.¹ híye báqa Kurdəstàn,¹ ga-Kurdəstàn¹ huláe ʿála-ħǎdà¹ bšəlmané hár-xa ʿála-ħǎdà¹ suráe ʿála-ħǎdà¹ ʔáqa nošrət trǎšlu báqef.¹ ʔáqa nošrət mà-yele?¹ xá-t^wká taršīwa¹ ké šǎh m-txéla d-éa ʔòr¹ ʔǎle ʔéa hulàe trǎšté-ya,¹ ʔé jǎmáʿat hulàe hūt ga-lǎxá trǎšté-ya.¹ ʔèa¹ tajrè trǎšté-ya.¹ ʔèa¹ maʿlamè trǎšté-ya.¹ ʔèa¹ ħǎkimè trǎšté-ya.¹ ba-d-áy jorá ʔaqá nošrət hūtwa.¹ (84) hulàe¹ təršawalū¹ xá-sefar-əč mətwáwalu dóka rešǎf.¹ mətwáwalu rešǎf,¹ ké Rǎzá Šǎh¹ m-txéla d-òa¹ ʿübür wilè,¹ míre ʔéa mà-ya?¹ ʔéa mà-ya?¹ mamì¹ duktār Musà ʔəlhá mǎnixá¹ híye qalè¹ kmár qorbàn¹ ʔó séfar torà-ya.¹ ʔaxní mīran¹ ke-ʔàt¹ m-txéla séfar torá ʔorèt¹ ké ʔáy séfar torà negahdaróx hawyá.¹ míre ^Hkól ha-kavòd!^H díle réša xašà¹ ʔamu-jǎn¹ kmár ^Hkol ha-kavòd,^H duktār Mùsa!¹ ʔéa mǎni-yele?¹ Ĥáji ʔIšǎq-yele lā-ʔiléf.¹ kmər¹ ʔéa mǎni-ye?¹ kmár ʔèa¹ mǎlá didàn-ye.¹ kmər¹ ^Padam-e xùb-i-hasti.^P ʔətəfaqán našá ʿayzèk-yet.¹ ʔárz hòna,¹ ʔéa ʔèa.¹ (85) bàr-d-o¹ mən-dóka zíl baqá lèka?¹ Xosrawbád.¹ Xosrawbád t^wkəf-yela.¹ zíl baqá dokà¹ tré təlħà yomé ga-doká-yele-u.¹ cīr,¹ rába huláe ga-doká mórəd ʔəhtəramèf-yelu¹ rába gbəwalun-u¹ məspəwale l-farmandé laškàr¹ mīrwale¹ huláe ga-lǎxá gbe-rahàt hǎwén¹ ʔazyātú là holétun.¹ là šoqét ʔazyātú holí.¹ ʔó-č mīrwale là qorbàn,¹ lǎxá sūnì-yeni.¹ rába məntáke huláe ʿayzèni¹ ʔazyātú là kolí.¹ ʔèa¹ Rǎzá Šǎh¹ báqa hulàe.¹

(82) Raza Shah went and took a rest. He came back—They did not allow them (the Jews) to shave their beards there among them—He came back and saw that not one had a beard. He said ‘Look, is it better now or before?’ He wanted at that time to say that religion is not in such (need) of a beard. (If) you are a Jew, you are a Jew. What is this beard? (If) you are a Muslim, what is a beard? He was against religion but he did not want to make it explicit. But this (anecdote) is nothing.⁷¹ (83) He came to Kurdistan. He came to Kurdistan and in Kurdistan the Jews by themselves, the Muslims each by themselves and the Christians by themselves made an arch of victory. What is an arch of victory? They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that Jews made it, that there is a Jewish community here that made it. The merchants made one. The teachers made another. The doctors made another. There was an arch of victory (built) in this manner. (84) The Jews had made it and had put a Torah scroll there over it. They put it over it (the arch) and when Raza Shah passed under it, he said ‘What is this? What is this?’ My uncle, Doctor Musa, may God grant him rest, began to speak and said ‘Your honour, that is a Torah scroll. We thought that you would pass under the scroll so that the Torah scroll would protect you. He said ‘Well done!’ He patted the back of my dear uncle and said ‘Well done Doctor Musa!’ Who was there? Ḥajjī ʾIshāq was next to him. He said ‘Who is this?’ He said ‘This is our rabbi.’ He said ‘You are a good man. You happen to be a good man.’ Now, that is that. (85) Then, where did he go? Khosrawbad. Khosrawbad was his destination.⁷² He went there and was there two or three days. He walked around. The Jews there greatly commanded his respect. He liked them very much. He sent to the army commander and said ‘The Jews here must be at ease and you must not disturb them. Do not allow people to disturb them.’ He said ‘No, your honour, here they are Sunni. They are very good with the Jews. They do not disturb them.’ This (is the account) of Raza Shah concerning the Jews.

⁷¹ I.e. it is not my main point.

⁷² Literally: place.

INFORMANT C (NEGAR PAZ)

Reminiscences

(1) *ga-ʔIrán na-rahât-yeli.* | *pqartî mārâwa.* | *ga-ʔIrán na-rahât-yeli.* | *tāmām-e duktâre kûle zîlan* | *là kéwalu mǎʿalijî hòliwa.* | *Báhrám gyán mîre* | *dây gyán* | *sé baqá ʔIsrâyəl.* | *Faršíd dokà-y.* | *Dànəš doká-y.* | *lablîlax l-dokà.* | *báška ʔəlhà-y mǎʿalija xǎrát.* | (2) *ʔána hîyan.* | *Bahrám ga-ʔIràn-yele.* | *Bahrám là-hyewa.* | *hiyâna,* | *ləblânanu bimaristân-e Hădăšâ.* | *ʔăxonî ləblânanef,* | *Dànəš ʔăxonî.* | *ga-dokà* | *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿăsâbe bar-rešî-u* | *ʔaná dméli máe drèlu réša nurá* | *trišan-ò.* | (3) *ʔaná* | *fawrí* | *bəqātef-ò* | *telefôn wîli baqá* | *Bàhrám gyán.* | *mîr!* | *Bàhrám* | *xǎran saqòx* | *bsiman-ò* | *ʔarəm xirán.* | *kmâr dâ-y-gyân* | *ʔəqrà ʔəlu* | *ʔaná* | *ga-lǎxá tǎxǎšúš lá qǎréna.* | *ʔána kéna báqa ʔIsrâyəl.* | *ʔăzizakam* | *ʔaná ʔəa šmîli mən-Bahrám-u* | *bár xá čăkmà-î* | *tré təlĥà yarxé lǎxà-yeli-u* | *ʔaná mîr!* | *daxóm mǎĥanqîli.* | *xor-ʔIsrâyəl ʔăxá là-yela ʔó-waxtâra.* | *ʔlái-u təlĥà-šəne qáme d-éa-yele.* | *ʔaná ʔăgár Bahrám hé lǎxá tǎxǎšúš qǎrè,* | *xét là-ke-o báqa ʔIsrâyəl.* | *ʔaná-č gbé hezân-o lága belá-u yalî.* | (4) *qîman* | *zîlân-o.* | *mîre dâyka* | *ʔána gbèna* | *tǎxǎšúš qǎrèna* | *bár-d-o ken-ò.* | *sé ròla* | *ʔəlhá hăwé mənox.* | *Bahrám qîm zîl.* | *zîl-u* | *bár xa-müddât* | *xa-tré təlĥà-šəne zîl gáef* | *xéli Bahrám gyân* | *telefôn wîle baqî* | *yáni ta-Soqrát bronî* | *mîre ʔaná* | *baxtà gəwrî.* | *Soqrát zàng díle baqî* | *mîre dâyka* | *Bahrám baxtà gəwrá-y.* | *tʰká d-óa xoš-ĥâl xǎrán,* | *ʔîli wîli bǎxoè.* | *bəxyàn,* | *bəxyàn.* | *kmâr yătümta* | *mà baxyát?* | *mîr!* | *tazà* | *Bahrám* | *ʔaná b-ʔenî la-xǎef.* | *zəndəgî dâx-ye!* | *dâx čér!* | *hič* | *rába na-rahât xíran-u* | *xéli Báhrám gyân* | *mîre dâ-y-gyán* | *là-zdu,* | *ʔaná ʔarbá yarxé xèt* | *ʔaná kèn-o lágax.* | *híye məntáke baxtəf* | *bóxle réša dílu.*

INFORMANT C (NEGAR PAZ)

Reminiscences

(1) In Iran I was not well. My neck ached. In Iran I was not well. I went to all the doctors. They could not cure me. My dear Bahram said ‘Mother dear, go to Israel. Farshid is there. Danəš is there. They will take you there. Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured.’ (2) I came. Bahram was in Iran. Bahram had not yet come. I came. They took me to Hadasa hospital. My brother took me, Danəš my brother. There they injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck. I thought that they put water on the fire and I was cured. (3) Immediately in the morning I telephoned my dear Bahram. I said ‘Bahram, my dear,⁷³ I have been cured, I have been relieved (of my pain).’ He says ‘Mother dear, you should know this, that I shall not study a specialism here. I shall come to Israel.’ My dear, I heard this from Bahram, then after a little longer—I was here two or three months—I said ‘Even if they strangle me (I shall not stay).’ Israel was then not like this (as it is now). It was thirty-three years ago. ‘If Bahram comes here to study a specialism, he will not come back to Israel afterwards.’⁷⁴ But I must go back to my family and children.’ (4) I went back. He (Bahram) said ‘Mother. I want to study my specialism, then I shall come back.’ ‘Go, my dear. May God be with you.’ Bahram went away. He went and after a period of two or three years had passed, it happened⁷⁵ that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrat my son, and said ‘I have married.’ Soqrat rang me and said ‘Mother, Bahram has married.’ Instead of being happy, I began to cry. I cried and cried. He says ‘Poor woman,⁷⁶ why are you crying?’ I said ‘I shall not see Bahram with my own eyes again soon.’ How life (is hard)! How it turns out to be! Well,⁷⁷ I was very sick and then dear Bahram said ‘Mother, do not fear, I shall come back to you in another four months.’

⁷³ Literally: May I become your cleansing (of sins).

⁷⁴ I.e. he will return to live in Iran.

⁷⁵ Literally: I saw.

⁷⁶ Literally: orphan girl.

⁷⁷ Literally: nothing.

(5) 'áy 'olamà,¹ 'azizakam,¹ ràba zorté-ya.¹ 'əlhá 'asxá wile¹ čárx mčìre.¹ məntáke d-èa¹ bəxle qímex híyex baqá lăxà.¹ híyex baqá diyani yalăkè.¹ Báhrām míre dáy-gyān,¹ həlax!¹ 'áy belà¹ 'áy 'ārā bayər-yela¹ xa-tíka 'ārā ga-dóka ga-Denyà-yela¹ šaqlèxila.¹ 'áy 'ərà¹ xá-tikaf 'axtù ntúmu¹ xá-tikaf 'əxni.¹ (6) fkər wili-ó.¹ míri là¹ fayà-lite¹ 'aná həwšălá-e 'āra tārōšè líti-u¹ 'anà¹ gezan-ò¹ yalí ga-Kursàn-yen-u¹ 'anà¹ šoqu¹ ba-t^wkà-u¹ hiyán ga-lăxá yătàn?¹ míre dáy-gyān,¹ mà gbát?¹ m̀ri¹ hezèx xa-béla šqu¹li,¹ har-o-kārāt.¹ híyex,¹ tăbăqá-e garé zilex.¹ 'əqrá ləbí 'ăxà-yele,¹ ga-penhəws-yele.¹ míre 'əa šqu¹le.¹ míri là¹ qáwme 'ána máre nəwagè-yan-u¹ nəwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-u¹ 'əlhá la holanè¹ laplì.¹ bəšár xet-'ăxà-y.¹ là šwəqlì. (7) híyex lăxà.¹ 'ay-bèla xélan.¹ míre dáy-gyān 'əa gbáte?¹ míri 'i Báhrām gyān,¹ šqu¹le.¹ wále 'ána 'ătá là-kyāna.¹ 'aná gezan-ó báqa 'Irān.¹ 'ò-waxtāra¹ qáwe qúye Xomenì¹ pílwa-u là pílwa,¹ heštán ma'lúm là-yele.¹ qúman məntáke d-èa¹ bəxle zilex-ò.¹ 'azizákam¹ zilex-o baqá Kursàn.¹ 'áy ləbí¹ čúnke Báhrām lăxà-yele¹ tăxăšús qārèwa¹ xéli hós-u xyałí lága d-èele.¹ məntáke d-áy bəxle zilex-ò.¹ (8) béla trəšwalan.¹ ^hvilà^h hítwalan.¹ ba-'əlhá xà zəndəgí hítwalan ga-'Irān.¹ ba-'əlhà¹ xa-'əstáxr ga-ħafšān-yela.¹ tré karmalè-yelu.¹ həlí hár danù¹ hamrána čəkmà¹ 'əlhá-hiwula gáu.¹ šóa tmánya 'otaqè-hitwalan.¹ qímex zəbnilan belăké.¹ 'əa 'orxéf dəwqàle¹ míre həlax¹ šoqéx bá-t^wkà-u hezèxin.¹ həlí ba-harzàn¹ ba-'əlhà¹ ba-nurà,¹ ba-nurà¹ mətlan belăkè.¹ ba-'əštà-me¹ 'əštá-me 'alpè¹ zəbnán.¹ míri ba-Tún jăhănəm.¹ ba-'əlhà¹ malkàn,¹ dārayàn,¹ 'əlha-hiwulàn,¹ malàn,¹ 'ilanè,¹ hər-či hítwalan¹ míri jăhănám hezèx.¹

(5) This world, my dear, is very small. God worked (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel. I came here together with him.⁷⁸ We came to see the children. Bahram said ‘Mother dear, come! This house, this land, which was waste ground, a plot of land that was there in Denya⁷⁹—let’s buy it. This land—you take a piece of it and we a piece.’ (6) I thought about it. I said ‘No. There is no point. I do not have the patience to build on the land. I shall go back. My children are in Kurdistan. Should I leave them there and come to live here?!’ He said ‘Mother dear, what do you want?’ I said ‘Let’s go and you buy me a house, only then (will I come).’ We came and went to the floor (under) the roof. My heart was so (shaken) like this, it was in the ‘penthouse.’ He said ‘Buy this.’ I said ‘No. In the future⁸⁰ I shall have grandchildren. My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forbid, fall off.’ Well, it is only human (to think like that).⁸¹ I did not allow it. (7) We came here. We saw this house. He said ‘Mother dear, do you want this one?’ I said ‘Yes, dear Bahram, buy it, but I shall not come now. I shall go back to Iran.’ At that time the twittering of Khomeini, whether it had started or not, was still not widely known about. I set off with him (my husband) and we went back together. My dear, we went back to Kurdistan. As for my heart, since Bahram was here to study a specialism, all my thoughts were indeed with him. I went back together with him (my husband). (8) We had built a house. We had a villa. Indeed, we had a (good) life in Iran. Indeed, there was a pool in our courtyard. There were two orchards. (You should) understand, in each of them, let me say, there was so much divinely given produce. We had seven or eight rooms. (Despite this) we sold all the properties. He (my husband) set off and said ‘Come, let us leave (it all) in this place and go.’ You understand, (we sold) cheaply, indeed, we put the properties in the fire (so cheaply did we sell them). We sold for six hundred, for six hundred thousand. I said ‘(Let it be turned) into Tun,⁸² to hell (with it).’ Indeed, our property, our possessions, our divinely given produce, our village, trees, everything we had—I said ‘To hell (with it)’ let us go.

⁷⁸ The speaker points to her husband.

⁷⁹ A district of Haifa.

⁸⁰ Literally: tomorrow.

⁸¹ Literally: A human is like that.

⁸² A city that was totally destroyed.

(9) 'éa ... xá-lele zíl be-bratì. | ga-televizyón m'ínwale | xá-náfar mən-d-áy
 'a'yanè | malàk-yele | qṭəḷwalu. | hiye-ò | kmár Negàr | 'ána là yáúna. | 'ána didì-č
 qaṭlí. | fawrì | bəqāta | hāwapaýmà, | xətrí hāwapaýmá dwəqle baqéf-u | 'áy hiye-ó
 baqá lága Taymür, | baqá Färränsa, | zäminì | xor-hāwai litwa. | (10) qúm híye läxà. |
 ba-šón-e d-áy-əč | 'ána hiyan. | hiyan | wāle | tāmám-e hōš-u | fəkrì, | 'ātá | 'al'án
 haqyàn, | lága yalì-yele. | ga-'Irān šəwqiwali-u | xa-məqdáru ga-'Isrəyəl-yelu. | 'ila
 wílì bāxðe | nōša qəṭòle. | har-dāx-yele xét? | bāruḫ ha-šəm | 'áy-bela hitwalan, |
 beláké hitwalan. | bəxyàn. | 'áy 'āsasiyà-u | 'èxa-u | kúle mèlan | kúle twìr | kúle
 pərtìx, | kúle mən-báyn zíl. | (11) míri kèt má holéx. | máššín-e raxt-šurì mèwalan, |
 'ó-č twìra, | yaxčälän, | kúle twìri. | ga-'orxá kúle mən-báyn zili. | mìrì | jāhanəm |
 hālox | 'áy jəlan čaḷkən-yen. | mandyánanu ga-wanākè. | xor-'axnì là-kelan
 xäléxilü. | kmár mà honá? | míri 'ət | ba-'aqlè | sé réša 'áy jələ. | ba-'aqlè 'áy jələ
 'učlu | 'účlu 'e-jələkè | 'aná-č 'asrānanu. | 'əlhà wilá-y. | 'aná bəxyàn. | 'áy bxè-u |
 'ána bəxyàn. | míri kət má hül. | hálox se-ò. | (12) hezan-ò? | 'olám 'axər xərə |
 daxóm ga-'Irān. | 'aná ga-'Irān là gezan-ó. | 'anà | talcí grəšli | ga-'Irān. | zāhamtə
 grəšli. | ba-šiwè nurá koléxwa-u | ba-tənà, | bad-baxtì, | be-čarəgì. | gáz litwalan. | ga-
 'axər xirá-y máre gáz-u | yaxčäl. | xor-hiči litwalan, | hiči. | kulfát litwalan. | nokár
 litwalan. | wāle báqa didì | wüjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šāwé. | míri 'ət gezét se-ó, | 'ána là
 gezán. | (13) xoləša | ba-'ānazé kafì | zāhamtə-u | bad-baxtì grəšlan, | wāle barúx
 ha-šəm, | barúx ha-šəm | 'ātà | 'anà | xà sa'át-e Yəsráyəl lá ... | ba-xamsì 'Irān lá
 kwán. | 'Otríš ziltè-yan. | 'arbà-kərat zilté-yan Färränsa. | 'əštà-kərat zilté-yan
 'Amríka. | 'əlhà káé. | həlí xərət, | wáxt-e kyanwà-o | báqa Yəsráyəl, | kəmranwa
 'əlhá ya-rábi škür | 'ána hiyan-ó báqa Yəsráyəl. | Yəsráyəl behtarín zəndəgí ya-mìri
 baqóx. | 'əqrà 'axnì saxtì-u | bad-baxtì-u | be-čarəgì-u | grəšlan ga-dóka həlí xərət. |

(9) One night he (my husband) went to my daughter's house. He watched the television (and he saw that) one of the dignitaries who was a landlord had been killed. He came back and said 'Negar, I shall not stay. They will kill also me.' Immediately in the morning my son-in-law booked an airplane for him (my husband) and he went to Taymur,⁸³ to France—by land, there was no (possibility of travelling) by air. (10) He then came here. I came following him. I came but all my thoughts, now I am telling it, were with my children. I had left them in Iran, some were in Israel. I began to cry and to beat myself. How else could it be? Thank God, we had this house. We had the house. This furniture and so forth, we brought it all but it all broke, everything shattered, everything was destroyed. (11) I said 'Do you know what we shall do.' We had brought a washing-machine but it also was broken, also our refrigerator, all were broken. They were destroyed on the road. I said 'Hell, come, these clothes of ours are dirty. I shall throw them in the bath. Indeed, we cannot wash them.' He says 'What should I do?' I said 'You go onto the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes with your feet. Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out. God has willed this.'⁸⁴ I wept. He wept and I wept. I said 'You know what you should do, go back (to Iran).' (12) Should I go back? The world will come to an end, even in Iran. I shall not go back to Iran. I suffered bitter hardship in Iran. I suffered a difficult life. We made fire with wood, with smoke. (We suffered) ill-fortune and desperation. We did not have gas. In the end he (my husband) acquired gas supply and a refrigerator. We had absolutely nothing, nothing. We did not have a maid. We did not have a servant. But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran). I said 'You go back. I shall not go.' (13) In short, we suffered enough⁸⁵ hardship and misfortune, but thank God, thank God, now I would not give one hour of Israel for fifty hours of Iran. I have been to Austria. I have been to France four times. I have been to America six times. God knows. You understand, when I was coming back to Israel, I said 'Oh thanks be to God. I have come back to Israel. The best life is in Israel, as I have said to you. We suffered such difficulty, misfortune and desperation there (in Iran), you understand.

⁸³ A member of the family living in France.

⁸⁴ Literally: God has done (this).

⁸⁵ Literally: in a sufficient measure.

(14) yá rābī škūr^l ba-ʿəlhá zəndəgiyán raḥāt-ye.^l yalí kúle ḥāšta kolí.^l kúle zəndəgí ʿayzà-hitu.^l ʿay-broní ya-kəmrán híye tāxəšúš qrèle,^l mašəǰà,^l xa-šəmə-hite ga-tāmám-e Xáyfa.^l ʿəlhà manté,^l ba-zəxút ʿo-sefarè^l na-raḥāti ta-hiṣ bāné ʿolām là-həwəl^l ʿəlhá parḥəz ʿáy Yəsrəyəlàn.^l ʿəlhá šóqla baqàn.^l bé bālá hawyə.^l ʿəlhá káram hól ba-kúle ʿómtə ʿolām.^l ^kdās-e gúl-^l dās-e nargèz^l mārgetān nə-binam har-géz.^{k^l}

(14) Thanks be to God, indeed our life is comfortable. All my children are working. All have a good life. The son who I said came to study a specialism, by good fortune, is well known⁸⁶ in the whole of Haifa. May God grant (this), by the virtue of the Torah scrolls, may He not give distress to any person. May God protect this Israel of ours. May God preserve it for us. May it be without catastrophe. God grant grace to all the nations of the world. A bunch of flowers, a bunch of narcissus (I offer you), may I not ever see your death.

⁸⁶ Literally: He has a name.

INFORMANT D (VICTORIA AMINI)

The Tale of the Bald Boy

(1) xà^l bronà^l hfyē ba-‘olām^l káčāl-yele.^l məstá lītwa ba-rešéf.^l bár-d-o xāràè^l ‘áy bronà^l bāruzá lītwa^l.^l híč-kas bāručéf lá xarwá.^l rəwə,^l rəwə^l tá-‘inke xir^l ba-xá bronà^l taqribán ‘əsri šəné.^l ‘áy broná be-čará híč-kas lītwa^l. (2) xá-yoma tíw məntáke dačkəf^l hqéle mīre^l dāyka^l ‘aná^l híč bāruzá líti^l wa-lá kǎena má honà.^l hǎlax^l tǎmám ‘áy dawruwāràn^l da‘wát honú^l bašká ‘ašná xa-dána mənun-u^l bəxlé zəndəgī holéxin.^l (3) xà-lele^l rába xārj wíle^l rába xalá trəšle.^l xalà^l ga-ħafšá^l rēša ‘árá məndèle-u^l našé kúle tīwi-u^l xalá rāba trəšle.^l mīre ‘àna,^l ta-dačkəf mīre,^l ‘ána ‘ay-xalá tǎrəšnəf^l ‘aná kǎena^l bár-d-o xāràè^l ‘áy čəkmá našè^l hár-lele xa-našá da‘wát didí kòl,^l ké ‘ána gézna ga-pəlgùn-u^l ‘aná^l bāručəwale dōqna.^l (4) wǎle^l ‘éa zíl-u^l našáké ‘əšər xīlu,^l našé kúle híyen dokà-u^l xalà^l rába trəšwale-u^l yaxní sǎqatà-u^l káčawè,^l yapragè,^l rəzzà xwará-u^l rəzzà yǎruqá-u^l kúle jór trəšwale báqa našé.^l (5) ‘áy-naše kúle híyen^l ‘áy-xala kúle xīlu.^l kúle xīlun-u^l rába mtūlun-u^l hqèlun-u^l gxiki-u^l pšixi-u^l ‘ó-č rába xoš-ħǎl xír-u^l mónu kúle hqèle^l báška ‘əlhà-y^l ‘ənyexáe bāručéf xārì wá^l hélu da‘watəf holí^l ke-hezál ga-pəlgá našè,^l hǎwé ga-pəlgá našè-u^l ‘ǎlenile-ò.^l (6) ‘áy bronà^l da‘watáke wilàle-u^l ta-sa‘āt-e^l tresār lele^l dokà-yelun-u^l dána dána kúle zili-ò.^l tíw m-dačkəf hqèle^l mīre dāyka^l ‘át nóšax hazər hulá.^l jǎlé ‘ayzé-č xūt,^l jǎlé ‘ayzé hǎwèlax,^l kúle ‘əšər didán da‘wát kolí.^l hār ‘əšər^l xa-našá da‘wát holàn^l nóšəf tré yarxé tūl gǎrəš.^l ‘ána-č bāručəwale kwèli^l ‘ána-č xoš-ħǎl xárna ‘exá.^l

INFORMANT D (VICTORIA AMINI)

The Tale of the Bald Boy

(1) A boy came into the world who was bald. He did not have a hair on his head. Later (in his life) this boy did not have a friend. Nobody became his friend. He grew and grew until he became a boy about twenty years old. This unfortunate boy had nobody. (2) One day he sat with his mother, spoke and said ‘Mother, I do not have any friend and I do not know what to do. Come, let me invite everybody around us, perhaps I shall become acquainted with one of them and we can spend time⁸⁷ together.’ (3) One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food. He laid out the food in the courtyard on the ground and all the people sat down. He made a lot of food. He said ‘I—he said to his mother—‘I shall make this food and I know that afterwards each night one of these people will invite me, since I shall go among them and I shall make friends.’ (4) Now, he went (to make the preparations) and the people ate in the evening. The people all came there. He had made a lot of food—offal soup, rissoles, stuffed vine leaves, white rice, green rice. He made every kind (of food) for the people. (5) The people all came and ate all the food. They all ate, served themselves a lot, spoke, laughed, made merry, and he was happy. He spoke with them all, so that perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him, so that he could visit people⁸⁸ and be among people and they would become acquainted with him. (6) The boy held the party⁸⁹ and they were there until twelve o’clock at night. One by one they went away. He sat down and spoke with his mother and said ‘Mother, prepare yourself, sew fine clothes, get some fine clothes, they will invite us every evening. Each evening for two months somebody will invite us.⁹⁰ I shall have friends. I shall be happy,’ and so forth.

⁸⁷ Literally: life.

⁸⁸ Literally: go among people.

⁸⁹ Literally: made the invitation.

⁹⁰ Literally: It will last for two months (that) every evening somebody will invite us.

(7) wälè^l kúle 'ašər^l tíw ga-qam-tärà-u^l muntäzər xír^l bašká da'wätèf holí.^l hič-kas lá-hiye.^l xà yomá,^l trè yomé,^l təlḥà yomé,^l xír xà yarxá^l hič-kás da'wätèf lá wilè.^l daäkèf míra xèlox?^l 'át 'áy ḥaštá wilàlox,^l 'áy kúle pułè xərjilox^l hič kásí da'wätóx lá wilè.^l (8) míre dáyka^l 'əlhá rüwà-y^l 'ət^l xəfát la-xúl.^l bə'axərà^l xá-yoma kwè^l 'anà^l da'wätì kolí.^l zíl bazàr-u^l 'o-našé kúle da'wát wiliwalè^l kúle dubára šalòm drélu-'əlef-u^l ḥqéle mánun-u^l míre mǎ'in^l 'anà^l da'wát-e didáxún wili^l ké hètun^l belí memaní wili baqəxùn.^l 'axtú tǎmà didí-u daákí da'wát lá kolétun,^l ké 'ána-č héna ga-pəlgəxùn?^l (9) míru ròla^l 'át sarwatmànd-yet^l ké 'ət^l pułè rába hitóx ké 'áy memaní dəwqàlox.^l 'axnú là kélan memaní 'áxa doqéxin.^l hiye-ó belà-u^l ta-daäkèf mǐre^l daäkèf-əč rába nósaf na-raḥát wilála.^l míra^l xəfát la-xúl^l 'əlhà rüwá-y^l bə'axərà^l xá-mdi xàr^l 'əlhá xà^l tǎra báqa didán-əč kol-ò.^l (10) xá-yoma tíwa ga-belà^l 'exà-u^l xéle xà^l gorá tǎrá ðile-u^l ḥalèf bəqrú^l míre dāx-yetu 'exà-u?^l míre wála ṭòb-yena.^l 'anà^l 'əxá memaní dwəqlí-u^l hič-kas^l da'wätí lá wile-ò^l wa-là kǎena^l m-qám d-éa 'anà^l pərčè lití,^l kǎčəl-yena^l yá šəmà lití 'exá.^l (11) míre là^l 'aná xá ḥaštá kǎwna baqòx.^l sélox xà^l ksilá pərčé mǎtù.^l ksilá pərčé mǎtù^l wa-sè^l nósəx 'ayzá trùsla^l sé ga-pəlgáwa našé dubàra.^l míre léka heznà?^l rahnamaí wile-u,^l míre sé flǎn t'kà,^l salmaní ké pərčé tǎrəš,^l 'óa hitè.^l (12) zíl doka.^l xánči pułè pas-andáz wiliwale^l hiwile baqəf-u^l míre mǎ'in^l 'aná gbèna^l xà^l ksilá pərčé mǎtət baqá didì^l ké 'aná hèli^l ga-pəlgá našé ḥǎwèna^l našé xošú hé mənì.^l míre ṭòv.^l qim^l ksiláké tərşàle baqəf-u^l míre^l xá čəkmá yomé xét hál baqəf.^l (13) čəkmá yomé muntäzər xír-u^l híye-u zíl-u^l híye-u zíl^l ta-'inke^l 'áy ksilá trišà.^l mətále rešəf-u^l dubára zíl ga-bazàr-u^l ga-našé ké da'wát wiliwale,^l šalòm^l xèta wile 'exá.^l (14) míru 'é 'əda-y?^l 'é hár 'ó broná kǎčalákéle da'wätàn wiliwale?^l xá 'lile-ò^l xá lá 'lile-ò^l 'axrəf bəqrù mənəfí mǐre^l 'il 'aná 'əna.^l (15) wà^l bár xa-čəkmá yomé xèt^l kén dána dána tǎra dǎen-u^l da'wätèf kolí.^l mǐre^l 'átá mà-hona?^l 'átá ya-da'wätí wilà-y^l ba-mà-jor hezná belú?^l (16) qím zíl^l mən-xá t'kaná-jələ krà wilè-u^l hár 'ašər^l ta-hár-kas da'wätèf wile^l ba-xá dásá jələ zíl.^l ba-xá dásá jələ zíl-u^l ga-pəlgá našáké tìw-u^l ḥqéle mánun-u 'exà-u^l yǎwǎš^l yǎwǎš^l warəð xír-u^l wa-našé 'lilu-ò-'əlef.^l

(7) But, he sat outside, he waited hoping they would invite him, and nobody came. One day, two days, three days (went by), a month passed without anybody inviting him. His mother said 'Do you see? You have done this work, you have spent all this money, and nobody has invited you.' (8) He said 'Mother. God is great.⁹¹ Don't worry. In the end, a day will come when they will invite me.' He went to the market. The people whom he had invited all greeted him again. He spoke to them and said 'Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother, so that I can visit you?' (9) They said 'Dear boy, you are rich, since you must have a lot of money to have offered that hospitality. We cannot offer such hospitality.' He came back home and told his mother. His mother became very upset. She said 'Don't worry. God is great. In the end something will happen. God will open a door also for us.' (10) One day he was sitting in the house and so forth, and he saw a man knock on the door. They asked after his health. He said 'How are you? and so forth.' He said 'I am well. But, I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don't know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth.' (11) He said 'No, I'll sort something out for you. Go and put on a wig. Put on a wig and go and make yourself look good, then go and visit people again. He said 'Where should I go?' He guided him and said 'Go to such-and-such a place, a barber who makes hair, he has one.' (12) He went there. He had saved some money and gave it to him. He said 'Look, I want you to make a wig for me so that I can be among people and people will like me.' He said 'Fine.' He made the wig for him. He said 'In a few more days come for it.' (13) He waited for a few days. He came and went, came and went, until the wig was made. He put it on his head, then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited, and greeted them and so forth. (14) They said 'Is this him? Is this the same bald boy who invited us?' One recognized him and another did not recognize him. In the end they asked him. He said 'Yes, it is me.' (15) Then, after a few more days they came one by one and knocked on the door, and invited him. He said 'Now what should I do? Now that they have invited me, how shall I go to their house?' (16) He went and hired clothes from a shop. Each evening he went in a suit to each one who had invited him. He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth. Gradually he entered (into their circle) and people became acquainted with him.

⁹¹ I.e. there is still hope.

(17) ʔlilu-ò-ʔələf-uʔ xá bratá máʕarəfi wilálu báeʔf kèʔ báška xlulà-č hólʔ ʔéa zəndəgiyéf biš-ʕayzá xār.ʔ xá mən-bāruḫāwaləʔf kə bāruḫà xírwa-uʔ daʕwātəʔ wīle dubára-uʔ zīl dóka ʔexàʔ míre xá bratá ʔāxà híʔʔ ʔaná kmənaʔf ʔát ʔəlula-òʔ šáyad hélāxun bəxleʔ xlulá holətu.ʔ (18) bratāké hiyá-u ʔexà-uʔ xələʔ ʔīʔ broná ʕayzək-ye-uʔ xá čəkmá müdəteʔ híyen-u zīli.ʔ bratākéʔ míra gbé hét xāstgarí lá tatí-u daāki.ʔ míre bāše.ʔ ʔaná daāki kmənaʔf-uʔ kəna xāstgarí.ʔ (19) qíma daākéʔ həjbiyaf holáʔ híya zīla həjbí bratāké.ʔ zīl lá táta daākáʔf-uʔ míreʔ ʔaštóx mà-yaʔ ʔéxaʔ míre wàllaʔ ʔaná ta-ʔátá ʔaštá-e xa-b-ay-jóra lāxá líti-uʔ gbéna hézna ʔaštá yālǝpna kəʔ ʔaštá ʕayzá dōqna.ʔ (20) tatāké míre làʔʔ ʔanáʔ bratí ta-xá-nāš là kōwnaʔf kə ʔaštá líte-u ʔexá.ʔ be-čaràʔ na-rahàt xír-uʔ hiye-ó belà.ʔ hiye-ó belà,ʔ ta-daākéʔ míreʔ dāykaʔ ʔát zīlat m-d-ənyexáe ʔqələxʔ lá mírax ʔaná ʔaští mà-ya.ʔ wāleʔ táta bratāké bəqré məníʔ míre ʔát ʔaštóx mà-yaʔʔ míri ʔaná ʔaštá líti ta-ʔátàʔ gbéna ʔašta tāhəna.ʔ (21) míraʔ rōla gyān,ʔ ʔátá g-áy səná didòxʔ kə xirətʔ ʔsrí šənəʔ ʔsrí-u xamšá šənə,ʔ dāx kélox ʔaštá yalpétʔʔ hár-jor xirá-y yālǝpna.ʔ (22) zīl ga-xá tʔká kəʔ karxanà-yela,ʔ parčé ʔexá taršīwa.ʔ zīl ga-dōka,ʔ xaiš wīle míreʔ ʔaná ʔaštá gbéna čúnʔ gbənaʔ zəndəgi tāřəšna-uʔ baxtá gōrna-u ʔexá.ʔ ga-doká ʔlilu-ò-ʔələf-uʔ ʔaštá híwlu baqəʔf-uʔ hiye-òʔ rába pšix-uʔ (23) míre ta-daākéʔ dāykaʔ ʔaná xétʔ mən-qóme-u xāré gbé hézna ʔaštáʔ wa-zəndəgi nōšíʔ ʔədára hòneʔʔ wa-ba-xá zəndəgi māʔéna.ʔ míra ʔtòvʔʔ səl ʔanáʔ rába pašxána ʔát hezét ʔaštá-uʔ báška hélox-əč xá baxtá-č gorát b-əy jorá.ʔ (24) xolāšaʔ zīl ʔaštáʔ baqá xá-yarxa-u tré-yarxe ʔaštá wīle-uʔ dubára xa-bráta xét ʔəlyale-ò.ʔ ʔəlyale-ò,ʔ daākéʔ šərále həjbí,ʔ həjbí bratākéʔ mənťáke tatá-u daākáʔf-u ʔexà.ʔ (25) míru mà kólʔʔ míra ga-xá tʔká xa-ʔaštá kól-uʔ rába broní. ʕayzà-yʔ rába taʕrifəʔ hiwlá-uʔ míru gbé hamyáte xāxəle.ʔ ləbla-uʔ méla bronāké.ʔ (26) ləbla lá táta-u daākáʔf-uʔ xá ʔəšər zīli dokà-uʔ mewá-u širní-u ʔexá kíle mtúlu rešá mēz-uʔ ʔqələun-uʔ bráta-u bronāké mən-lāxle ʔqələun-uʔ míra ʔtòvʔʔ tónan lóxle gbəxin.ʔ (27) xolāšaʔ xíraʔ bāruxtəʔf-uʔ tašmím dšwəqlu xlulá hólí baqəʔf.ʔ xá xlulá rába mojlāl dšwəqile baqáʔf tatāké.ʔ rába xoš-bàxt xír ʔáy broná-kāčəl.ʔ wa-ba-mrá-e nōšəʔf màʔeʔʔ

(17) They became acquainted with him and introduced a girl to him, whom he could perhaps marry and so his life would become better. One of his friends, (somebody) who had (already) become his friend, invited him again and he went there (to his home) and so forth—he (the friend) said ‘There is a girl (here), I shall bring her and you can get to know her, perhaps you can marry one another.’ (18) The girl came and so forth. She saw that, yes, he was a fine boy. They came and went a few times. The girl said ‘You must make your suit with my father and mother.’ He said ‘So be it. I shall bring my mother and I shall make suit.’ (19) His mother went to act as intermediary to ask for the hand of the girl. He then went to her father and mother. He (the father) said ‘What is your work?’ and so forth. He said ‘By God, up until now I have not had any particular job here, but I want to go and learn to work, so that I can hold down a job.’ (20) The father said ‘No! I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job’ and so forth. The unfortunate boy became upset and went back home. He went back home and said to his mother ‘Mother, you went and talked to these people and did not say what my job is. But the father of the girl has asked me saying “What is your job?” I said “Until now I have no job. I want to find work.”’ (21) She said ‘My dear boy, now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job?’ ‘Whatever the situation may be, I shall learn.’ (22) He went to a place that was a factory, where they made material, and so forth. He went there and pleaded saying ‘I need a job, since I want to build a life and get married’ and so forth. They got to know him there and gave him a job. He came back and was very happy. (23) He said to his mother ‘Mother, from tomorrow onwards I have to go to work to manage my own life and to make a livelihood for myself.’ She said ‘Fine. I am very happy if you go to work. Perhaps you will be able to marry a woman in this way.’ (24) In short, he went to work and worked for one or two months, then he became acquainted with another girl. He became acquainted with her and he sent his mother to ask for her hand in marriage, to request the hand of the girl from her father and mother, and so forth. (25) They said ‘What does he do?’ She said ‘He works in a certain place. My son is very good.’ She described him in glowing terms. They said ‘You must bring him for us to see.’ She took him. She brought the boy. (26) She took him to the father and mother. One evening they went there. They laid out on the table fruit, sweets and so forth. They talked. The girl and boy talked together. She (the girl) said ‘Fine, we both love each other.’ (27) In short, she became his girl friend and they (the parents) decided to arrange a wedding for him. The father arranged a very grand wedding for her. The bald boy became very happy. He attained his heart’s desire.

(28) *wa-xá yalá-č xèle^l hár mangól nóšef pərčé litwale.^l míre mà honá?^l
 'áy-əč mangól nóši xirá-y-u 'exà.^l bār-d-o xāràe^l míre 'əlhá rūwà-y^l har-dáx-dax
 'ana-nóši ba-xà t^wká mṭéna^l 'ày-brona-č máṭe^l ba-t^wkà.^l xolàša^l g-áy xèta^l xoš-ḥāl
 xír-u^l zəndəgìyef^l šərù^l wilé.^l ráza 'áy broná 'ày-yela tíma.^l*

(28) He had a son who had no hair just like him. He said 'What shall I do? He has turned out to be like me' and so forth. Then he said 'God is great, just as I attained a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place.' In short, he was happy with the situation and he began to live his life. This is the story of this boy. It has ended.

INFORMANT E (DANNY AVRAHAMI)

An Ode to Our Language

(1) qáme čəkmá šənè^l huláe ‘olamá^l
tošqú ‘əsràlu^l xíri ráwanà^l

(2) míru ta-nòšu^l xét galút màle^l
qeméx-u hezèx^l ba-là lapléx xáre^l

(3) xá-naša m-d-ày-lag^l mən-‘aprá-e ‘Iràn^l
‘óxa m-d-ò-lag^l mən-‘aḥrá-e Temàn^l

(4) xá mən-Rusiyà,^l xá mən-‘Amrikà^l
xá mən-‘Urupà^l xá mən-‘Afrikà^l

(5) xá ‘áqla qāpī^l ‘óxa ba-syamè.^l
xá ba-dāmaqopān^l ‘óxa ba-šərwalè.^l

(6) xá-naša ba-vialòn^l xá ba-dearà^l
xá ba-sáz-u dohòl.^l xá ba-nāqarà^l

(7) xá-naša ba-kaštī^l ba-rešá-e daryà^l
təyaré nten-ò^l ga-pliyáw-e háwà^l

(8) baqyú ba-māšīn^l ba-‘orxá-e ‘ārà^l
baqá kúle našè^l xir-ó ‘ay-tārà^l

(9) ‘axní-č mən-Kursān^l ráwanà xiréx^l
mən-d-áy qafəlá^l xáre là piléx.^l

INFORMANT E (DANNY AVRAHAMI)

An Ode to Our Language

(1) Several years ago, the Jews of the world
bound up their knapsack and went on their way

(2) They said to themselves 'Enough, no more exile!
Let us set off and go, let us not be left behind'

(3) One person from this direction from the dust of Iran
That (other) one from that side from the city of Yemen

(4) One from Russia, one from America
One from Europe, one from Africa

(5) One barefooted, that one with shoes
One with baggy pants, one with trousers

(6) One man with a violin, one with a tambourine
One with a saz⁹² and hand-drum, one with a pipe

(7) One man by ship on the sea,
Airplanes rose up into the air

(8) The remainder of them by car overland
For everybody the door was opened

(9) We also set off from Kurdistan
We were not left behind the convoy

⁹² stringed instrument.

(10) ʾaspáw kræxlan-ò^l bastá ba-bastà^l
 Yerušaláyəm hìyex^l dastá ba-dastà.^l

(11) ta-míru ta-didàn^l tǎrǎwáe xiri-ò^l
 rešá-e mǎšínè^l ta^ʿné ʾsiri-ò^l

(12) hár-či ya-hiyèlan^l dwáqlan ba-ʾilè^l
 mən-tašilokè^l ta-ge pätìlè.^l

(13) lá bæqrán ʾašlàn^l dóka má kolèx^l
 ta-héma ʾaḥrà-u^l reš-ḥaštá gezèx.^l

(14) máṭex ta-lǎxà^l kúlan gaxkanè^l
 jmanán zmìṭiwa^l nuqlé-u mdixanè^l

(15) máṭex ta-lǎxà^l fawrí bərbizex^l
 máe mən-ʾawpāš^l reš-karmá bzìrex^l

(16) xá ta-Yerušalàyəm^l xá ta-Mǎ^ʿǎlòt^l
 xá ʾorxá-e ʾElàt^l xá ta-Roxovòt^l

(17) xá pliyáw biyabàn^l xá-nāš lága màe^l
 yarxá xà kǎrát^l xílan xála dǎe^l

(18) ga-dóka là káexwa^l mən-ḥaštá-e ʾārà^l
 zílex ta-mošāv^l ta-plíx ʾay-tǎrà.^l

(19) ga-dóka ga-belà-u^l rešá-e zəndəgì^l
 ga-lǎxá ga-čār-u^l rabáef ba-saxtì.^l

(20) xá-kǎrat là mirán^l ʾǎxa mò wílán.^l
 héken ʾo-karmàn-u^l héka-y ʾo-belàn?^l

(10) We wrapped up our luggage, bundle by bundle
We came to Jerusalem, group by group

(11) Until they said to us the doors have been opened
On top of cars loads were bound

(12) We held in our hands everything that we could
From cotton spindles to metal pans

(13) We did not at all ask what we would do there
To which town we would go for work

(14) We arrived there, all of us merry
Our pockets were filled with sweets and goodies

(15) We arrived here and immediately we dispersed
We were poured out (like) water from a watering-can on a garden

(16) One to Jerusalem, one to Ma'alot
One on the road to Elat, one to Roḥovot

(17) One in the desert, one man by the water
(Only) once a month did we eat mother's food⁹³

(18) There we did not know about work on the land
We went to a moshav (to work) until the door opened

(19) There (in Iran we were) in a house and had a (good) life⁹⁴
Here (we were) in a tent, most of the time in hardship

(20) We did not say once 'Why have we done this?
Where are our gardens and where is our house?'

⁹³ I.e. the families were separated.

⁹⁴ Literally: on a life.

- (21) šatāwáe wiri^l 'əsrí-u 'arbì.^l
dawràn^l našé xèt^l là káex má kəmri.^l
- (22) čírna ba-šòne^l qáwm-u 'ašnàe^l
dméli 'asàn-ye^l mangól-e xa-kàe^l
- (23) m'úni ga-dawràn^l xáena mà xirá-y^l
réša 'ay-qawmi^l dáxom mà zilá-y^l
- (24) g-ày-lag-u^l g-ò-lag^l kúle bərbizèn.^l
mangól-e xa-jòr^l mən-nóšu rizèn^l
- (25) čírna ba-šòne^l lišána-e nòšan^l
šáyad b-áy-jorà^l ləbí xár ròšan^l
- (26) bəqrí mən-yalàn^l daxóm là xiyá-y^l
gxíki-u mùru^l ba-rešəf diyá-y^l
- (27) ba-šóne mà čerét?^l héma lišanà?^l
máni káe mà-ye^l ga-d-áy zāmanà.^l
- (28) reší dwəqlí^l ba-hár tənú 'ilí^l
dəm'é mən-'eni^l yāwáš bziri^l
- (29) tafsír-e torà^l qrélan ga-kništà^l
dax zila mənāni^l 'áy-dana frištà?^l
- (30) 'āmantá-e tatán-u tatāwalàn^l
là nṯra baqán.^l ḥàyf ke-təwrálan.^l
- (31) čírna ba-šonàf^l zína lá-e pirè^l
'flu ʔərqilu^l dəm'ú 'sirè^l

(21) Twenty and forty years went by
Around us are other people, we do not know what they say

(22) I searched for family and friends
I imagined it to be easy like a game

(23) I looked around to see what had happened,
what had become of my people

(24) They were scattered on this side and that side
as if they were angry with themselves

(25) I searched for our language
Perhaps in this way my heart would become joyful⁹⁵

(26) I asked our children whether they had seen it
They laughed and said he is out of his mind⁹⁶

(27) What are you searching for? Which language?
Who knows what it is at this time

(28) I held my head with both my hands
Tears slowly were shed from my eyes

(29) We read the translation of the Torah in the synagogue
How did this angel (of a language) escape from us?

(30) This heirloom given in trust by our father and forefathers
Was not preserved for us. What a shame that we have broken it

(31) I searched for it and went to the old folk
They wrung their hands with their tears held back⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Literally: bright.

⁹⁶ Literally: He is struck on the head.

⁹⁷ Literally: tied, closed.

(32) 'iléf nəšqàli' 'ó tóqna xwarà!
múre tú lagì' tãhènox čará.¹

(33) dáx famóx zilà' mǝntǝkóx hǝmèta?!
ta'né pǝtìlè' hiyélox nǝtèta?!¹

(34) dúqla 'áy 'orxà' ta-ťuré Kursǝn.¹
pišté-ya ba-t'kà' mǝt-u hǝrasǝn¹

(35) se-lox-ó ba-šonǝf' méla ga-belòx¹
mangól-e torà' nťúra réš 'enòx.¹

(36) xó 'aná là kelí' ta-dóka dèrn-o¹
tanhá 'áyn dawrèš' ga-kují čèrn-o¹

(37) wá 'sirén knišyè' ba-qfól-u zanjìr¹
lǝbí jarħanà' ba-kǝrd-u šǝmšèr¹

(38) xét là čér šǝmǝš' ga-pǝlgá-e lelè.¹
qalé sliħót ga-hár-či belè.¹

(39) madrǝsé 'sirèn' ta-yalé hulǝe¹
ga-ħafšǝf lá 'arqì' ba-šóne xa-kǝe¹

(40) xét hulǝe là gezi' šóne kasǝbi¹
jwanqé là qǝrén' gurané 'ašǝqi.¹

(41) wáxt-e pǝtirè' kyáwa qam-tǝrà¹
'orxèl maždrǝxwa' ba-ta'né zǝrà.¹

(42) lelé reš-šatà' dǝstǝn hitwalé¹
sǝfrá-e yǝrixà-u' xále-u mǝndixǝne¹

(32) I kissed the hand of the old man
He said 'Sit by me, I shall find an solution for you

(33) How did you forget to bring it with you?!
Were you able to take loads of pans?!

(34) Take this road to the mountains Kurdistan.
She (the language) has remained there miserable and disgruntled

(35) Go back after it. Bring it to your home
Like a Torah scroll, keep it on your eyes'

(36) But I cannot return there
And wander around the streets alone like a beggar

(37) Look the synagogues are closed with locks and chains
My heart is wounded with knife and sword

(38) The beadle no longer goes around in the middle of the night
to call to every house '(Come to) penitential prayers!'

(39) The schools are closed for the Jewish children
In its courtyard they do not run after (one another in) a game

(40) The Jews no longer go after business
The young men do not sing songs of love

(41) When Passover came to our home⁹⁸
We sent loads of wheat to the water-mill

(42) There was a story on the eve of New Year
A long cloth (spread with) food and goodies

⁹⁸ Literally: came to the door.

(43) wáxt-e 'ilanèl kyáwa ga-ḥafšàn!
belá-u karmäke! xäriwa rošàn!

(44) 'ó häwá-e Kursân-u! zändəgf-e sadà!
ba-xátər läxà! mändélan xa-lagà!

(45) mən-doká xét 'anà! 'ilà ntel!
lišan! là káena! ta-má wèl wíl!

(46) xá ḥaštá kòna! drága là xirá-y!
šáyad 'ó-č dokà! ba-šonàn čirá-y!

(47) wá lelé tùm-u! šəmšá tqirà!
wá xəšká zil-u! pīla bāurulà!

(48) wá rīšex kūlan! mən-šəndá yärixta!
ləbán rāba gbé! b-áy ḥaštá 'astà!

(49) kómna ta-roxà! läxà hamyaláx!
mangól-e nuqlè! ga-pəmàn daryaláx!

(50) kómna ta-šəmšà! mašxnalax-ò!
'aynahú wardè! mayrqalax-ò!

(51) kómna ta-nəxlà! ba-rešəx nandé!
tozá gäribì! m-rešəx mandé!

(52) kómna ta-kəxwè! 'enà naqríla!
mən-'orxá-e laḥā! brixà hamríla!

(53) kómna ta-serà! zinàt häwaláx!
'aynahú kaldè! jélé malbšälax!

(43) When the festival of Tabernacles came to our courtyard
The house and garden became full of light

(44) That air of Kurdistan and its simple life
We threw aside because of (our life) here

(45) Moreover I removed myself from there⁹⁹
But I do not know why I abandoned my language

(46) I shall do something. It is not too late.
Perhaps also she (my language) has been looking for us

(47) Look the night is over, the sun has (begun to) shine
Look the darkness has gone, the light has come

(48) Look we have all woken from a long sleep
Our heart very much wants (to do) this good work

(49) I shall tell to the wind to bring you (my language) here
And put you like sweets in our mouths

(50) I shall tell the sun to warm you
And make you grow like flowers

(51) I shall tell the rain to fall on your head
And remove the dust of foreign lands from your head

(52) I shall tell the stars to wink at you
And greet you from afar.

(53) I shall tell the moon to give you splendour
And dress you in clothes like brides

⁹⁹ Literally: I lifted my hand from there.

(54) *kómna ta-ʿewàl sāmáx ba-rešáxl*
ga-qərčá-e qeṭàl hāwé ta-poxàx.l

(55) *kménax ta-lāxàl yātát ga-ləbìl*
baqáx qārèna l ʿawáze kurđìl

(56) *kménax ta-lāxàl ba-náz-u ʿəzàt*
baqáx tāršəna xá ṭáqa noṣràt

(57) *là šóqna pešátl ga-ṭuré Kursànl*
yatwát bar-tārànl māt-u hārasànl

(58) *lá šóqna dokàl ba-šonán čeràt*
tára dəyàte-u l našé xèt xəyát

(59) *lá šóqna baxyàt l ba-šóne didànl*
yála bār daākèf l rāšəx ba-šiwànl

(60) *ba-rešá-e ʿilàl kménax belìl*
mən-jəlāx mandèna l tóza gārībìl

(61) *ʿaxní ga-lāxèx l belàn xlipá-y l*
kālām-e nəbìl tāmāmí trišà-y l

(62) *kālúna baqàx l rába ktəbèl*
báqa ʿáy xəṭṭàʿìl hìt xá jwabèl

(63) *xo-káyat nóšax ʿàt l kúle ga-lāxàl*
ʿarqíla-u čerí ba-šóne xa-səpàl

(64) *gbé hár ḥəqéx ga-lāxàl ga-lišaná-e ʿəbrìl*
ʿágar-nam ʿòni l ḥáli lá xərìl

(54) I shall tell the cloud to stand over you
To become a shade for you in the heat of summer

(55) I shall bring you here and you will sit in my heart
I shall sing to you Kurdish songs.

(56) I shall bring you here with indulgence and with honour
I shall make an arch of victory for you

(57) I shall not let you stay in the mountains of Kurdistan
And sit behind our doors miserable and disgruntled

(58) I shall not let you search for us there
(I shall not let you) knock on a door and find other people.

(59) I shall not let you weep (searching) after us
(As) a child walks after his mother wailing

(60) I shall bring you to my home in my arms
I shall clean the dust of far off places from your clothes

(61) We are here. Our home has changed.
The word of the prophet has been completely fulfilled.

(62) I shall write for you many books
For this fault of mine¹⁰⁰ I have an answer

(63) Indeed you yourself know that everybody here
Runs around seeking a crust of bread

(64) Here we must each speak in Hebrew
If not, they do not understand

¹⁰⁰ I.e. the fault of my neglecting you.

(65) *gbé məšilèxin^l ba-lišaná-e ‘əbrì^l*
ta-’álex ’òni^l baqàn má kəmrì^l

(66) *ga-šəndà-yelan^l ’àý. čəkmá šəné^l*
mà kéle hó^l xa-nāš ké gəné?^l

(67) *ħəqéx məntàkax^l mən-səlát ta-lelə^l*
gurané qərèxin^l ga-har-čì belé.^l

(68) *malpéxin ‘ayzà^l yalé-u ġəribè^l*
ta-’əlén məni-yen^l kurdé nəjibè^l

(69) *mašdréx ta-doltà^l xá-nāš mən-nòšan^l*
ta-ħəsāb-e kurdè^l ‘ayzà xár róšan^l

(70) *ta-doltá kəmrèx^l ’axní kúrd zwàn^l*
ħəqéx b-áy lišanà^l mən-dawrá-u dawràn^l

(71) *qáme ké ‘əbrì^l ké hé ba-‘olām^l*
g-áy. ’ára ħəqənwa^l lišaná-e ’ārām^l

(72) *gbé tarší baqàx^l ktáb-u rāsəlè^l*
pešát ta-qyamtà^l ga-ləbé-u xaṭərè^l

(73) *momèna ’aná^l məntàke jəma‘tà^l*
ga-d-áy béla ‘ayzà^l hár g-áy sa‘ātà^l

(74) *lá šóqna parxà^l mən-ləbá-u gyanàn^l*
ta-’alpá šəné xèt^l yātāt ba-lagán^l

(75) *Daryúš rəs miré^l b-áy. čəkmá xətè^l*
baškám lišanán lá-hela qəṭè^l

(76) *malpéxin ‘ayzà^l yalé-u ġəribè^l*
ta-’əlén məni-yen^l kurdé nəjibè^l

(65) We must listen to the Hebrew language
So we know what they are saying to us

(66) We were sleeping these years
What can a man who is asleep do?

(67) We shall talk to you from dawn until night
We shall sing songs in every house.

(68) We shall teach well children and strangers
So that they know who the noble Kurdish (Jews) are

(69) We shall send to the government a man of ours
So that the account of the Kurdish (Jews) will be shown favour¹⁰¹

(70) We shall say to the government we (speak) the Kurdish language
We have been speaking in this language for many generations

(71) Before Hebrew came into the world
In this land they spoke the Aramaic language

(72) They must write for you books and articles
So that you remain for ever¹⁰² in hearts and minds

(73) I swear, together with the community
In this fine house, this very hour

(74) I shall not let you fly from our heart and soul
You shall sit by our side for another thousand years

(75) Daryuš has spoken the truth in these few lines
Perhaps our language will not become extinct

(76) We shall teach well children and strangers
So that they know who the noble Kurdish (Jews) are

¹⁰¹ Literally: It will shine well on the account of the Kurds.

¹⁰² Literally: until the resurrection.

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GLOSSARIES

Abbreviations Used in the Glossaries

I = stem I verb
II = stem II verb
III = stem III verb
Q = quadriliteral verb

A = Arabic
adj. = adjective
adv. = adverb
conj. = conjunction
E = English
f. = feminine
F = French
fs. = feminine singular
H = Hebrew
imper. = imperative
interj. = interjection

intr. = intransitive
invar. = invariable
K = Kurdish
m. = masculine
mod. = non-attributive modifier
ms. = masculine singular
n. = noun
num. = numeral
obj. = object
P = Persian (Farsi)
part. = particle
pl. = plural
pl. tantum = pluralis tantum
prep. = preposition
pron. = pronoun
T = Turkish

GLOSSARY OF VERBS

Verbs are arranged by roots. The 3ms. present, 3ms. preterite, singular imperative and infinitive forms are given for each root.

/ʔ/

ʔby I (ʔābe irrealis/gbe realis, ʔabele, ʔbu, ʔboe) **to want; to love; to need** | *gbén dasgiranì šarbát hámya baqí* I want my betrothed to bring sherbet to me (A:23); *ləbán rāba gbé^l b-áy haštá ‘astà* Our heart very much wants (to do) this good work (E:48). *gbe* used impersonally: *gbé het-ó baqá ‘aħrà* It is necessary that you come back to the town (A:6)

ʔly I (ʔāle irrealis/kāe realis, ʔlile, ʔlu, ʔāloe) **to know, to be acquainted with; to recognize** | *ʔāle bāef^l* so that he may know about it (A:108); *hulāa ba-nājós là kāenwale* They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64). Combined with *-o* when taking a human object: *tatóx kǎnef-ò* I know your father; *lǎxle kāen-ò* They know each other; *kehezál ga-pəlgá našē^l hǎwé ga-pəlgá našē-u^l ʔālenile-ò* so that he could visit people and be among people and they would become acquainted with him (D:5); *našé ʔlilu-ò-ʔəlef^l* The people got to know him (D:16); *xá ʔlile-ò^l xá lá ʔlile-ò^l* One recognized him and another did not recognize him (D:14)

ʔmr I (*hǎmər* irrealis/kmər realis, *mire, mar, ʔǎmore/kmore*) **to say** (§3.14.1.) | *kasábe ʔomde litwalan ga-Kurdəstán^l hamrét xà* We did not have big traders in Kurdistan at all (literally: say one [if you can]) (B:12). With L-suffix: to name: *kəmríwale xostè xluá^l* They called it the ‘request of the wedding’ (A:32); *kmoré kmər^l* He is saying

ʾrq I (ʾārəq, riq, ʾəruq, ʾəroqe) **to run** | ʾəroqé ʾərəq^l He is running; *ma-drāsé ʾsirèn^l ta-yalé hulàe^l ga-ḥafšáf lá ʾarqì^l ba-šóne xa-kàè^l* The schools are closed for the Jewish children. In its courtyard they do not run after (one another in) a game (E:39). With impersonal 3fs. suffix (ʾārəqla, ʾərqa^{le}, ʾəruqla) **to flee** | *ta-ʾāxá míre baqàf^l ʾáy ʾərqàla^l* When he said this to her, she fled (A:22). **III m-rq** (mārəq, mrəqle, mārəq, mārəqe) **to cause to run, to cause to flee** | *xmarāké mən-pliyáw ó daštá lāḥál-o mrəqlu^l* They made the ass run from the field into the distance

ʾrw I (ʾāru, ʾəriw, ʾərowe) **to be destroyed, to collapse** | *beléf ʾəriw^l* His house collapsed. **III m-ʾrw** (māru, mrule, mārú, mārəwe) **to destroy, to ruin; to mix** | ʾaná Baból mārūna^f I shall destroy Babylon (B:77); ʾəlhá belóx là mārúle^l May God not destroy your house

ʾry I (ʾäre, ʾəre, ʾəroe) **to freeze (intr.); to thicken (intr.)** | *zbotí ʾərya^l* My finger froze; *zbotí ʾəroé ʾarya^l* My finger is freezing. **III m-ʾry** (märe, mrele, märe, märe) **to freeze (tr.); to thicken (tr.)**

ʾsq I (ʾäsəq, ʾəsiq, ʾəsuq, ʾəsoqe) **to go up, to ascend** | ʾó pəlkané ʾäsəq^l He is going up the stairs. **III m-ʾsq** (mäsəq, msəqle, mäsəq, mäsəqe) **to cause to ascend**

ʾsr I (ʾäsər, ʾəsre, ʾəsür, ʾəsore) **to bind; to tie; to wring; to close (tr. and intr.)** | *tošqú ʾəsra^{lu}* They tied up their knapsack (E:1); *účlu ʾe-jäläkè^l ʾaná-č ʾasrānanu^l* Trample the clothes and I shall wring them out (C:11); *yāqa ʾsirta* closed collar; *dəmʿú ʾsirè^l* Their tears (were) held back (E:31); *lišanəf ʾsirà-y^l* His tongue is tied; *t^ʿkáne là ʾasríwa^l* They did not close their shops (A:81). Combined with the particle –o: *wardé ʾasri-ò^l* The flowers are closing; *mätíwalu ga-xá tiká parčà^l ʾasriwalu-ò^l* They put them into a piece of cloth and tied them up

ʾwl I (*hol/kol, wile, wul, wala*) **to do, to make; to put; to say, to speak**. (1) **to do, to make** | *mà kolíwa ga-pätirè[?]* What did they do at Passover? (B:14); *kúle maššáe belà kolíwa^l* Everybody made unleavened bread at home (A:67). (2) **to put** | ʾò^a *koléxwale ba-s^ʿkākè^l* We used to put that in the booth (B:78). (3) **to say, to speak** | *bar-xa-müdat-xet daāki híya ba-šoní ʾáxa kòla^l* After a while my mother came after me and says (to me) thus ... (A:27). (4) With –o **to open** | *tārá konəf-ò^l* I am opening the door; ʾəlhá xè^l

tára báqa didán-əč kol-ò God will open a door also for us (D:9);
ləxmăké kolawalə-ò She opened out the bread (dough) (A:66)

^ʔwr I (^ʔor, ^ʔáwir, ^ʔwur, ^ʔwara) **to pass; to cross; to enter** | *xá-t^wká taršiwá* *ké šáh m-txéla d-éa* ^ʔòr^l ^ʔălé ^ʔéa *huləe trəšté-ya* They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that Jews made it (B:83); *ilá ba-^ʔilá* ^ʔəwir^l It passed from hand to hand; *mən-dašyé-u jogé* ^ʔəwirna^l I crossed over fields and streams

^ʔxl I (^ʔăxəl irrealis/*kxəl* realis, *xile, xul, ʔăxole/kxole*) **to eat** (§3.14.1.) | *kxolé kxəl* He is eating; *ləxmá huláa xúl* *báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxəl* Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig (B:65); *mən-ma^ləmulà* *ləxmá kəxlíwa* They earned their livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11); *onyexáe gbé háwà* ^ʔaxl^l They must breathe (literally: eat air). *xəfat* ^ʔxl to worry: ^ʔăt^l *xəfăt la-xúl* Do not worry (D:8). *ba-kār* ^ʔxl to be worthwhile: ^ʔăt *ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kār mayayòx kxól*? What use is this life to you? (A:103); *ba-kár là kxól* It is not worthwhile. III *m-xl* (*măxil, mxile, măxil, măxole*) **to feed** (§3.16.1.).

^ʔzl (i) I (*hezəl* irrealis/*gezəl* realis, *zil, se, zala*) **to go** (§3.18.1.) | *tămám-e duktare kúle zilan* I went to all the doctors (C:1); *xá čəkmá müddətə* *híyen-u zili* They came and went a few times (D:18); *wá xəšká zil-u* *píla bəurulà* Look the darkness has gone, the light has come (E:47); *mən-olám zil* He quitted the world (He died). With *-o* to go back: ^ʔəwál *lelé gezəlwa-ó belà* In the early evening he would go back home (A:101). *mən-bayn* ^ʔzl to pass away, to perish: *onyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zili* Many of them went from the midst (= passed away) due to famine (B:10)

^ʔzl (ii) I (^ʔăzəl, ^ʔəzle, ^ʔəzul, ^ʔăzole) **to knit, to spin (wool); to weave; to plait (hair)** | Sometimes used with *-o* particle: *qalı* ^ʔazli-*o* They weave a carpet; *pərcé bratáf* ^ʔəzlila-*ò* She plaited the hair of her daughter

/‘/

ʔyč I (‘eč, ‘ičle, ‘uč, ‘yača) **to knead (dough); to trample; to massage** | *qamxà* ‘ečwale He kneaded the flour (dough) (B:19); *ba-^ʔaqlé* ‘áy *jələ* ‘ùčlu! Trample the clothes with your feet! (C:11); *xası* ‘ùčle! Massage my back!

/b/

b'ý I (bá'ce, b'ele, bá'oe) **to bleat** | 'arbá b'elà^l The sheep bleated

bhr I (bahər, bhür, bähore) **to shine** | šəmšá bahrà^l The sun is shining. III *m-bhr* (mabhər, məbhəre, mábhər, mabhore) **to enlighten; to brighten (tr.), to shine on** | šəmšá mabhra^l 'ay-belà^l The sun is shining on this house

bl' II (bälə', blə'le, bälə', bälə'e) **to swallow**

bqr I (bäqər, bəqre, bqur, bäqore) **to ask** | Personal complement with *mən*: bəqrox mən-did^l You have asked me (B:1)

brbt Q (barbət, bərbətle tr./bərbit intr., bərbət, barbote) **to wave around** | 'iléf bərbətäl^l He waved his hand around

brbz Q (barbəz, bərbəzle tr./bərbiz intr., bərbəz tr./bərbuz intr., barboze) **to scatter, to disperse** | mətəx ta-läxà^l fawri bərbizex^l We arrived here and immediately dispersed (E:15)

bsm I (bäsəm, bsim, bsum, bäsöme) **to become well** | With the -o particle: bsim-o He recovered. II (bäsəm, bsəmle, bäsəm, bäsöme) **to make well** | 'əlhá bäsəmlöx^l thanks (literally: May God make you well). With the -o particle: bäsəmle-o He will cure him

bšr I (bäšər, bšir, bšur, bäšore) **to diminish** | máe bširi^l The water dropped. III *m-bšr* (mabšər, məbšəre) **to cause to diminish, to reduce**

bwr I (bor, bəwre, bəwore) **to low (cattle)** | tortá borà^l The cow is lowing

bxš II (bäxəš, bxəšle, bāxəš, bāxəše) (P) **to forgive, to pardon** | 'ägár xá-mdi lá mirəwel^l, gbe-bäxšet^l If I have not said something, you must forgive me (B:80); bāxəšli Forgive me, pardon me

bxy I (bäxe, báxe, bāxe, bāxoe) **to weep** | 'ili wli bāxoè^l I began to weep (C:4). III *m-bxy* (mabxe, məbxele, mábxe, mabxoe) **to cause to weep**

bzr I (bäzər, bəzre tr./bzir intr., bzur/bāzər, bāzore) **to shed (tears), to spill; to pour** | baxtí dəm'á bazrà^l My wife is shedding a tear; dəm'é mən-'enì^l yāwāš bziri^l Tears slowly were shed from my eyes (E:28); máe mən-'awpāš^l reš-karmá bzirex^l We were poured out (like) water from a watering-can on a garden (E:15)

bzy I (*bāze, bāze, bāzu, bāzoe*) **to be punctured, to burst (intr.)** | ʾágar *mən-d-áy ləxmá ʾaxlētun,¹ kasāxún bazyà¹* If you eat any of this bread, your stomach will burst (B:23); *šurí bzitè-ya¹* My shirt has a hole in it. II (*bāze, bzele, bāze, bāzoe*) **to make a hole; to bore** | *xá-dana betà¹ bāzèxwala¹* We made a hole in an egg (B:78)

č

čqy I (*čāqe, čqele, čāqe/čāqu, čāqoe*) (K) **to uproot; to dig, to dig out; to pick; to prize off** | ʾilaná čāqè¹ He uproots the tree; *bāšire čāqen* They pick grapes; *txelāf¹ xá-dana mangāl-yela,¹ har-ga-ʾārā čāqyàwalu¹* Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground (A:90); *šarú¹ kolíwa gəlā čāqénwa¹* They began to pick herbs (B:32). With the *-o* particle: *bár ləxmāké təwe,¹ čāqenwale-ò¹* After the bread was baked, they took it off (the sides of the oven)

črp I (*čārəp, črəple, črup, čārope*) (K) **to tear**

črx I (*čārəx, črix, črux, čāroxé*) (K) **to turn, to rotate, to orbit** | ʾolamá *čarxà¹* The world spins round; *será čarxà¹* The moon rotates (around the world)

črz I (*čārəz, čriz, čāroze*) (K) **to be startled, to be shocked**

čym I (*čem, čim, čum, čyama*) **to close (eye) (intr.)** | ʾenéf čimí¹ His eyes closed

čyr I (*čer, čir, čyara/čāroe*) **to go around; to search** | *zəndəgí dāx-ye!¹ dāx čér!¹* How life (is hard)! How it turns out to be! (C:4); *čirna ba-šōne¹ qáwm-u ʾašnàe¹* I searched for family and friends (E:22). With the *-o* particle: *čer-ó ba-dáwr-e nòšəf¹* He is spinning round. III *m-čyr (māčir, mčire, máčir, máčiroe)* **to cause to turn** | ʾalhá ʾasxá *wile¹ čárx mčire¹* God worked (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel (C:5). With the *-o* particle: ʾay-pāré *máčiriwalu-ò¹* (The water) caused the propellers (of the water-mill) to turn (A:59)

/d/

dOy I (*dāe/dāel, dile, du, dāoe*) (K) **to hit; to knock; to put, to place.** (1) **to hit, to knock** | *ma¹lám dile ʾəlí¹* The teacher hit me; *dile ga-xašəf¹* He knocked him on his back; *tārá dāe¹* He is knocking on the door; *xa-dána pút ḥālabí dóqwala ba-ʾiləf-u¹ dāétwa gāaf-u¹* He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum)

(A:99); *geziwa ba-dohól ʿu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-w mähälè*,¹ *däyáwa ʿaláf ta-geziwa be-kaldà* They went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets, (the music) playing for him until they arrived at the house of the bride (A:10). (2) **to put, to place** | *guşáké dinúlan ba-tánurà* We put the balls of dough onto the oven; *gogárd dáenwa ba-zuxalákè* They put a match to the coals (A:90); *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿásábe bar-rešf-u* They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2). (3) Idioms: *bšəlmaná háq litwale ʿíla dáe bàef* A Muslim was not allowed to touch it (B:16); *tāqalè dāyà* She is knitting (literally: putting stitches); *ʿená díle ʿaláf* He winked at her; *ba-rešef diyá-y* He is queer in the head (E:26); *ʿát ba-rešòx diyá-y?* Are you mad?!

dʿy I (*dāʿe, dʿele, dāʿe, dāʿoe*) **to pray** | *tatawalàn dʿèlu bəqata-u lelé laqá naṭranà* Our ancestors prayed morning and night to (God their) Guardian

dbḥ I (*dābəḥ, dbəḥle, dbuḥ, dāboḥe*) **to slaughter** | Regularly with the –o particle: *ga-d-ó-tʿka ya-toryú ʿarbú ʿonyexáe dabḥi-ò*,¹ *gbéwa hezəlwa ga-dóka nóšef dābəḥwalu-ò*.¹ In that place where they slaughtered their cows and sheep, he had to go there and slaughter them himself (A:73)

dłp I (*dāláp, dlip, dlup, dālope*) **to leak** | *mən-qqá máe dālope dalpì* Water is leaking from the water pot; *loʿá dālope kól* The room is leaking (water from the roof)

dmy I (*dāme, dmeli, dme, dāmoe*) **to estimate, to imagine, to think** | *ʿāxá dāména təmal-yè* I imagine it thus (that) it is yesterday (= I remember it as if it were yesterday) (B:63); *ʿaná dméli máe drèlu rēša nurá* I thought that they poured water on the fire (C:2)

dry I (*dāre, drele, dāre, dāroe*) **to put; to pour. (1) to put (solid substance into sth.)** | *pułé drélu ga-jmandòx!* Put the money into your pocket! *zoxál dārénwa gəaf* They put coals in it (the warming chair) (A:90); *pəšlé yāruqé dārénwa gəaf* They put green onions in it (B:41). (2) **to put (non-solid substance onto sth.)** | *šākár dārénwa rešef-u* They put sugar on it (B:41); *šišmé dārénwalu bar-xá qalì* They poured the sesame over a carpet (B:27); *ṭiná dārénwa rešef-u* They put mud on it (B:55); *dārénwale ba-dáwr-e ʿé səfrà* They put it (the herb) around the cloth (B:32). (3) **to pour (liquid)** | *máe dārénwa ba-rešù* They poured the water over them

(A:37). With the *-o* particle: *ʔágar ʔay-mastá därenaf-ó tʷká nošáfl nájə̀s xǎrdʷ* If I pour this yoghurt back into its own place (i.e. back in the same container), it will become unclean (A:80). (4) Idioms: *šalom dry* to greet | *šalòm drélu-ʔələf-uʷ* They greeted him (D:8), *šalóm là dǎrénwa lǎxle* They did not greet one another (B:46). *jiqe dry* to shout. *maštorye dry* to curse | *ta-gǎnawé maštoryè dréluʷ* They cursed the thieves

dwq I (*doq, dwəqle* tr./*dwiq* intr., *duq, dwaqa*) **to hold, to catch; to acquire, to keep; to celebrate; to bite; to apply, to put; to close, to block, to be blocked.** (1) **to hold, to catch, to acquire, to keep** | *xa-dána pút həlabí dóqwala ba-ʔiləf-uʷ dǎélwa gəaf-uʷ* He would hold a metal can in his hand and beat it (like a drum) (A:99); *ʔay-bšəlmanèʷ ke-xálwa zǎbni ta-didànʷ ʔay-xalwàʷ mən-d-ó tortàʷ yá mən-d-ó ʔərbá dəwqà-yʷ ga-xa-pǎtīlǎ dəwqá-yʷ ké pǎtīlǎké munkán-ye pəsrá bəšla-hǎwélú gəəfʷ* Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat (A:64); *ga-káe dwiqa-yʷ* He has been caught in the game (of hide and seek). (2) **to celebrate** | *ʔonyexáe ya-ga-golà-yenʷ yáni xáraj m-ʔIsráyel-yen trè lelé doqīlǎʷ* Those who are in the exile, that is outside of Israel, celebrate it (Passover) for two nights (A:62); *tšʷa ba-ʔÁbʷ hulaé rǎba yǎqurtá doqīwalaʷ* The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly (B:44). (3) **to bite** | *kalbí dwəqle ʔələfʷ* My dog bit him. (4) **to apply, to put** | *hǎnà doqīwa ba-rešʷ* They put henna on themselves (A:38). (5) **to close, to block, to be blocked** | *xá-dana pardá doqīwa-uʷ* They would draw a curtain (A:47); *ʔágár našoqtà la-hǎwǎtʷ bǎlotǎx doqáʷ* If you do not give me a kiss, may your throat be blocked. (6) Idioms: *ʔənsé-u guréʷ hárkas hewalèʷ ga-belá yǎtūwaʷ tamisì dóqwaʷ* Women and men, everybody who could, would stay in the house and do cleaning (A:57); *beláké gbé tǎmám tamíz holīleʷ gard-u-xakéf doqīleʷ* They had to make the house really clean and remove its dust (A:57); *šalmè doqáwaʷ* She was shy (A4); *xánči nōšu doqīwalaʷ* They would be rather reluctant (to give their permission) (A:31); *ʔəqrá ʔəhtǎram-e lǎxle doqīwaʷ* They had such respect for one another (A:45); *ʔéa ʔorxéf dəwqàleʷ* He set off (C:8); *gǎz dwq* to bite; *ʔila dwaqa* the joining of hands (part of marriage ceremony) (A:34); *rešá pǎloe-léf xabrú là dwəqʷ* They did not agree regarding its division (amongst themselves); *tašmim dwq* to decide; *tašmím dwəqʷlu xlulá*

hóli baqèf^l They decided to arrange a wedding for him (D:27).
 With the particle *-o*: **to obtain, to acquire; to take off** | *gbéwa*
xá-ʿada mən-bé xətnà^l *ḥána doqi-ð*^l A group of people from the
 groom's family had to obtain henna (A:40); *gbéwa ba-ʿilà ʿo-toqú*
doqiwalé-o^l They had take away their husks by hand (B:27)

dyq I (*deq, diqle, duq, dyaqa/dāqoe*) **to crush, to beat, to shatter, to injure** | *ʿilī diqtè-ya*^l My hand is injured

/f/

fhm I (*fāhəm, fhəmle, fhum, fāhome*) (P < A) **to understand**. III
 (*mafhəm, mafhəmle, máfhəm, mafhome*) **to make understand**

frmn Q (*farmən, fərməne, fārmən, farmone*) (P) **to order; to give (po-
 lite)** | *tāwājðh farmnét?*^l Are you paying attention? (B:65)

ftr I (*fāṭər, fəṭre, fṭur, fāṭore*) (P < A) **to break a fast** | *šomá lā faṭriwa*^l
 They did not break the fast (B:53); *wáxt-e šomá kipúr fəṭran-ð*,^l
maʿlám kéwa belà^l When we had broken the fast of the Atonement,
 a rabbi would come to the house (B:76)

/g/

gby II (*gābe, gbele, gābe, gāboe*) **to sort, to clean (rice by removing
 stones and impurities)** | *zārāké hāmènwale-o*^l *ga-béla dána dána*
gābènwale^l (It was necessary for them) to bring bring the wheat
 back and sort it grain by grain in the house (A:58)

glgl Q (*galgəl, gəlgəle, gālgəl, galgole*) (H?) **to stir** | *galglíwale ga-pliyáw*
māšxá nõšef^l They would stir it round in its own oil (A:84)

gndr Q (*gandər, gəndəre* tr./*gəndir* intr., *gəndur/gándər, gandore*) **to roll
 (tr. and intr.)** | *kepāké gəndira*^l The stone rolled; *kepāké gandərnaf*
 I am rolling the stone

gnw I (*gānu, gnule, gnu, gānowe*) **to steal, to rob**

gny I (*gāne, gāne, gāne, gānoe*) **to sleep** | *mà kéle hóli xa-náš ké gənè?*^l
 What can a man who is asleep do? (E:66)

grdq Q (*gardəq, gərdəqle, gárdəq, gardoqe*) **to gather** | *ʿilanè gardəqwa-u*^l
kmèwalu^l *ga-ʿaḥrá zābənwalu*^l He used to gather (branches from)
 trees, bring them back and sell them in the town (A:98)

grgm Q (*gargəm, gərgim, gargome*) **to thunder** | 'ewa *gargəm* There is thunder (literally: the cloud is thundering)

grp II (*gärəp, grəple, gārəp, gärope*) **to sweep, to shovel (snow off roof)** | *talgāké gərpále ba-parò*¹ He swept away the snow with a snow shovel

grš I (*gărăš, grəšle, gruš, gäroše*) **to pull; to drag; to take for oneself; to suffer** | *rəzza gruš!* Take some rice! (said by host to a guest at a meal table); *zāhamta grš* to suffer difficulty; to take trouble: *zahamta la gruš* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *mārəmta la gruš* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *kpinula grəšli* I am hungry; *nāqaši grš* to draw; *ṭul grš* to last: *ta-sá'at 'əsrá-u pəlgè*¹ *xesár ṭúl garšāwa kništá*¹ The synagogue (service) lasted until half past ten or eleven (B:72)

gry II (*gäre, grele, gäre, gäroe*) **to shave** | *təqnox gärela!* Shave off your beard!

gwr I (*gor, gəwre, gur, gwara*) **to marry; to make marry** | *tatí baxtá gəwrá-y!* My father has married; *ga-dokà táte-u daðkè*¹ *bì-zo!* 'əntəxāb *kolíwa*¹ *māni*¹ *gorí ta-broni!* There the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

gxx I (*gāxək, gxik, gxuk, gāxoke*) **to laugh** | Often combined with 3fs. pronominal element: *gəxkale* He laughed; *gəxkále gā!* He laughed at me; *guxkla!* Laugh! III *m-gxx* (*magxək, məgxək, mágxək, magxoke*) **to make laugh** | 'aná *magxəknox*¹ I shall make you laugh

gyp I (*gep, gip, gəpoe*) **to swell, to boil over** | *yaxní gèp*¹ The soup is boiling over; *daryá gepà*¹ The sea is swelling up

/h/

hlhl Q (*halhəla* 3fs., *həlhəla* 3fs., *hálhəl, halhole*) **to ululate (women)**

hmy I (*hāme* irrealis/*kme* realis, (*h*)*mele, me, hāmo*) **to bring** | *susyáké mən-sarbāzخانە kméwale qam-tārà*¹ He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A16); *má šəmí mèlox?*¹ How is it that you remembered me? With the -o particle: *gbéwa hezíwa zārā šaqli*¹ *zārāké hāmènwale-o*¹ They had to go and buy wheat and bring the wheat back (A:58)

hwl I (*hāwəl* irrealis/*kwəl* realis, *hiwle*, *hol*, *hāwoe*) **to give** | *ba-ʿijara hwl* to rent out, to let; *ba-kra hwl* to rent out, to let; *samar hwl* to produce fruit; *kəxwé bāurulā kwī* The stars emit light (= shine); *taʿrif hwl* to describe, to characterise: *rāba taʿrifēf hiwlā-u* She described him in glowing terms (D:25); *hwl taḥwil* to deliver: *kwālwale taḥwīl-e nanawakār* He handed it over to the baker (B:20). With the -o particle: **to give out, to distribute** | *gbēwa ... širni hāwi-ō* They had to ... distribute sweets (A:32)

hwy I (*hāwe* irrealis/*kwe* realis, *hāwoe*) **to be** (§3.18.7.) | *ʿalhā hāwé mənòx* God be with you; *ʿelóx hawyá brixta* May your festival be blessed (B:50)

hyy I (*he* irrealis/*ke* realis, *hīye*, *hal*, *hyaa*, *hāoe*) **to come** | *ʿāyané ʿāxonī hīye* Look my brother has come; *xā* bronā *hīye ba-ʿolām* *kāčāl-yele* A boy came into the world who was bald; *bar-xa-mūdāt-xet daāki hīya ba-šonī* After a while my mother came after me (A:27); *kāxātā hīya baqī* I have received a letter; *hīyet ba-ṭotā*, *ṭotā hīyet* You are welcome; *šoltā hīya baqī* I coughed (literally: A cough came to me); *maqlōbtī kiyā* I feel like vomiting (literally: My vomiting is coming); *boʿinī kiyā* I want to vomit; *jəgrī ké mənēf* I am angry with him, I detest him. Used to express encouragement: *hālox se-ō* Come on go back (C:11). With the -o particle: **to come back**: *hiye-ō* He came back. With L-suffix: **to be able** | *kéli hēna* I can come; *lā hīyeli gānēna* I could not sleep; *ʿāxni nōšan lā ke-walān* *xalwāké hāmēxile* We could not fetch milk ourselves (A:63)

/ḥ/

ḥnq I (*ḥānəq*, *ḥāniq*, *ḥnuq*, *ḥānoqe*) **to be asphyxiated; to drown** | *ga-māe ḥəniq* He drowned in water. III *m-ḥnq* (*maḥnəq*, *məḥnəqle*, *māḥnəq*, *maḥnoqe*) **to asphyxiate, to throttle** | *maḥnəqnāwa-lef* I could have throttled him!

ḥqy I (*ḥāqe*, *ḥqele*, *ḥāqe*, *ḥāqoe*) (K < A) **to speak; to recount, to relate** | *mən-bāruxf ḥqēl* I spoke with my friend; *ḥāqéx b-āy lišanā* *mən-dawrā-u dawran* We have been speaking in this language for many generations (E:70); *tatī yātūwa* *ʿalhā mānixā* *dāstān ḥāqéwa baqān* My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

ḥsl I (*ḥāsəl, ḥəsle, ḥsul, ḥāsole*) **to earn, to acquire** | *ʿay-šatá ʿalpá šéqel biš-bašór ḥásli ta-šəṭqàl*! This year I earned 1,000 shekels less than last year; *puḷé bi-zòda ḥaslét*! You will make a profit (literally: more money)

/j/

jgr (i) I (*jǎgər, jǎgir, jǎgore*) (K) **to become angry**

jgr (ii) I (*jǎgər, jǎgir, jǎgore*) **to clear (liquid)** | *máe jgiri*! The water cleared (after the dirt settled on the bottom of the vessel)

jhy I (*jǎhe, jǎhe, jǎhoe*) **to become tired**

jlx I (*jǎlax, jlǎxle, jlux, jǎloxe*) (K) **to scratch** | *ʿilí jǎlxàle*! He scratched my hand

jmz I (*jǎmǎz, jmiz, jǎmoze*) (K < A) **to become cold** | With the -o particle: *máe jmizi-ò*! The water became cold

jnw I (*jǎnu, jnule, jnu, jǎnowe*) **to snatch away; to kidnap, to elope (with a woman)** | *baxtǎké jənwàle*! He snatched away the woman

jrḥ I (*jǎrəḥ, jrǎhle, jruḥ, jǎroḥe*) (P < A) **to wound**

/k/

klw I (*kǎlu, klule, klu, kǎlowe*) **to write** | *kǎlúwala ba-xát-e nõšef*! He wrote it with his own hand (A:48). III *m-klw* (*maklu, mǎklule, máklu, maklowe*) **to cause to write**

kpn I (*kǎpən, kpín, kǎpone*) **to become hungry**. III *m-kpn* (*makpən, mǎkpəne, mákpən, makpone*) **to make hungry**

krx I (*kǎrəx, krǎxle, krux, kǎrox*) **to wrap, to wrap up** | With the -o particle: *ʿaspáw krǎxlan-ò*! We wrapped up our belongings (E:10); *bǎsǎké kǎrəxnaf-ò*! I shall wrap up the parcel; *jǎlú karxi-ó ga-kǎxətàl*! They are wrapping their clothes in paper; *xiwá karx-ó ba-ʿilànàl*! The snake is wrapping itself around the tree

kry I (*kǎre, kǎre, kǎroe*) **to become short**. III *m-kry* (*makre, mǎkrele, mákre, makroe*) **to make short**

ksy II (*kǎse, ksele, kǎse, kǎsoe*) **to cover**

kwš I (*koš, kwiš, kuš, kwaša*) to descend, to come down. III *m-kwš* (*măkuš, mkušle, măkuš, măkoše*) to cause to come down

kyp I (*kep, kip, kup, kyapa/kăpoe*) to bow, to bend over (intr.). III *m-kyp* (*măkip, mkiple, măkip, măkipoe*) to bend (tr.); to bend over (tr.) | *xaşéf mkiple*¹ He bent his back. With –o particle: *măkiple-ò*¹ He bends him over

/l/

lbl II (*lăbəl, ləble, lăbəl, lăbole*) to take, to take away | *beé lăblu ta-šwawàn*¹ Take the eggs to our neighbours; *mašinăké lbəltè-ya*¹ He has taken the car; *sandaliăké ləblăle waryà*¹ He took the chair outside. With the –o particle: *yalé didí ləblile-ó baqá madrăsa*¹ He took my children to the school

lpl I (*lăpəl, pīl, pul, lăpole*) to fall | *xa-başór pūl pīl ga-³ilū*¹ A little money fell into their hands (B:56); *našé laplí ga-zdelà*¹ The people are afraid; *dohól ³u-zorná lapláwa qăme*¹ The drum and pipe went in front (A:10). *lpl qam-/bar-/ba-šon-* to follow before/after: *'ay-našèl xá-³ada pīle m-qămaf¹ xá-³ada pīle m-bàraf¹ ba-dohól-u zorná lablíwala be-xətnà*¹ The people took her to the house of the groom with the drum and pipe, some in front of her and some behind (A:46); *xa-năfar-əč mangál nokàr¹ xa-sarbàz¹ lăpəlwa ba-šonéf rēša susí xèt*¹ Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse (A:16)

lwly Q (*lole, lolele, lóle, lălole*) to beseech, to entreat (§3.18.11.) | With the –o particle: *lā-³əlhá lole-ó bronà háwle*¹ He is beseeching God to give him a son; *tatí băruxăwaléf lolyen-ó pulè hawīle*¹ My father has beseeched his friends to give him money

lwš I (*loš, lwəšle, luš, lwaša*) to dress | *jəlí ləwšīli*¹ I got dressed (literally: I dressed my clothes); *jəlóx lūšlu*¹ Get dressed! III *m-lbš* (*malbəš, məlbəšle, málbəš, malboše*) to dress (tr.)

lys I (*les, lisle, lus, lyasa/lăsoe*) to chew

/m/

m-³by III (*măbe, mbele, măbe, măboe*) to inflate (tr. and intr.), to swell | *tatí măbè*¹ My father is swelling (with anger); *tatí mabyá-y ba-tizàng*¹ My father has blown into the balloon

m'y I (*mǎ'e*, *m'ele*, *mǎ'oe*) **to bleat (goat)** | 'əzá ma'yà! The goat is bleating

mhr I (*māhər*, *māhre*, *mhur*, *māhore*) **to dare** | *lā-māhre šāre bāqa Kurdəstān*,¹ *bāqa Hamān*! He did not dare send (him) to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

mhy I (*māhe*, *mhele*, *māhe*, *māhoe*) **to churn**

mhy II (*māhe*, *mhele* tr./*māhe* intr., *māhe*, *māhoe*) **to erase; to be erased** | *šəmēf māhè*! May his name be erased!

m-krz III (*makrəz*, *məkrəzle*, *mákrəz*, *makroze*) **to crow (cock)** | *kālšəšər məkrəzle*! The cock crowed

m-lq → *yql*

m-ltx III (*maltəx*, *məltəxle*, *máltəx*, *maltoxe*) **to stick to (tr.)** | *lešá maltəxwale rēš tānurà*! They stuck the dough onto (the sides of) the oven

mly I (*māle*, *mále*, *māloe*) **to be enough** | *mālè*! That is enough! *mālèli*! It is enough for me! 'ənyexáe 'əqrá šorèr-yelu! *ta-'əlhà-hāmər mālè*! They were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said 'That is enough!' (A:77); *xét galút mālè*! Enough, no more, with exile! (E:2)

m-nyx III (*mānix*, *mnixle*, *mānix*, *mānoxle*) **to cause to rest** | 'əlha *mānixle* May God grant him rest: 'əlhá *mānixle* 'Awlé *sāqəzi nòšəf hām 'əčwale*! *hām dāewale ba-tānurà*! 'Awle from *Sāqəz*, may God give him rest, would himself both knead it and also put it into the oven (B:21); *tatí yātùwa*! 'əlhá *mānixà*! *dāstān həqəwa baqàn*! My father, may God grant him rest (literally: God [be] granting rest), would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

m-qrx Q (*maqrəx*, *məqrəxle*, *máqrəx*, *maqroxle*) **to whiten; to cover vessels used for Passover with a protective white coating**

mrt I (*mārət*, *mərət*, *mārət*, *mərət*) **to fart** | *mərət*! He farted (with unspecified 3fs. pronominal object); *mārət ba-qorá tatəf*! He farts on the grave of his father (= He does not show respect for his father)

mry I (*māre*, 3fs. *māra*, *māre*, *māroe*) **to ache** | *reší mārèli*! I have a headache; *kasí māràli*! I have a stomach-ache; 'enú *mórya ba-žān*! I had a pain in my eye

m-ryx III (*mărix, mrixle, mărix, mărixoe*) **to smell**

m-rzn III (*marzən, mərzəne, mārzən, marzone*) **to decorate** | With the –o particle: *ʿay-susí qašáng marzənwale-ò*^l He decorated the horse beautifully (A:43)

m-skr III (*maskər, maskəre* tr./*məskir* intr., *maskər, maskore*) **to lose; to become lost** | *məskirna*^l I am lost; *ʿorxá məskrāli*^l I have lost the way

m-spy III (*maspe, məspele, məspe, maspoe*) **to deliver; to send to** | *məspəwale l-farmandé laškār^l mürwale^l huláe ga-lăxá gbe-rahāt hăwén^l* He sent to the army commander and said ‘The Jews here must be at ease’ (B:85)

m-sry III (*masre, məsre, masroe*) **to stink; to go off (food)** | *ʿo-xalá məsryà-y^l* The food has gone off

mṣṭwr Q (*maṣṭor, məṣṭore, máṣṭor, maṣṭore*) **to curse** (§3.18.12.)

m-ṣyl III (*măṣil, mṣile, măṣil, măṣiloe*) **to listen (l- to)** | *ʿaná mṣili ʿələḥ^l* I listened to him

mšlm Q (*mašləm, məšlim, məšləm, mašlome*) **to become a Muslim**

m-tw → *ytw*

mṭy I (*măṭe, măṭe, măṭe, măṭoe*) **to arrive at; to attain** | *ba-mrā-e nōšef məṭe^l* He attained his heart’s desire (D:27)

mwm̄y Q (*mome, momele, móme, māmoe*) **to swear**

m-xwy III (*maxwe, məxwele* tr./*máxwe* intr., *máxwe, maxwoe*) **to show, to cause to be seen; to show up (intr.), to appear, to be seen** | *maxwénaf ʿəlōx* I shall show it to you (B:53); *maxwíwala našé xét-əč ke-ga-dokèn^l* They would show it to other people who were there (A:50); *broní tre-hafté qam-d-éa ga-xiyabán məxwe^l* My son was seen in the street two weeks ago

mxy I (*măxe, mxele, măxe, măxoe*) **to play (music), to blow (a horn)** | *qarwá-e yomà^l šofār məxénwa baqán^l* Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

myl I (*mel, mil, mul, myala/mălo*) **to die**

m-ʿyn III (*măʿin, mʿine, măʿin, măʿinoe*) **to look** | *ga-televizyón mʿinwale^l* He had watched the television (C:9); *mʿini ga-dawràn^l* I looked

around us (E:23). Used to attract attention to grounds of following argument or question: *mǎ'in^l 'aná^l da'wát-e didǎxún wílí kέ hètun^l belí memaní wílí baqǎxún.^l 'axtú tǎmà didí-u daǎkí da'wát lá kolétun?^l* Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother? (D:8). With the –o particle: *mǎ'in-ò^l* Look here! *Xǎnǎká-č mǎn-panjǎrǎké m'ine-ò^l* Xǎnǎka looked out of the window (A:21)

mɣ I (*meɣ, miɣle, muɣ, myaɣa/mǎɣoe*) **to suck**

m-ždr III (*maždər, mǎždəre, máždər, maždore*) **to send** | 'orxèl *maždrǎxwa^l ba-ta'né zǎrà^l* We sent loads of wheat to the water-mill (E:41). With the –o particle: *tura^l qalı^l mǎždər-ò^l* The mountain echoed my voice

m-zr III (*mǎzər, mǎzre, mázər, mǎzore*) **to close** | *tǎrǎké mǎzre^l* Close the door! 'aná *tǎrǎké mǎzərnef^l* I am closing the door

/n/

ndy III (*m-ndy* (*mande, mǎnde, mánde, mandoe*) **to throw; to throw down; to put down; to demolish; to postpone; to count** | *kepá mandèna^l* I throw a stone; *qalıyé mandéxwalu rešá 'ǎrà^l* We would spread out carpets on the floor (A:56); *mandénwalu réša sǎj^l* They put them down on a griddle (B:40); *belá mandèlu^l* They demolished the house; 'ǎgár šomá šǎhyón lǎpǎl yomá šǎbàt^l lá doqèxile.^l *mandéxile yomá xšabà.^l* If the fast of Zion (9th of Ab) falls on a Sabbath, we do not keep it. We postpone it to the Sunday. (B:73)

ngz I (*nǎgəz, ngəzle, nguz, nǎgoze*) **to bite**

nhr I (*nǎhər, nəhre, nǎhore*) **to burn (fire)**

ndy Q (*nande, nǎnde, nándu, nandoe*) **to jump, to jump up; to jig, to dance** | *naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u^l* They danced and jigged (A:35); *nəxlá nandè^l* The rain is dancing (on the ground). cf. *prx* to jump across, to jump over

nnty Q (*nante, nǎnte, nánte, nantoe*) **to rise** | *təná nantyà^l* Smoke is rising; *nurá nantè^l* The fire is rising up

npɣ II (*nǎpəɣ, npəɣle, nǎpəɣ, nǎpoɣe*) **to shake, to shake off** | *qalıyé napɣì^l* They shake carpets (A:57)

nql II (*nāqəl, nəqlə, nāqəl, nāqole*) to extract ritually unclean parts of an animal (in the preparation of kosher meat)

nql I (*nāqəl, nqil, nqul, nāqole*) to dance (spinning) | cf. *nndy* to dance by jiggling: *naqlíwa-u nandènwa-u*! They danced and jiggled (A:35).
III *m-nql* (*manqəl, mənqəle, mánqəl, manqole*) to cause to dance

nqr I (*nāqər, nəqre, nqur, nāqore*): *ʿena nqr* to wink

nqs I (*nāqəs, nqis* intr./*nqəsle* tr., *nqus, nāqose*) to prick | *xmatá nqísa ga-ʿilí*! The needle pricked my hand; *hangǎké nqósla ʿəlí*! The bee stung me

nqy I (*nāqe, nqele, náqe, nāqoe*) to aim and throw | *kepá nqéli ba-rešəf*! I aimed (and threw) a stone at his head

nšq I (*nāšəq, nšəqle, nšuq, nāšoqe*) to kiss

nty (i) I (*nāte, nāte* intr./*ntéle* tr., *ntu, nātoe*) to rise; to take; to take away. (1) to rise | *təná natyà*! Smoke is rising; *nurá nātè*! The fire is rising up. With the *-o* particle: *ṭəyaré nten-ò*! *ga-plyáw-e háwà*! Airplanes rose up into the air (E:7). (2) to raise; to take, to take away (+ *-o*); to put aside, to preserve | *ʿáks nātéwa* He would take photographs (A:29); *lǎčǎgá ba-rešá dasgiraní nātènef-o*! (that) I should take away the veil from the head of my betrothed (A:25); *nātènwale*! *ga-ʿká qǎrirá mátiwale*! They put it aside and placed it in a cool place (A:83). III *m-nty* (*mante, mǎntele, mǎntu, mantoe*) to raise; to take away | *qaléf mǎntèle*! He raised his voice

nty (ii) III *m-nty* (*mante, mǎntele, mantoe*) to grant, to permit (God) | *ʿəlhá manté pešét ta-ʿəmá-u ʿəsri šəné*! May God grant that you live for 120 years!

nṭr I (*nāṭər, nəṭre, nṭur, nāṭore*) to preserve, to keep | *xá-əda xèt*! *pəsrá ʿála-ḥǎdá ntəwálu*! *naṭrǎwale*! *kolíwale kǎbǎb*! Others who had put meat aside and preserved it made it into kebabs (B:35)

nwx I (*nox, nwǎxle, nux, nwaxa*) to bark

nxl I (*nǎxəl, nxlil, nxul, nǎxole*) to be sieved, to be sifted; to fall from a sieve; to rain; to sieve (tr.) | *zǎrǎké nǎxəl mǎn-ʿərbalà*! The wheat is falling from the sieve; *nǎxlá nǎxəl*! It is raining; *ʿərbalá zǎrǎké nǎxlà*! The sieve sieves the wheat

/p/

- phmr* Q (*pahmər, pəhmür, pahmore*) **to be surprised; to be astonished**
- phr* I (*pāhər, pəhre, phur, pāhore*) **to yawn**. III *m-phr* (*maphər, məpháre, máphər, maphore*) **to cause to yawn**
- pl̥t* I (*pālət, plit̥, pluṭ, pālote*) **to go out**. II *pl̥t* (*pālət, pləṭle, pālət, pālote*) **to cause to go out, to take out**
- plx* I (*pālax, pləxle* tr./*plix* intr., *plux, pāloxe*) **to open (tr. and intr.)** | *ta-pl̥x* 'ay-tār̥l̥ until the door opened (E:18). 'To open' is normally expressed by *xØr-o*
- ply* II (*pāle, plele, pāle, pāloe*) **to divide; to share** | *rešá pāloe-léf xabrú là dwáqlu!* They did not agree regarding its division (amongst themselves). With the *-o* particle: *puḷé pālelu-ò!* He distributes the money
- pqy* I (*páqe, páqe, páqe, pāqoe*) **to burst (intr.), to explode (intr.)**. II *pqy* (*páqe, pqele, páqe, pāqoe*) **to burst (tr.), to explode (tr.)**
- prčk* Q (*parčək, pərčəkle* tr./*pərčik* intr., *párčək, parčoke*) (K) **to crumble** | *baxtı laxmá parčkàle!* My wife is crumbling the bread; *laxmá pərčik!* The bread crumbled
- prh̥z* Q (*parh̥z, pərh̥zle, párh̥z, parhoze*) (K) **to protect; to preserve** | 'əlhá *parh̥z* 'áy *Yəsrəyəlàn!* May God protect this Israel of ours (C:14)
- prq* I (*pārəq, priq, prūq, pāroqe*) **to finish** | *pr̥qna mən-ħəštāké ya-rābi škūr!* I have finished the job, thank God! III *m-prq* (*maprəq, məprəqle, máprəq, maproqe*) **to save**
- prtx* Q (*partəx, pərtəxle* tr./*pərtix* intr., *pártəx, partoxe*) **to shatter**
- prx* I (*pārəx, prix, prux, pāroxē*) **to fly; to jump over, to jump across; to cross** | *garmá pr̥x ga-bāloti!* A bone got (stuck) in my throat
- ps̥h* II (*pāsəḥ, psəhle, pāsəḥ, pāsoḥe*) **to perform the Passover ceremony** | *pəshá pash̥iwa!* They performed the Passover ceremony (A:61)
- psn* II (*pāsən, pəsne, pāsən, pāsone*) **to choose** | *lāxle pasn̥!* They (the bride and groom) choose one another (A:1)
- psx* I (*pāšəx, pāšix, pšux, pāsoxe*) **to rejoice**

pšr I (*pāšar, pāšre, pāšore*) **to melt (intr.)** | With the *-o* particle: *yáx pašr-ò*¹ The ice will melt away. II (*pāšar, pāšre, pāšar, pāšore*) **to melt (tr.), to smelt** | With the *-o* particle: *pāšre-o*¹ Melt it!; *zargār rába hitwalán*,¹ *zargār*,¹ *'onyexáe ya-dewà*¹ *pašri-ò*,¹ *déwa taršì*¹ We had many goldsmiths—goldsmiths, people who would smelt gold and make gold (A:69). III *m-pšr* (*mapšar, mapšare, mapšar, mapšore*) **to melt (tr.)**

pšy I (*pāše, pšele, pāše, pāšoe*) **to fart (without noise)**

ptl II (*pātəl, pətle, pātəl, pātole*) **to spin round (tr.)** | *'amrá patlíle ba-tāšì*¹ They spin the wool with a spindle

pyš I (*peš, piš, puš, pyaša/pāšoe*) **to remain; to be alive** | *'agá Ben-Sasón pišà-y?*¹ Is Agha Ben-Sason alive? (B:63); *'o-waxtára Xanāká pišwa*¹ At that time Xanāka was alive (A:15)

pyx I (*pex, pix, pyaxa/pāxoe*) **to cool (intr.)** | With the *-o* particle: *'ārā pex-ò*¹ The ground cools down. III *m-pyx* (*māpix, mpixle, mápix, mápoxe*) **to cool (tr.)**

pžgn Q (*pažgán, pəžgón tr./pəžgín intr., pázgən, pažgone*) **to scatter** | *maé pažgəna*¹ I shall scatter water

/q/

qbl I (*qābəl, qəble, qābel/qbul, qābole*) **to accept, to agree** | *la qabli ke hen* They do not agree to come

qlb I (*qāləb, qlib, qlub, qālobe*) **to turn over (intr.)**. III *m-qlb* (*maqləb, maqləble, máqləb, maqləbe*) **to turn over; to vomit** | With the *-o* particle: *xalá maqəlb-ò*¹ He is vomiting up food

qlp I (*qāləp, qləple, qlup, qālope*) **to peel** | *burtāqāl qəlpəle*¹ He peeled the orange

qlw I (*qālu, qlule, qlu, qālowe*) **to clean** | *šišmə šaqlíwa*,¹ *ga-belá gbéwa qalwíwalu*¹ They bought sesame seeds, which they had to clean in the house (B:27)

qly I (*qāle, qləle, qāle, qāloe*) **to fry** | *'o-pəsrá qālənwale*¹ They would fry the meat (A:86)

qnš I (*qānəš, qnəšle, qnuš, qānoše*) **to sweep** | *'áy hařšá qənšáwali qáme ké hət*¹ I swept the yard before you came

qny III *m-qny* (*maqne, məqnele, máqne, maqnoe*) **to make blue, to bruise**

qr'n Q (*qar'an, qar'in, qar'one*) **to go mouldy; to go bad** | *laxmá saji lá qar'an!* Bread made on a griddle (and dried) does not go mouldy; *pəsrá qar'ina!* The meat went off

qr̥ I (*qārət, qrə̆le, qrŭ, qārŏe*) **to bite, to crunch with teeth** | *xá tiká qán qārə̆!* He is crunching a piece of sugar (in his mouth); *lišaní qrə̆li* I bit my tongue

qry (i) I (*qāre, qrele, qāre, qāroe*) **to read; to call; to sing; to crow (bird); to study** | *'əbrít qrélan* We studied Hebrew; *dāy-gyān!* 'əqrà 'əlu! 'anə! *ga-lāxá tǎxǎšùš lá qāréna!* Mother dear, you should know this, that I shall not study a specialism here (C:3); *xa-məndí qrè!* *qaláx 'ayzà-y!* Sing something. You have a nice voice. III *m-qry* (*maqre, məqrele, máqre, maqroe*) **to make read, to teach** | 'ó *dárs maqrè!* He is teaching a lesson

qry (ii) III *m-qry* (imper. *máqre*) **to cool (tr.)** | variant of *m-qyr*, only used in imperative

q̆l I (*qā̆təl, qə̆le, q̆ul, qā̆tole*) **to kill; to beat** | 'íla *wíli bǎxòè!* *nóša qā̆tòle!* I began to cry and beat myself (in grief) (C:10); 'əqrá *qə̆lā-y!* *ta-milā-y!* They beat him to death

q̆y I (*qā̆te, q̆ele* tr./*qā̆te* intr., *q̆u, qā̆toe*) **to be cut; to cut** | *baškám lišanán lá-hela qā̆tè!* Perhaps our language will not be able to be cut off (E:75); *lišanéf qā̆tè!* May his tongue be cut off! (said of a person who has said something bad)

qwr I (*qor, qəwre, qur, qwara*) **to bury**

qwy III *m-qwy* (*maqwe, məqwele, máqwe, maqwoe*) **to make fast, to lock** | *tǎrá məqwèle!* He locked the door

qym I (*qem, qim, qu, qyama/qā̆moe*) **to rise (human). III m-qym** (*māqím, mqímle, máqim, măqimoe*) **to raise; to kindle (a fire)** | 'oní *gbén nurá măqim!* They want to make a fire; *nurá là-măqim ga-bel!* Do not light a fire in my house! 'o-*baxtá ga-ləbí nurá mqimá-y!* That woman has kindled a fire in my heart

qyr I (*qer, qir, qyara/qā̆roe*) **to cool (intr.)** | With the *-o* particle: *xalá qir-ò!* The food cooled down. III *m-qyr* (*măqir, mqire, máqir, măqi-*

roe) **to cool (tr.)** | With the *-o* particle: *gbé xaláké măqirete-ò*^l You must let the food cool down

qyš I (*qeš, qišle, quš, qyaša/qāšoe*) **to cut (with scissors, shears)** | *ʿanrá ʿarbá ba-qayčī qešīle*^l They cut the wool of a sheep with shears; *pərčēf qēšlu*^l He is cutting his hair

/r/

rdx I (*rādāx, rdix, rādoxe*) **to boil (intr.)** | *maé rdixī*^l The water boiled. III *m-rdx* (*mardāx, mardāxle, márdāx, mardoxe*) **to boil (tr.)**

rkw I (*rāku, rkiw, rku, rākowe*) **to mount, to ride (an animal)** | *ʿafsārèl ʿartēšl rakwīwa susī*^l The officers of the army used to ride horses (A:15). III *m-rkw* (*marku, mārku, mārku, markowe*) **to cause to mount** | *həl-didī markūwa*^l He would make me mount (the horse) (A:16)

rmy I (*rāme, ráme, rāmoē*) **to collapse, to be destroyed** | *beláké rəme*^l The house collapsed

rpy I (*rāpe, rəpye, rāpoē*) **to be let go, to be abandoned, to disappear** | *lá gbéna lišanán rāpè*^l I do not want our language to disappear. III *m-rpy* (*marpe, mərpele, mārpe, marpoē*) **to let go; to abandon**

rwy I (*rāwe, ráwe, rāwoē*) **to grow up.** III *m-rwy* (*marwe, mərwele, mārwe, marwoē*) **to bring up (child)**

rxš I (*rāxəš, rxiš, rxuš, rāxoše*) **to walk.** III *m-rxš* (*marxəš, mərxašle, márxəš, marxoše*) **to cause to walk**

ryq I (*req, riqle, ruq, ryaqa/rāqoe*) **to spit**

ryš I (*reš, riš, ruš, ryaša/rāšoe*) **to wake (tr.)** | Usually with the *-o* particle: *riš-ò*^l He woke up. III *m-ryš* (*māriš, mrišle, máriš, mārišoe*) **to wake (tr.)** | Usually with the *-o* particle: *ʿoní didí mriša-y-ò*^l They have woken me

ryṭ I (*reṭ, riṭ, ruṭ, ryaṭa/rāṭoe*) **to tremble; to shake** | *mən-qardá reṭ*^l He is shaking with cold; *kakéf reṭ*^l His teeth are chattering; *ryaṭa ʿāra* earthquake. III *m-ryṭ* (*māriṭ, mriṭle, máriṭ, māriṭoe*) **to cause to tremble**

/s/

šhy I (*sāḥe, sōḥe, sāḥoe*) to become thirsty

skr I (*sākər, skir, sākore*) to become drunk. III *m-skr* (*maskər, məskəre, máskər, maskore*) to make drunk | *xamrā maskər*¹ Wine makes drunk

smq I (*sāməq, smiq, sāmoe*) to become red; to become brown | With the *-o* particle: *rəzzá smiqa-y-ò*¹ The rice has become brown

smx I (*sāməx, smix, smux, sāmoxe*) to stand; to stop | *g-o-dimâf*¹ *kaldá-u xətná samxìl g-ay-lág-əč našé samxiwa*¹ On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people (A:47); *'axní jwanqé smíxəxwa ga-ḥawšá*¹ We youngsters were standing in the courtyard (A12); *'ay-guzá moḥkàm sāmáx rešéf*¹ The wall would stand firmly on it (B:56). III *m-smx* (*masməx, məsməxle, másməx, masmoxe*) to cause to stand, to cause to stop

sny I (*sāne, snele, sānoe*) to hate

spis I (*sāpəs, spis, sāpose*) to rot; to wither; to fall apart (clothes) | *'ilaná spis*¹ The tree withered; *jələf spisi*¹ His clothes fell apart; *qalí spisa*¹ The carpet became thread-bare

sqṭ I (*sāqəṭ, sqiṭ, squṭ, sāqote*) to fall down, to flop down | *sqiṭ ga-t''kèf*¹ He flopped down into his seat

srp I (*sārəp, srəple, srup, sárope*) to slurp

srq I (*sārəq, srəqle, sruq, sároqe*) to comb | *pərčóx srūqlu*¹ Comb your hair!

sry I (*sāre, srele, sároe*) to bray (donkey) | *xmará sārè*¹ A donkey brays

swy I (*sāwe, sáwe, səwe, sáwoe*) to be sated | *xalá xilí, swèna*¹ I have eaten and am satisfied

sxy I (*sāxe, sáxe, səxe/səxu, səxoe*) to bathe, to swim; to wash o.s. (with total immersion, especially referring to menstruating woman)

/ʃ/

špy I (*šāpe, šəpe, šəpoe*) to be filtered, to become pure | *maé šəpen*¹ The water was filtered. II (*šāpe, špele, šəpe, šəpoe*) to filter

šrx I (*šārəx, šrəxle, šruḫ, šāroxə*) **to call** | *həl-d-ó šārəx*¹ He calls to him/He summons him; *šarxīli Ḥābīb*¹ I am called Ḥabib; *šarxīle Daryūš*¹ He is called Daryuš

/š/.

šor I (*šar, šare, šar, šāroe*) **to send** | *xa-nāfar-xét šārwala baqá 'āxonāf*¹ She sent another person to her brother (A:18); *mān-Tarān šāriwa báqa didān torānj-u lulāv*¹ They sent etrogs and palm fronds to us from Tehran (B:80); *daākéf šarāle həjbī,¹ həjbī bratākə¹ māntāke tatā-u daākáf-u 'exā*¹ He sent his mother to ask for her hand in marriage, to request the hand of the girl from her father and mother and so forth (D:24)

šky I (*šāke, šáke, šáke, šākoə*) **to move (intr.)** | *lā šké!*¹ Don't move! III *m-šky* (*maške, maškele, máške, maškoə*) **to move (tr.)**

šlx I (*šāləx, šləxle, šlux, šāloxə*) **to strip off, to undress** | *jəlī šəlxīl*¹ I undressed myself (literally: I stripped off my clothes)

šly II (*šāle, šlele, šāle, šāloə*) **to sow (seed)** | *tomé šāl*¹ He is sowing seeds

šmn I (*šāmən, šmīn, šāmone*) **to become fat**. III *m-šmn* (*mašmən, mašmāne, mášmən, mašmone*) **to make fat**

šmṭ I (*šāməṭ, šmīṭ, šāmote*) **to get stuck; to flay, to peel off (skin)** | *'aqléf ga-ṭinā šmīṭa*¹ His foot got stuck in the mud; *toqá pəsréf šmīṭ*¹ The skin of his flesh peeled

šmy I (*šāme, šmīle, šāme, šāmoə*) **to hear**

špy I (*šāpe, šāpe, šāpu, šāpoə*) **to rub, to smear, to spread** | *kārāké šāpèle*¹ He spreads the butter; *šāpe bāef*¹ He rubbed against him (= He bumped into him)

šql I (*šāqəl, šāqle, šqul, šāqole*) **to buy; to take** | *morāxāšī šaqnā-u,¹ ken-ò*¹ I'll take leave and come back (A:7)

šrp I (*šārəp, šrip, šrup, šārope*) **to slip; to slide** | *rešá yáx šrīpna*¹ I slipped on the ice

šršy Q (*šarše, šəršele, šārše, šaršoe*) **to let down (a rope)** | *xolāké šaršèle*¹ He is letting down the rope

šty I (*šäte, štele, šäte, šätöe*) **to drink**. **III** *m-šty* (*mašte, məštele, mášte, maštoe*) **to cause to drink**

štx I (*šätəx, štəxle, štux, šätöxe*) **to stretch out (tr.), to lay out; to hang out (washing)** | With the *-o* particle: *jələ šətxexilu-ò*¹ We shall hang out the clothes; *ləxmá koliwale-ò*¹ *šətxiwale-ò*¹ They opened out and spread out the bread (A:67). **III** *m-štx* (*maštxa, məštxa, maštoxe*) **to give birth** | *baxtí məštxitə-ya*¹ My wife has given birth

šwłt Q (*šolət, šolətle, šólət, šolaṭa*) **to throw; to throw away** | *šoltáli l-d-o-ləg*¹ I threw it (the veil) on one side (A:24); *'o-nəqolə-u məqolə-u*¹ ... *doqwalú-u šolətwalú*¹ He took out the ritually unclean parts and the like that had to be removed ... and threw them away (A:82); *nuqlá šoltáli*¹ *tqíra g-o-jogà*¹ *'əgár našoqtà la-həwətt*¹ *balotəx doqá*¹ I threw a sweet, but it fell into the stream. If you do not give me a kiss, may you choke

šwy (i) I (*šəwe, šəwe, šəwe, šəwoe*) **to equal, to correspond to; to be worth** | *'áy-ga xa-ṭəbəqá duwóm-yela šawýawa məsəlán ṭəbəqə haftóm-e ləxà*¹ At that time what was the second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here (A:13); *wále báqa didi*¹ *wújud-dídi xa-šahì lá šəwé*¹ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)

šwy (ii) II (*šəwe, šwele, šəwe, šəwoe*) **to spread out** | *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šəwénwa rúwà*¹ On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth (A:65)

šxn I (*šəxən, šxin, šəxone*) **to become hot, warm**. **III** *m-šxn* (*mašxən, məšxəne, mášxən, mašxone*) **to make hot; to heat, to warm** | *ḥəmaməke mašxniwalà*¹ They used to heat the bath (A:37). With the *-o* particle: *kámna ta-šəməšà*¹ *mašxnalax-ò*¹ I shall tell the sun to warm you (E:50)

šyk I (*šek, šikle, šuk, šyaka/šəkoe*) **to rub (in order to make smooth); to wrestle** | *'o-tré ḥəriké šyakà-yelu*¹ The two of them were busy wrestling. **III** *m-šyk* (*mášik, mšikle, mášik, mášoke*) **to rub to remove peel** | *šišmé mášikì* They are rubbing sesame seeds to remove the peel

šyš III *m-šyš* (*mášiš, mšišle, mášiš, mášišoe*) **to rock (child in cradle); to shake**

/t/

thy I (*tāhe, thele, tāhu, tāhoe*) **to find** | *ba-kāsbí puḷé tāhènwa-u*¹ They would make money in business (B:4); *yomá ʿamá šéqel puḷé tāhèt*¹ You will make 100 shekels in money a day (A:104). With the –o particle: *lá theli-ó ʿalèf*¹ I did not find him

tly I (*tāle, tlele, tāle, tāloe*) **to hang**

tm^c I (*tāmā^c, tmā^cle, tmu^c, tāmō^ce*) **to taste**

tnw I (*tānu, tniw, tānowe*) **to become numb** | *ʿaqlí tniwa*¹ My leg became numb

tnx I (*tānəx, tniḫ, tnuḫ, tānoxē*) **to enjoy (food)** | *rāba tniḫna g-ay-xalà*¹ I enjoyed the food a lot (said by guest to a host). III *m-tnx* (*matnəx, matniḫle, mátnəx, matnoxē*) **to make enjoy**

tpl I (*tāpəl, təple, tpul, tāpole*) **to sneeze**

tql II (*tāqəl, təqle, tāqəl, tāqole*) **to weigh** | *tāqəlwale baqú*¹ He would weigh it (the flour) out for them (B:17)

tqr I (*tāqər, tqir* intr., *tqur, tāqore*) **to hit (by mistake), to knock into (by mistake); to touch; to break out; to come out (sun); to happen.** (1) **to hit, to knock** | *ʿó tqír ba-didì*¹ He bumped into me; *ʿay-kepá tqirté-ya ga-rešì*¹ The stone has hit my head; *nuqlá šoltàlì*¹ *tqíra g-o-jogà*¹ I threw a sweet, but it fell in the stream (literally: it hit the stream). (2) **to touch** | *lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu*¹ lest the Muslims touched them (A:78). (3) **to break out; to happen** | *šəmšá tqíra*¹ The sun came out (literally: broke out); *ʿay-ḥaštá tqirtè-ya* This affair has happened

trš I (*tārəš, trəšle* tr./trīš intr., *truš, tāroše*) **to make (tr.); to prepare (tr.); to build (tr.); to be made (intr.), to be built (intr.); to cure (tr.); to be cured (intr.); to repair (with –o)** | *tatí ʿay-belé taršèn*¹ My father has built these houses; *duxwá taršíwa*¹ They made *duxwa* (dish of rice and yoghurt) (A:65); *gbé zārà*¹ *nóšu taršìle*¹ They had to prepare the wheat themselves (A:60); *ʿaxni nóšan là kewalán*¹ *xalwáké hāmèxile, lá taršèxile*¹ We could not fetch milk ourselves or prepare it (A:63); *nóšox ʿayzá trūšla!*¹ Make yourself look good! (Tidy yourself up!) (D:11); *šalmáf taršàle*¹ She is making up her face; *pərčáf taršálu*¹ She is doing her hair; *kālām-e nábì*¹ *tāmāmí trīšà-y!*¹ The word of the prophet has been completely ful-

filled (E:61); *'ay-ħaštá baqí là taršá!* This thing will not be done for me. With the *-o* particle: *trišan-ò!* I was cured (C:2); *siyamé tārəšwa-ò!* He used to repair shoes

try I (*täre, tóre, tǎroe*) **to become wet**

tšh I (*tǎsəħ, tsəħle, tsuħ, tǎsoħe*) **to stuff, to pack; to drive into** | *tǎsəħle ga-guzà!* He is driving it into the wall; *tšihá-y ga-ǎrà!* It is driven into the ground

twr I (*tor, tǎwre* tr./*twir* intr., *tur, twara*) **to break (tr. and intr.)**

tym I (*tem, tim, tum, tyama/tǎmoe*) **to finish (intr.)** | *láma ħaštóx temà?!* When does your work finish? **III** *m-tym* (*mǎtim, mtimle, mǎtim, mǎtimoe*) **to finish (tr.)** | *ħaští mtimàli!* I have finished my work

tyx I (*tex, tix, tyaxa/tǎxoe*) **to go down, to die down (fire)** | With the *-o* particle: *nuráké tix-ò!* The fire died down. **III** *m-tyx* (*mǎtíx, mtíxle, mǎtíx, mǎtoxe*) **to put out (fire); to extinguish** | *'o-nurá mǎtíxle!* Put out that fire!

/t/

tlb I (*tǎləb, tǎləble, tǎlub, tǎlobe*) **to request**

tmš II (*tǎmǎš, tǎmǎšle, tǎmǎš, tǎmoše*) **to dip**

tptp Q (*tǎptǎp, tǎptǎple, tǎptǎp, tǎptǎpe*) **to pat (somebody on the back)** | *'enéf tǎptǎplu!* He blinks

tpy I (*tǎpe, tǎpele* tr./ *tǎpe* intr., *tǎpu/tǎpe, tǎpoe*) **to destroy (tr.); to be destroyed (intr.)** | *tǎrá tatóx tǎpè!* May the house (literally: door) of your father be destroyed! (curse)

trq I (*tǎrəq, trəqle, truq, tǎroqe*) **to pack (one thing inside another); to lock together** | *'ilu trəqilu!* They wrang their hands (E:31); *kakéf triqi!* His teeth locked together (= He could not speak out of shock)

tšy I (*tǎše, tǎše, tǎše/tǎšu, tǎšoe*) **to hide (intr.)** | Usually with the *-o* particle: *gbé tǎše-ò!* He wants to hide. **II** (*tǎše, tǎšele, tǎše, tǎšoe*) **to hide (tr.)** | Usually with the *-o* particle: *nošáf tǎšyal-ò!* She hides herself

twy II (*tǎwe, tǎwele* tr./*tǎwe* intr., *tǎwe, tǎwoe*) **to roast; to bake** | *pəsra tǎwita* roasted meat; *lǎxmá tǎwè!* He bakes bread; *bár lǎxmáké tǎwe!*

čăqenwale-ò After the bread was baked, they took it off (the sides of the oven); *măški təwyà-y* My skin is burnt (injury)

ṭxn I (*ṭăxən, ṭəxne, ṭxun, ṭăxone*) **to grind**

/w/

wyš I (*weš, wiš, wuš, wyaša/wăšoe*) **to dry (intr.)** | With the *-o* particle: *jələ weši-ò* The clothes will dry out (dry again). III *m-wyš* (*măwiš, mwišle, măwiš, măwišoe*) **to dry (tr.)** | *măwišwalu-ó báqa pătire* They dried them (the sesame seeds) for Passover (B:27)

/x/

xØr I (*xar, xir, xur, xăroe*) **to become** | *kwər xír* He became blind. Nominal complement introduced by *ba-*: *xirá-y ba-ʔafsàr* He has become an officer (A:17); *xár ba-qətmà* It becomes ash; *šiwá màqna xár ba-nurà* I kindle wood and it sets on fire. With dative copula (§3.11.3.): *bratulà xirlála* She had girlness (= she was a virgin girl) (A:50). *la xar* It is not possible, it is not permitted | *xor-ʔay-bratá lá-xar ʔay-broná xáya x-kà* Now, it is does not happen (= it is not acceptable) that the girl should ever see the boy (A:24). With the *-o* particle: **to open (intr.)** | *wardé xəri-ò* The flowers are opening

xØy I (*xăe, xeli, xe, xăoe*) **to see** | Used with a propositional complement to present important event: *xéli Bahrám gyàn telefón wîle baqí yáni ta-Soqrát broní míre ʔanà baxtà gəwrí* It happened (literally: I saw) that dear Bahram telephoned me, that is Soqrat my son, and said 'I have married' (C:4)

xll II (*xăləl, xəle, xăləl, xălole*) **to wash** | *reší xəlí* I washed my face; *ʔilalí gbé xalnù* I (m.) must wash my hands; *ʔilalí gbé xălù* I (f.) must wash my hands; *jələ xəlílí* I washed the clothes

xlp I (*xăləp, xlip, xlp, xăləpe*) **to win (especially money); to move home** | *ʔăxoní pułé rába xəlpà-y* My brother has won a lot of money; *xá gozá xəlpàlí* I have won a walnut (in the walnut game); *ʔoní heštán lá xəlpà-y* They have not yet won; *belàn xlipá-y* We have moved home (E:61). III *m-xlp* (*maxləp, məxləpe, máxləp, maxləpe*) **to exchange; to change** | *ʔó didí məxləpe* He took my place

- xlṭ* I (*xäləṭ, xliṭ, xälöṭe*) **to err, to make a mistake.** III *m-xlṭ* (*maxləṭ, məxləṭle, máxləṭ, maxlöṭe*) **to cause to err**
- xlw* I (*xalu, xluli, xlu, xälowe*) **to milk** | *'aná xalwá tortáké xlüli!* I milked the cow; *daǎká xalwá nóšaf xalwále báqa yalà!* The mother is drawing milk from herself for her child. II *m-xlw* (*maxlu, məxlula, máxlu, maxlowe*) **to give milk to** | *daǎká yalá maxlwà!* The mother is giving milk to the child
- xly* I (*xǎle, xále, xǎle, xǎloe*) **to wrap around** | *xǎlét gai!* You are not giving me any peace (literally: You are wrapping yourself around me)
- xmṣ* I (*xǎmṣ, xmiṣ, xǎmoše*) **to become sour.** III *m-xmṣ* (*maxmṣ, məxmṣle, máxmṣ, maxmoše*) **to cause to become sour, to pickle**
- xmy* I (*xǎme, xáme, xǎmoe*) **to leaven (intr.), to rise (bread dough)** | *laxmé ke là xəmyá-y!* bread that has not been leavened (B:36)
- xpy* II (*xǎpe, xpele, xǎpele, xǎpoe*) **to cover food (in pan so that steam does not escape)**
- xrč* (*xǎrəč, xrič, xruč, xǎroče*) **to grind together (teeth)** | *kakí xarčl baqé!* I could eat him! (literally: My teeth are grinding for him—said when somebody feels affection for somebody, especially a baby)
- xrj* II (*xǎrəj, xrəjle, xǎrəj, xǎroje*) (K < A) **to spend, to disburse** | *'áy kúle pulé xərjlox!* You have spent all this money (D:7)
- xšx* I (*xǎšəx, xšix, xǎšoxe*) **to become dark** | *yomá xšix!* The day has become dark; *'enéf xšixi!* His eyes have become dim (= He has become blind)
- xwy* I (*xǎwe, xəwe, xǎwoe*) **to drop (voice)** | *qaléf xəwe!* His voice dropped (He lost his voice)
- xyk* I (*xek, xikle, xuk, xyaka*) **to rub**
- xyp* I (*xǎpe, xip, xǎpe, xǎpoe*) **to wash o.s.; to bathe**
- xyṭ* I (*xet, xiṭle, xuṭ, xyata/xǎṭoe*) **to sew** | *jələ 'ayzé-č xùṭ!* Also sew some fine clothes! (D:6)
- xzr* I (*xǎzər, xzir, xzur, xǎzore*) **to become** (a variant of *xØr*) | *'ay-ləxmá lá-xar ḥamés xǎzər!* The bread must not become leavened (B:15)

/y/

yłp I (*yäləp*, *yłəple* tr./*yólip* intr., *yólup*, *yálope*) **to learn** | 'ó *rába mändixané yłəple*^l He learnt many things (by himself); 'ó *rába mändixané yólip* He learnt many things (when taught by somebody else) (§9.10.)

yql I (*yäqəl*, *qil*, *qul*, *yäqole*) **to burn (intr.)** | 'ilí *qila*^l My hand was burnt. III *m-ql* (*mäqəl*, *məqle*, *máqəl*, *mäqole*) and *m-lq* (by metathesis) **to kindle** | *šiwá mąqna*^l I kindle wood; *xa-ədá buxarí hitwálu*^l *ba-šiwè malqiwála*^l Some people had a stove, which they would fuel by wood (A:89)

yraq I (*yärəq*, *yəriq*, *yəroqe*) **to become green; to grow (plant)** | *galaé yarqil*^l The leaves become green/The leaves grow. III *m-yraq* (*mayrəq*, *məyrəqle*, *máyraq*, *mayroqe*) **to cause to become green, to cause to grow** | *kámna ta-šəmsà*^l *mašxnalax-ò*^l 'aynahú *wardè*^l *mayrqalax-ò*^l I shall tell the sun to warm you and make you grow like flowers (E:50)

yrx I (*yärəx*, *yərix*, *yərux*, *yəroxə*) **to become long, to become tall.** III *m-yrx* (*mayrəx*, *məyrəxle*, *máyrxəx*, *mayroxə*) **to lengthen, to stretch out** | With the *-o* particle: *lešá mayrxawale-ò*^l She would stretch out the dough

ytw I (*yātu*, *tiw*, *tu*, *yätowe*) **to sit; to stay** | 'ána *là yätúna*^l I shall not stay (C:9). III *m-tw* (*mātu*, *mtule*, *mātu*, *mätowe*) **to place, to put, to store; to lose (in game)** | *matwíwale ga-t^wká rába qārirà*^l *ké báqa pätiré mən-d-èa 'axlil*^l They put (stored) it in a very cold place, so that they could eat it for Passover (B:24); *hár-či 'át kəmràt*^l 'ána *mätúna ba-réš 'eni*^l Everything that you say, I am willing to do (literally: I shall place on my eye) (A:18); 'aná *ga-kaé tré gozé mtùli*^l I have lost two walnuts (in the walnut game). With the *-o* particle: *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx*^l I have arranged a girl for you (A:6)

/z/

z'r I (*zä'ər*, *zə're*, *z'ur*, *zä'ore*) **to plant; to sow (seeds)** | *zärá zä'ər*^l He is planting wheat

zbn II (*zäbən*, *zəbne*, *zábən*, *zäbone*) **to sell**

zdy I (*zǎde, zǎde, zǎde/zǎdu, zǎdoe*) **to fear** | 'o-waxtára 'ó-č zǎdèl mən-Mozáfár-din Šǎh! Then he feared Mozafaredin Shah (B:62). **III**
m-zdy (mazde, mǎzdele, mázde, mazdoe) **to frighten**

zmṭ II (*zǎmṭ, zmṭle tr./zmṭ intr., zǎmṭ, zǎmṭe*) **to fill (tr. and intr.)** |
bǎzá zǎmṭǎ! I am filling a hole; 'ó gbé zǎmṭ pyalá mǎè! He wants
 to fill a glass with water; *tǎmám-e réša səfrá zamṭíwa mən-d-ay-jóra*
mǎndixǎnè! They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such
 things (A:65); *belá zmṭ tǎnǎ!* The house was filled with smoke;
jmanán zmṭíwa! nuqlé-u mǎdixǎnè! Our pockets were filled with
 sweets and goodies (E:14)

znqr Q (*zanqǎr, zǎnqǎre, zǎnqǎr, zanqǎre*) **to pour out (drink)** | čáy
zanqǎr! He is pouring out tea

zry II (*zǎre, zǎrele, zǎre, zǎroe*) **to sow (wheat seed)** | zǎrá zǎrèn! They
 are sowing wheat

zyz I (*zez, ziz, zuz, zyaza/zǎzoe*) **to increase; to become many. III**
m-zyz (mǎziz, mǎzizle, máziz, mǎzizoe) **to increase (tr.), to add** |
 'ǎlhá mǎzizle! May God increase it (said by a guest to a host after
 eating food)

GENERAL GLOSSARY

/ʔ/

ʔabi adj. invar. (P) **blue**

ʔābnābate n.pl. (K/P) **sugar candies**

ʔāgada n.f. (H) **Passover Aggadah** | *kúle našé ʔāgadà qārénwala*! All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadah (A:61)

ʔāgar part. (P/K) **if**

ʔāgar-nam part. (P/K) **if not** | *gbé hár ḥāqéx ga-lāxàl ga-lišaná-e ʔabrìl ʔāgar-nam ʔòni! ḥáli lá xǎrìl* Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand (E:64)

ʔāglab n.? (P < A) **the majority** | *ʔāglāb-e! təqna-xwarèl ke-híč-mənu lá pišiwàl kǎewalu-o!* He knew the majority of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time) (B:63)

ʔāhali n.pl. (P < A) **people, community, congregation**

ʔāhra n.f. (pl. ʔāhrale, ʔāhrane) **town**

ʔājab n.m. (P < A) **wonder** | *ʔājáb bronèk-ye!* He is a wonderful boy (A:17)

ʔājile n.pl. (K) **mixed nuts**

ʔajur n.f. (P) **brick**

ʔajurkari n.? (P) **bricklaying** | *ba-ʔajur-karì ḥaštá kolíwa!* They worked in bricklaying (B:56)

ʔalʔān (P < A) **now**

ʔalat n.m. (K) **pepper**

- ʿalpa num. (pl. ʿalpe) **thousand** | *tre ʿalpe* two thousand, *təlḥa ʿalpe* three thousand
- ʿalunak n.f. (P) **booth, sukkah**
- ʿāmade adj. invar. (P) **ready**
- ʿamān interj. (P < A) **be careful** | ʿamān^l *mən-d-áy ləxná là ʿaxlétun!* Be careful, do not eat this bread! (B:23)
- ʿāmanta n.f. (P < A) **heirloom, item given in trust**
- ʿambar n.f. (pl. ʿambare) (P) **warehouse**
- ʿāmēta n.? (P) **mixing, joining; together** | ʿāmētá *d-oní xirna!* I mixed with them; *jwanqé-u piré-u ʿənšé-u guré-u ʿāmēta kúle naqlwa!* Young and old, women and men all danced together (A:54); *koliwále ʿamètef-u!* They mixed it up (B:55)
- ʿamr n.m. (pl. ʿamre) (P < A) **command** | ʿamre *rūwana* the commands of the Almighty
- ʿamra n.m. **wool** | ʿamrá *ràng kolíwa!* They used to die wool
- ʿamta n.f. (pl. ʿamte) **paternal or maternal aunt**
- ʿamu n.m. (P) **uncle** | ʿamu-*jān* (P) my dear uncle
- ʿana pron. **I**
- ʿānaze n.? (P/K) **amount, measurement** | *ba-ʿānazé nōšu pəsrá šaqliwa!* They bought meat according to their own requirements (A:74); *ba-ʿānazé kaf!* in sufficient measure (C:13)
- ʿanwā^c n.pl. (P < A) **types** | ʿanwā^c-*u ʿaqšāme!* *mewà* all types of fruit (B:49)
- ʿapartmān n.f. (pl. ʿapartmane) (P < E) **apartment**
- ʿapra n.m. **soil, clay** | *qoqé xa-zárf, zrifək-yelu mán ʿápre smoqà!* Pots were a container, containers made of red clay (A:84)
- ʿapša n.f. **gallnut**
- ʿāqalyat n.f. (P < A) **minority**
- ʿaqla n.f. (pl. ʿaqle) **foot** | *ba-ʿaqle* on foot; *garma ʿaqla* ankle
- ʿāqolta n.f. (pl. ʿāqolye) **heel; elbow**

- ²*aqpa* n.? **bottom** | ²*aqpa bira* the bottom of a well; ²*aqpa nəḥala* the bottom of the ear; ²*aqpa rəzza* the (fried) bottom of rice in a pan
- ²*aqsəme* n.pl. (P < A) **types** | ²*anwá^c-u* ²*aqsəme* *mewà* all types of fruit (B:49)
- ²*əqubra* n.f. (pl. ²*əqubre*) **mouse**
- ²*əquša* adj. (fs. ²*əqušta*, pl. ²*əquše*) **thick (liquid)**
- ²*əra* n.f. (pl. ²*əre*, ²*ərane*) **land, ground** | *pīl* ²*ərà*! He fell to the ground
- ²*arām* adj. invar. (K/P) **comfortable, relieved** | *bsiman-ò* ²*arām xirán*! I have been cured and relieved (of my pain) (C:3)
- ²*araq* (i) n.m. (K < A) **sweat** | ²*araq* ²*wl* to sweat; ²*araqəf ké*! He is sweating
- ²*araq* (ii) n.f. (K < A) **arak**
- ²*arba* num. **four** | ²*arbánan* four of us; ²*arbau*, ²*arbawau* four of them
- ²*arbamin* num. (fs. ²*arbaminta*, pl. ²*arbmīne*) **fourth**
- ²*arbasar* num. **fourteen**
- ²*arbi* num. **forty**
- ²*arbušab* n.m. **Wednesday**
- ²*arməlda* n.f. (pl. ²*arməlye*) **widow**
- ²*armota* n.f. (pl. ²*armonye*) **pomegranate**
- ²*əroqta* n.f. **fleeing**
- ²*arteš* n.f. (P) **army**
- ²*arz* n.m. (P < A) **petition** | ²*arz həwé ba-xzəmtòx*! Let me tell you (literally: May a petition be made to your service) (A:70); ²*arzóx hòna*! Let me tell you (B:26); *hár ba-d-ó jorá yá* ²*arzóx wíl*! in the same way as I said to you (B:43)
- ²*asān* adj. invar. (K/P) **easy**
- ²*āsasiya* n.m. (P < A) **furniture**
- ²*asən* n.m. (P) **iron**
- ²*asfanaj* n.f. (P) **spinach**
- ²*askuk* n.f. (pl. ²*askuke*) **thimble**

ʾaspagla n.f. (pl. ʾaspagle) (K) **quince**

ʾaspāl n.pl. (K) **goods, merchandise** | čarčí ʾò-yele! ya-ʾaspāl mätúwa
reša xmarà! rešá susi! maxšušan parčanè,¹ lablíwalu ga-malāwàè!
zabnìwalu! A peddler was somebody who put goods on a donkey
or on a horse, especially fabrics, and took them to the villages to
sell them (A:70)

ʾaspaw n.m. (K < A) **luggage; belongings** | ʾaspáw kræxlan-ò! We
wrapped up our belongings (E:10)

ʾasur adj. invar. (H) **forbidden** | ʾasúr-ile báqa didàn! m-širinè ʾaxlèx! It is
forbidden for us to eat any sweets (B:29)

ʾasxa part. **thus** | har-ʾasxa just like that

ʾăšarta n.f. **festival of Shavuot**

ʾašər n.m. (pl. ʾašrane) **evening**

ʾašlan part. (P < A) **fundamentally, in particular; at all** | bāširé ʾašlán
bāraxà hitú! Grapes in particular brought (literally: had) blessing
(A:72); lá bəqrán ʾašlàn! dóka má kolèx! We did not at all ask what
we would do there (E:13)

ʾašəqi n.f. **love-making, amorous behaviour** | jwanqé là qārén! gurané
ʾašəqi! The young men do not sing songs of love (E:40); qārén ta-
lèxle! zəmré ʾašəqi! They sing love songs to one another

ʾaškaba n.f. (H) **memorial of burial**

ʾašna n.m. (pl. ʾašnae) (P) **acquaintance, friend** | čúrna ba-šòne! qáwm-u
ʾašnàè! I searched for family and friends (E:22); bašká ʾašná xa-
dána mənun-u! bəxlé zəndəgì holéxin! Perhaps I shall become ac-
quainted with one of them and we can spend time (literally: life)
together (D:2)

ʾašxāš n.pl. (P < A) **people**

ʾāt pron. **you (sing.)**

ʾāta adv. **now**

ʾat-e baba n.f. **step-mother**

ʾat-xona n.f. **wife of brother**

- ʔatrāf n.pl. (P < A) **surrounding districts** | ʔatrāf-e Kurdəstān¹ the districts surrounding Kurdistan (B:3)
- ʔāwəl num./n. (P < A) **first; beginning** | ʔāwəl gora, gora ʔāwəl, gorá-e ʔāwəl the first man; ʔéa ʔāwālēf¹ That is its first (stage) (A:57); mən-ʔāwāl-e payiz¹ from the beginning of autumn (B:26)
- ʔāwālan part. (P < A) **first, at first**
- ʔawāz n.m. (pl. ʔawaze) (K) **music, song**
- ʔawga n.m. (K) **fruit hung from the ceiling to preserve it for the winter**
- ʔawpāš n.f. (K) **watering can; pail**
- ʔāxa part. **thus, like this** | referring to what follows: rāsm ga-doká ʔāxā-yele.¹ ga-yomā¹ reš-šatā,¹ baqa-xətnā¹ mən-be-kaldá xwān kwíwa.¹ The custom there was like this. On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. (A:9)
- ʔaxər n.? (P < A) **end** | ga-ʔaxər-e páyiz at the end of autumn (A:81); — xŌr to come to an end: ʔolām ʔaxər xārā¹ daxóm ga-ʔIrān¹ The world will come to an end, even in Iran (C:12)
- ʔaxəra → bəlʔaxəra
- ʔaxlana n.m./adj. (fs. ʔaxlanta, pl. ʔaxlane) **(big) eater**
- ʔaxni pron. **we**
- ʔāxona n.m. (pl. ʔāxonāwale) **brother**
- ʔāxonula n.f. **brotherhood**
- ʔaxref adv. **in the end, finally** | ʔaxréf ba-zór miyālun-u¹ In the end they brought her by force (A:23); ʔaxréf baqrū mənēf¹ In the end they asked him (D:14)
- ʔaxtu pron. **you (pl.)**
- ʔay pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**
- ʔaʔyane n.pl. (P < A) **dignitaries**
- ʔāyane part. **look! (presentative particle)** | ʔāyané ʔāxonāwali¹ There are my brothers; ʔāyané ʔāxonī híye¹ Look my brother has come

ʿayba n.f. (K/P < A) **shame, pity, scandal** | ʿaybà-y! It is shame (to do it = you should not do it); ʿaybà-yele guré-u ʿənšé ʿāmetà hāwén! It was not permitted for men and women to be together

ʿayni pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʿazād adj. invar. (P) **permitted; free** | mən-d-óa ʿazād-yele baqàn! It was permitted to us (to eat) any of this (B:29); ʿáy lá-yele blané-u broné mangál ʿātà! ʿazād hāwén-u! lāxle xāen-u! But it did not happen that, like now, the girls and boys were free to see one another (A:1)

ʿazadi n.f. (P) **freedom, holiday**

ʿāzizakam n.m./f. (K) **my dear**

ʿazyat n.f. (K) **trouble, disturbance** | ʿazyātú là holétun! Do not disturb them (B:85)

ʿe pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʿéa pron. **this (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʿela n.f. (pl. ʿelāwae) **festival**

ʿela-brixula → brixula

ʿemza n.f. (P < A) **signature** | pirè! gbéwa ʿemzà holiwalá! The elders had to make a signature (A:48)

ʿena n.f. (pl. ʿene) **eye**. (pl. ʿenāwae) **spring of water** | xaša ʿena eyelid; galka ʿena pupil of eye; ʿena dØy to blink; to wink; kxawlé ʿenà dāén! The stars twinkle; hár-či ʿāt kəmrāt! ʿána mātúna ba-réš ʿeni! Everything that you say, I am willing to do (A:18)

ʿena-zyoma n.f. (pl. ʿena-zyome) **sunflower**

ʿenšafan part. (P < A) **indeed, in truth** | wa-bšəlmané mozaḥāmù lá xārīwa ʿenšafán! and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them (B:36)

ʿewa n.m. (pl. ʿewe) **cloud**

ʿéxa pron. **this one** | -u ʿéxa-u (that one) and this one = and so forth: ʿáy ʿāsasiyà-u! ʿèxa-u! kúle mèlan! This furniture and so forth—we brought it all (C:10); ba-xá dāsá jəle zìl-u! ga-pəlga našáké tìw-u! ḥqéle mánun-u ʿexà-u! He went in a suit and sat among the people and spoke to them, and so forth (D:16)

^ʔ*ezafa* part. (P < A) **in addition** | *šratá xét ʔezafá là malqíwa*! They did not light an additional lamp (B:72)

-əč, -č part. (K) **too, also; as for**

^ʔəč^ʔ*a* num. **nine** | ^ʔəč^ʔ*ánan* nine of us; ^ʔəč^ʔ*au*, ^ʔəč^ʔ*awau* nine of them

^ʔəč^ʔ*asar* num. **nineteen**

^ʔəč^ʔ*i* num. **ninety**

^ʔ*adara* (P < A) : — ^ʔ*wl* **to manage** | ^ʔ*anà xét*! *mən-qóme-u xǎré gbé hézna ɥaštà*! *wa-zəndəgí nòšì*! ^ʔ*adára hōnēf*! From tomorrow onwards I have to go to work and manage my own life (D:23)

^ʔ*əhtərām* n.? (P < A) **respect** | ^ʔ*əqrá ʔəhtərām-e lǎxle doqíwa*! They had such respect for one another (A:45); *rāba huláe ga-doká mórəd ʔəhtəramēf-yelu*! The Jews there were very much the source of his respect (= He very much respected the Jews) (B:85)

^ʔ*əl-* prep. (only with pronominal suffixes) **to, for, upon; object marker** | *kwíle ʔələf*! They will give it to him; *gǎrǎš ʔələf*! He pulls him; *dohól ʔu-zorná dǎyáwa ʔələf-u*! The drum and pipe were beaten upon (= they were played) (A:45) → *həl*

^ʔ*əlha* n.m. **God** | ^ʔ*əlha mǎnixle* May God grant him rest; ^ʔ*əlhá bǎšəmlɔx*! thanks (literally: May God make you well); ^ʔ*əlhá hǎwé mənòx*! God be with you; ^ʔ*əlhá ʔstòx dóq*! May God keep your honour (said to host after eating food); ^ʔ*əlhá mǎzizle*! May God increase it (said to a host after eating food); ^ʔ*əlhá manté pešét ta-ʔəmá-u ʔəsrì šəné*! May God grant that you live for 120 years; (*ta-qomé*) ^ʔ*əlhá rǔwà-y*! God is great (until tomorrow) (= Don't worry, there is still hope); *hítwa-u lítwa*! *mən-ʔəlhá biš-pìr*! *hìč-kas lítwa*! There was, there was not, there was nobody older than God (formula opening a story) (A:98); ^ʔ*əlhá šóqla ta-daǎkèf*! May God preserve his mother (A:17); *báška ʔəlhá-y mǎ'alíja xǎrát*! Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1); *báška ʔəlhá-y ʔənyexáe bǎruxéf xǎrì wá*! *hélu da'watèf holì*! Perhaps, God willing, they would become his friends and would be able to invite him (D:5); *ba-ʔəlha* by God, indeed

^ʔ*əlha-hiwula* n.f. **divinely given (providence, produce)** | *ɥáli hár danì hamrána čəkmà*! ^ʔ*əlhá-hiwula gáu*! (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

ʔalma n.m. (pl. *ʔalme*) **brother of husband**

ʔalyana adj. (fs. *ʔalyanta*, pl. *ʔalyane*) **upper**

ʔama num. **hundred** | *tre ʔame, tré-me* two hundred; *təlḥa ʔame, təlḥá-me* three hundred

ʔamrār mǎʕǎš n.? (P < A) **livelihood** | *ʔamrār-e mǎʕǎš ba-d-ò kolíwa*^l
They made their livelihood in this way (B:7)

ʔantaxāb n.? (P < A) **choice** | — *ʔwl* to chose: *ga-dokà^l táte-u daǎkè^l*
bì-zoa^l ʔantaxāb kolíwa^l mǎni^l gorí ta-bronù^l The fathers and mothers
would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

ʔanwe n.pl. **raisins; dried grapes**

ʔanye pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʔanyexáe pron. **these (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʔqra part. **so much, so many; thus** | *xámé-u xmalè^l həl-kaldú la-xǎenwa*
ʔqra^l The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their
bride very much (A:3); *ʔo-waxtára mašiné ʔqra^l litwa^l* At that time
there were not so many cars (A:16); *dáy-gyān^l ʔqra^l ʔǎlu^l ʔanà^l ga-*
lǎxá tāxǎšùš lá qǎréna^l Mother dear, you should know this, that I
shall not study a specialism here (C:3)

ʔarba n.f. (pl. *ʔarbe*) **sheep**

ʔarbala n.f. (pl. *ʔarbale*) **sieve (for wheat)**

ʔsra num. **ten** | *ʔasránan* ten of us; *ʔsrau, ʔsrawau* ten of them

ʔsri num. **twenty**

ʔsta n.f. (P < A) **honour** | *ʔalhá ʔstòx dóq^l* May God keep your honour
(said to host after eating food)

ʔstaxr n.f. (P) **pool, swimming pool**

ʔstafada n.f. (P < A) : — *ʔwl* (— *mən*) **to make use of, to use** | *mən-*
susi ʔstafadá kolíwa^l They would make use of a horse (A:16)

ʔstəqamat n.f. (P < A) **reinforcement**

ʔstəqbāl n.f. (P < A) **reception** | *gezíwa ʔstəqbalè^l tǎmám-e rūwanè^l* All
the dignitaries went to receive him (B:81). *ʔstəqbāl ʔwl* to accept |
bíš-zoa našé ʔstəqbāl kolíwa ta-lǎxà^l More people used to accept
(this) than here

ʿastəraḥat (P < A) : —*ʿwl* to rest

ʿaṣrār (P < A) : —*ʿwl* to insist

ʿašta num. **six** | *ʿaštānan* six of us; *ʿaštau*, *ʿaštawau* six of them

ʿaštasar num. **sixteen**

ʿašti num. **sixty**

ʿətəfaqan adv. (P < A) **by chance**

ʿəwya adj. (fs. *ʿwita*, pl. *ʿəwye*) **thick** | *xola ʿəwya* thick rope; *glala ʿəwya* thick thread

ʿəza n.f. (pl. *ʿəze*) **goat** | *ʿəzá mʿəla* The goat bleated

ʿəzla n.m. (pl. *ʿəzle*) **thread (of spun wool)**

ʿəzyo adv. **today**

ʿi part. **yes**

ʿijara (P < A) : *ʿijara ʿwl* to hire, to rent | *ʿorxèl ʿijàra kolíwa* They hired a water-mill (A:15). *ba-ʿijara hwl* to rent out, to let | *tʷkané rāba hítwale* *híwale ba-ʿijarà* He had many shops, which he had rented out (A:7)

ʿijaza n.f. **permission** | *ʿijazá hùlmu* *ke-ʿaxní xlulà holéx* Give permission for us to hold the wedding (A:31)

ʿila n.f. (pl. *ʿile*, *ʿilale*) **hand; arm** | *ʿila ʿsirta* a closed hand. *ʿila m-tw b-* to touch. *ʿila ʿwl/dOy* to begin: *ʿili wíli bāxoè* I began to weep (C:4)

ʿilamla n.f. **wife of brother of husband**

ʿilana n.m. (pl. *ʿilane*) **tree** | *ʿilané mewà* fruit trees (A:72); *duša ʿilane* resin of a tree; *ʿilane* festival of Sukkot

ʿinke part. (P) **subordinating particle** | *rəwe* *tá-ʿinke xîr* *ba-xá bronà* *taqribán ʿəsrì šənè* He grew until he became a boy about twenty years old (D:1)

ʿiqa adj. (fs. *ʿiqta*, pl. *ʿiqe*) **narrow** | *ləbí ʿiqà-y* My heart is sad

ʿo pron. **he/she, that (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʿóa pron. **that (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾomde adj. invar. (P < A) **main, principal** | *kasābe ʾomdé liṭwalan ga-Kurdastān*! We did not have big traders in Kurdistan (A:12)

ʾomta n.f. (pl. ʾomte) (P < A) **nation**

ʾoni pron. **they, those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾonye pron. **those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾonyexáe pron. **those (demonstrative pronoun)**

ʾortye : — *dwq to scoff* | ʾortyè *doqí gáí*! They are scoffing at me

ʾorxa n.f. (pl. ʾorxe, ʾorxale) **way; road** | ʾárba *xamšá nāfāré pílex ʾorxà-u*! *zīlex dokà*! We set off, four or five people (in all) and went there (A:19)

ʾorxel n.f. (pl. ʾorxale) **water-mill**

ʾotāq, ʾotaqa n.f. (pl. ʾotaqe) (P) **room**

ʾóxa pron. **that one**

ʾurədxá n.f. (pl. ʾurədxé) **long needle used by cobbler**

/ʿ/

ʿākās n.m. (P) **photographer**

ʿākasi n.m. (P) **photography** | *dūrbín ʿākasi camera*

ʿaklela, ʿaklelta n.f. (pl. ʿakle) **hen, chicken**

ʿaks n.m. (pl. ʿakse) (P) **photograph** | ʾó ʿākse *ntéle*! He took photographs (A:29)

ʿālamat n.f. (P < A) **sign**

ʿālawá ba- (P < A) **in addition to**

ʿamr n.m. (P < A) **life** | ʾəlhá *manté ta-ʾəmá-u ʾəsrì šəné ʿámr holét*! God willing you will live to 120; *hítwa*! *bronāké həl-bratāké la-xewále ba-ʿamrəf*! Sometimes the boy had never seen the girl in his life (A:2)

ʿāmumi adj. invar. (P < A) **public** | *ḥāmám ʿāmumì-yela*! The bath was public (A:36)

ʿaqəl adj. invar. (P < A) **intelligent, wise**

‘*aql* n.m. (P/K < A) (with suffixes: ‘*aqləf*) **mind, intelligence**

‘*arbit* n.f. (H) **evening prayer**

‘*āsābe* n.pl. (P < A) **nerves** | *xà-xmata dyálu ga-‘āsābe bar-rešī-u!* They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2)

‘*ātari* n.m. (pl. ‘*ātare*) (P < A) **grocer**

‘*āwon* n.m. (H) **sin, crime**

‘*awun kăpara* n.m. (H) **ceremony of atonement of sins**

‘*ayn*, ‘*aynah* (K < A) **like** | *tanhà ‘áyn dawrèš!* *ga-kují čern-o!* I wander around the streets alone like a beggar (E:36); *kámna ta-šəməš!* *mašxnalax-ò!* ‘*aynahú wardè!* *mayrǧalax-ò!* I shall tell the sun to warm you and make you grow like flowers (E:50); *ga-‘ayn-e-ħà!* at that (very) time (B:82)

‘*ayza* adj. (fs. ‘*ayzta/‘asta*, pl. ‘*ayze*) **good; fine** | *familù rába ‘ayzá-y!* Their family is very good (A:6); *jələ ‘ayzè mătwa!* They put (in it) fine clothes (A:9); *parčané ‘ayzè dəélwa ba-susiyăké!* He put fine materials on the horse (A:43). adv. invar. **well** | *nóšox ‘ayzá trüşla!* Make yourself look good! (Tidy yourself up!) (D:11). With *-ek* suffix in exclamatory expressions: *bróna rába ‘ayzèk-yele!* He was a very fine lad! (A:14)

‘*ayzula* n.f. **goodness**

‘*āza* n.m. (P < A) **mourning** | *šomá-e ‘āzà!* a fast of mourning (B:73)

‘*əda* (P < A) : *xa-‘əda* **a few, a small quantity** | *xá-‘əda jwanǧé* a few youths (A:12); *xá-‘əda mən-našè!* a few people (A:19)

‘*əzat* n.f. (K/P) **honour**

‘*olām*, ‘*olama* n.f. (H) **world** | *xà! bronà! híye ba-‘olām! kăččəl-yele!* A boy came into the world who was bald (D:1); *mən-‘olām zil!* He quitted the world (He died); ‘*áy ‘olamà,* ‘*azizakam,* ‘*ràba zorté-ya!* This world, my dear, is very small (C:5); ‘*olamá čarxà!* The world spins round; *la-‘olām* (H) ever, never

‘*omer* n.m. (pl. ‘*omere*) (H) ‘*omer (measurement of flour)* | *lā-la-‘omer* **festival of Lag ba-Omer**

‘onwān n.? (P) **topic, address** | *ba-‘onwan-e* for, for the sake of: *širni mātéxwa baqùl šārécwale baqùl ba-‘onwán-e reš-šatàl* We put out such sweets for them and sent them to them, for New Year (A:87)

‘übur (P < A) : — **wl to pass** | *ké Rázá Šāh^l m-txéla d-òal* ‘übur wilè,^l *míre ‘éa mà-ya?*^l When Raza Shah passed under it, he said ‘What is this?’ (B:84)

/b/

ba-, b- (i) prep. **in, into, at, on; with; (made) out of; by (oath); for (price), as (attributive)** | (1) temporal or spatial location within: *ba-pätiré* at Passover (A:67), *ba-d-ó müdätàl* at that period (A:68); *ba-tānuràl* in the oven (A:67); *b-ay-kujāwáe* in these streets (A:45). (2) on surface: *ba-rešáf* on her head (A:4); *lá ba-putākè dāéltwal ‘u-la yálef naqlīwa^l* He did not beat on the can and his children did not dance (A:107). (3) manner: *ba-d-áy jóra* in that way (A:103); *tānurāké ba-šiwè malqīwala^l* They heated the oven with wood (A:67); *kālūwala ba-xāt-e nõšef^l* He wrote it with his own hand (A:48); *ba-lišanà bšəlmanè^l* in the language of the Muslims (A:20); *t^okané ràba hīwale^l hīwale ba-‘ijarà^l* He had many shops, which he had rented out (A:7); *b-šəmə* by the name (of) (A:41). (4) **into** (transfer): *pašrāké kwólwale ba-‘ilá máre belākè^l* He gave the meat into the hand of the head of the household (A:83); **into** (transformation): *‘ay-zārà^l taxniwale^l kolūwale ba-qamxà^l* They would grind the wheat, make it into flour (A:59); *xirá-y ba-‘afsār^l* He has become an officer (A:17). (5) **material**: *päre ba-taxtè-hitwal^l* There were propellers of wood (A:59). (6) **with (object)**: *geziwa ba-dohól ‘u-zorná^l* They would go with drum and pipe (A:10). (7) **by (oath)**: *ba-rešòx!^l* (I swear) by your head! (= It is really so!) (B:63). (8) **for (price)** | *ba-‘əštà-me^l ‘əštà-me ‘alpè^l zəbnán^l* We sold for six hundred, for six hundred thousand (C:8); *ba-harzàn^l* cheaply (C:8). (9) **as (attributive)** | *huláa ba-nājás là káénwale^l* They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64). (10) Combined with other prepositions: *tára mázra ba-réša nõšaf^l* She closed the door onto herself (A:22); *jám kménwa ba-qám kaldá-u xətnà^l* They brought a mirror to the bride and groom (A:45); *hár-či ‘át kəmràt^l ‘ána mātūna ba-réš ‘eni^l* Whatever you say, I am willing to do (A:18); *ba-dáwr-e ‘o belà^l* around that house

ba- (ii) part. (K) **deontic particle** | *ba-ʾāxàl* May he eat; *dú ga-pulāké ba-naqlèx!* Beat on the drum and let us dance! (A:107)

baʿa : — ʾwl **to bleat** | ʾərbá *baʿà kolá!* A sheep bleats → *bʿy*

babena n.m. **forehead**

baʿdan part. (P < A) **afterwards, then**

bad-baxti n.m. (P) **ill fortune**

bādiqa n.f. (H) **inspection (for leaven at Passover)**

bahār n.m. (K) **Spring**

bākarat n.f. (P < A) **virginity**

bākeš (K) : ʾzl *bākeš-* **to drag, to force** | *zíl bākeš!* He forced me, *zíla bākešòx!* She forced you (ms.)

bāla n.f. (K < A) **catastrophe**

balkon n.f. (P) **balcony**

bālotá n.f. (pl. *bālote*) **throat**

baḷa n.f. (pl. *baḷe*) (K) **wing**

baḷuka n.f. (pl. *baḷuke*) (K) **cherry**

bāna n.m. (pl. *bānae*) (P < A) **builder**

bāne ʿolam (H) n.pl. **people** | *na-raḥātí ta-híč bāné ʿolám là-hāwəl* May He (God) not grant distress to any people (C:14)

bangler n.f. (pl. *banglere*) (K) **roller for roof**

baqa prep. **to, for** | (1) destination, direction: *gezíwa báqa béla nõšul* They went to their home (A:11); *kmārwa xətná čəkmá kwəl báqa kaldāké!* He would say how much the groom would give to the bride (A:48); *xa-rezá laxmá-u guptá šāqál báqa yalèf-u!* He buys a little bread and cheese for his children (A:102); *rāba hárs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè!* They did not have much yearning for money (A:55). (2) address: *kámra báqa baxti!* She says to my wife (A:17). (3) attribution: *zahamtè-ya baq!* It is difficult for me; *wále báqa did!* *wūjud-dídi xa-šahì lá šāwé!* But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12). (4) purpose: *onyexáe píšen báqa yādgari!* They have remained as a reminder (of the event) (A:29); *leléf-o zléx baqà!* *širini hāmex-ó!* On that very night

we went to fetch the sweets (A:19). (5) cause: *báqa d-óa beláké mašxniwalè*! For this reason they heated the house (A:89); *laxmá huláa xùl*! *báqa d-éa huláa pəsrá xzurá lá kxàl*! Eat the food of a Jew, because a Jew does not eat the meat of a pig (B:65). (6) duration: *baqá xá-yarxa-u tré-yarxe haštá wile-u*! He worked for one or two months (D:24). (7) Combined with other prepositions: *qúmna zína reš-Tarán báqa réša haštì*! I set off and went to Tehran for my work (A:27)

baqəla n.f. (pl. *baqəle*) (P/K < A) **bean**

ba-qəwta adj. invar. **strong**

baqya n.f. (P < A) **remainder** | *baqyú-č ga-malāwə-yelu*! The remainder of them were in the villages (B:9)

bar prep. **after (spatial and temporal); behind; over.** conj. **before** | *bár-d-o* after that, then; *bár-d-o xəráe* afterwards. Combined with *m-*: *m-bàraf*! behind her (A:46); *šišmé dərénwalu bar-xá qaḷi*! They poured the sesame over a carpet (B:27). Clausal conjunction: *bar-d-əa*! 'ijazá wilwalù, *gbéwa xa-širni xorán-e mfāšàl doq*! After they had given their permission, they had to hold a big ceremony of 'eating the sweets' (A:32); *bár-o kol-ò*! He turns away; *bàr-o kól, qəme-o kól*! He turns around

bar n.? (K) **side** | *xa 'ay-bar ... xa 'ay-bar* one on one side ... one on the other side

bar-ʿamona n.m. (pl. *bar-ʿamone*) **paternal cousin**

bar-ʿamta n.m. (pl. *bar-ʿamte*) **maternal cousin**

bar-ʿaleh-e part. (P < A) **against** | *bar-ʿaléh-e dìn*! *wále là-ʿəbya-y*! *róšan hole-ò*! He was against religion but he did not want to make it explicit (B:82)

bəraxa n.f. (H) **blessing** | *bəraxà kolíwa*! They would make a blessing (B:67); *bəraxa toranjula* n.f. the ceremony of blessing the etrog

báro adv. **the day after tomorrow**

bar-pqara n.m. **back of the neck**

bəruxa n.m. (pl. *bəruxəwale*) **friend** | 'anà! *bəruxəwale dòqna*! I shall make friends (D:3)

bəruxta n.f. (pl. *bəruxye*) **friend (f.)**

bāruḫula n.f. **friendship**

bās : (K) — *xØr* to **open (plant)** | *mlāgó bās xir-ó*! The bud opened

bāsa, basta n.f. (pl. *bāse*) (K/P) **bundle** | *bāsāké kārəxnaf-ò*! I shall wrap up the parcel; *ʿaspāw krəxlan-ò*! *bastá ba-bastà*! We wrapped up our belongings, bundle, by bundle (E:10)

bāsima adj. (pl. *bāsinta*, pl. *bāsime*) **pleasant; well; tasty** | *zəndəgí rába rába bāsīmà-yelè*! Life was very very pleasant (A:55); *ʿilóx bāsīmè*! Thank you (literally: [May] your hands be well), said in gratitude for something given; *pəməx bāsīmà*! Thank you (literally: [May] your mouth be well), said after a conversation

bāsīmula n.f. **goodness, joy**

basta → *bāsa*

bastula n.f. (pl. *bastule*) (K) **small barrel**

bāšire pl. (sing. *bāširta*) **grapes** | *xa-boḷa bāširta* a single grape; *bāšire yāquti* small round grapes

bašor mod. **a few adv. little, rarely** | *xa-bašor* a little, somewhat; *bašor tome* a few seeds; *xa-bašór pūl pīl ga-ʿilū*! A little money fell into their hands (B:56); *ba-mūdāt-e ké*! *bəxlé dasgírən-yelū*! *bāz-ham rába bašór ləxle xāenwa*! When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3); *biš bašor less; very few* | *ʿay-šatá ʿalpá šéqel biš-bašór ḥāslī ta-šəṭqāl*! This year I earned 1,000 shekels less than last year; *bīš bašór nāše hītwa šomá la-doqīwa*! There were only very few people who did not fast (B:44)

bāšorula n.f. **dearth, lack**

bāšar n.m. (P < A) **man, human being** | *bāšār xet-ʿəxà-y*! A human after all is like that (= it is only human) (C:6)

bāše (P) **let it be so**

baška, baškam part. (K) **perhaps** | *baškám lišanán lá-hela qāṭè*! Perhaps our language will not become extinct (E:75); *muntāzər xír*! *bašká daʿwātəf holí*! He waited hoping they would invite him (D:7); *bāška ʿəlhà-y mǎʿalīja xārát*! Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1)

bat-ʿamona n.f. **daughter of uncle; paternal cousin (f.)**

batal-batal-láħmal adv. **four days ago**

batal-bóro adv. **in three days time**

batal-láħmal adv. **three days ago**

ba-təm'a adv. invar. **tasty**

bätula n.f. (H) **virgin** | *qáme d-ó-č xlúla holi kúle be-bätulä-yen* Before they marry, they are all non-virgins (A:50)

bäura adj. (fs. *bäurta*, pl. *bäure*) **bright** | *yoma bäura* a bright day

bäurula n.f. **light; brightness** | *bäurulá lapläl* It is getting light; *wá xəšká zül-u' pīla bäuruläl* Look the darkness has gone, the light has come (E:47); *kəxwé bäurulá kwí* The stars shine; *bäurula 'ena* white of the eye

bawa pyara (K) n.m. **step-father**

bawař (K) : — 'wl **to believe** | *bawäř-hul, yála trəsar šəné, xámsar šəné dōqwale* Believe me, a boy twelve years old (and one) fifteen years old would observe it (the fast) (B:44)

bawreša n.f. (pl. *bawreše*) (K) **wicker fan**

bäxelī n.? (K < A) **jealousy** | — *lbl* to be jealous: 'áy *baxtá-u 'áy goräl* *bäxelī lablíwa l-d-áy góra xét ké' ba-d-áy jóra zəndəgí kòl* The woman and the man were jealous of that other man who lived in this way (A:103)

bäxila n.f. **weeping**

baxta n.f. (pl. 'ənše) **woman, wife**

baxyana adj. (fs. *baxyanta*, pl. *baxyane*) **weepy**

bayaquš n.f. (pl. *bayaquše*) (K) **owl**

bayər adj. invar. (K) **waste (land)**

bayn prep. **between** | *bayn-e tati-u daäki* between my father and my mother; *xá-provérb hitwa ga-baynú* They had a proverb among themselves (B:64); *mən-bayn 'zl* to pass away, to perish: 'ənyexáe *rábau mən-graní mən-báyñ zīli* Many of them went from the midst (= passed away) due to famine (B:10)

bazār n.m. (P) **market**

bazari n.m. (P) **market stall keeper**

bāzaza n.m. (pl. *bāzaze*) **cloth merchant**

bāz, *bāz-ham* part. (P) **yet, still; also** | *ba-müddät-e ké! bəxlé dasgiràn-yelu!* *bāz-ham rába başòr ləxle xəenwa!* When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3)

be- n.m. (annexation form) **family** | *be-Daryuř-xān* the family of Daryuř-khan; *be-didox* your family; *be-babe* the family of one's parents | *kaldá zıla be-babâf!* The bride went to her parent's family; *be-xəme* in-law family | *kaldá zıla be-xəməf!* The bride went to her in-law family (the family of the groom); *be-kalda* the family of the bride | *ga-yomà! reř-řatà!* *baqa-xətnà! mən-be-kaldá xwān kwíwa!* On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride (A:9)

be- prep. **without** | *be-‘aql* (K/P < A) stupid, *be-qəwta* weak, *be-mara* ownerless, abandoned, *be-ħaya* (P < A) shameless, *be-čara* (K) with no solution, hopeless, desperate; *be-təm‘a* tasteless; *be-‘enà ħăwé!* May he be without the (evil) eye (said of a beautiful child); *be-bätulá* n.f. non-virgin | *be-bätulá lá xirtè-ya!* She was not a non-virgin (on her wedding night) (A:50); *be-čarāgi* n.m. (P) desperation

behtar adj. invar. (P) **best** | *béhtar-e zārà!* the best wheat (B:14)

bela n.m. (pl. *bele*, *beləwae*, *bate*) **house, home**. adv. **at home** | *kúle maşşáe belà kolíwa!* Everybody made unleavened bread at home (A:67); *ləxma bela* bread produced (on a griddle and preserved) at home; *máre belăké!* the householder (A:83); *‘əlhá belóx lá mărùle!* May God not destroy your house; *belàn xlipá-y!* We have moved home (E:61)

benulmälälí adj. invar. (P) **international** | *jáng-e benulmälälí ‘ăwà!* *wáxt-e piř-‘əa!* just before the First World War (B:10)

beta n.f. (pl. *bee*) **egg** | *‘aklelá betà wilá-y!* The hen has laid an egg

bəxle pron. **with each other, together** | *‘oni-ħíyen bəxle!* They came together

bəl‘axəra adv. (P < A) **in the end**

bənyām n.m. (H) **person**

bəqāta n.f. (pl. *bəqātane*, *bəqātāwáe*) **morning** | *báqāta ʾáṣər gezəlwaʿ jəns zābənwa-uʿ* Morning and evening he would go and sell cloth (A:105); *bəqāta sālāt* early in the morning; *bəqātef-o* the next morning

bərka n.f. (pl. *bərke*, *bərkale*) **knee**

bərqa n.m. **lightning** | *xá bərqá díleʿ* Lightning struck

bəza n.m. (pl. *bəze*) **hole** | *bəza poqa* nostril; *bəza xmata* hole in a needle

bəzyana adj. (fs. *bəzyanta*, pl. *bəzyane*) **riddled with holes**

bijari n./adj. invar. **from Bijar**

bināḡat n.? (pl. *bināḡate*) (K) **foundation**

bira n.f. **well; cistern**

biš part. **more (preceding adjectives)** | *ʾāxoní mən-xālastí biš-rūwà-yʿ* My brother is bigger than my sister; *ʾáy xāmuštá ta-d-ó xāmuštá biš-rabtè-yaʿ* This apple is bigger than that apple; *ʾāxoní mən-kúle biš-rūwà-yʿ* My brother is the greatest (literally: is greater than everybody)

biyabān n.f. (P) **desert**

bi-zoa → *zoa*

boʿina n.m. **blockage in throat; nausea, vomit** | *ʾó ga-pliyáw ḡqaéf boʿinà díleʿ* When he was talking, he had a blockage in his throat; *boʿiní kiyàʿ* I want to vomit

bola n.m. (pl. *bole*) **grape** | *xa bola bāširta* a single grape

bole n.pl. **nasal mucus, snot**

bóro adv. **in two days time**

boryaw : — *ʾwl to low* | *tortá boryàw koláʿ* The cow is lowing

brata n.f. (pl. *blane*) **daughter; girl** | *brata mama* paternal cousin (f.); *brata ʾamta* maternal cousin (f.); *brata jwān* young woman

brixa adj. (fs. *brixta*, pl. *brixe*) **blessed** | *ʾéla-u reš-šatóx háwén brixèʿ!* May your festival and New Year be blessed! (B:33)

brixula n.f. **the act of blessing** | *'ela-brixula* festival blessing: *gèznawa*¹
*'éla brixulà hámnna baqéf*¹ I would go to wish him a happy festival
 (B:33)

brona n.m. (pl. *brone*) **son; boy**

bšəlmana n.m. (pl. *bšəlmane*) **Muslim**

bšəlmanta n.f. (pl. *bšəlmanye*) **Muslim woman**

bšila adj. (fs. *bšilta*, pl. *bšile*) **cooked**

buq n.m. (K) **steam**

buqča n.f. (pl. *buqče*) (K) **knapsack**

burtāqāl n.f. (pl. *burtāqale*) (K/P) **orange**

buška n.f. (pl. *buške*) (P) **barrel**

buxari n.f. (K/P) **stove**

byanke n.f. (K) **pretext, excuse** | *byankè dóq*¹ He is making excuses

/č/

čačaw n.m. (pl. *čačawe*) (K) **woman's robe covering head**

čāl n.f. (K) **hole (in the ground)**

čālān n.pl. (K) **holes (game in which nuts were thrown into a hole)**

čalkən adj. invar. (K) **dirty** | *'áy jálan čalkən-yen*¹ These clothes of ours
 are dirty (C:11); *'ilaléf čalkən-yen*¹ His hands are dirty

čamča n.f. (pl. *čamče*) **spoon**

čanaga n.m. (K) **chin; jaw**

čānānče part. (P) **if, whether** | *xáé ... 'ágar čānānče xa-našá na-rahāti*
*hāwèle*¹ He would see whether a person had a grievance (A:108)

čāpala n.f. (K) **slap** | — *dØy* to slap

čāpawana n.? (K) **contrary, opposite** | *čāpawana kól*¹ He does the op-
 posite

čaq (K) : — *dØy* to flick | *gozá čàq díle*¹ He flicked the walnut (in the
 walnut game)

čaqu n.f. (pl. *čaquwe*) (P) **small knife**

čār n.f. (K) **tent**

čara n.m. (pl. *čare*) (K) **solution** | *be-čara* with no solution, desperate, unfortunate

čarak n.f. (K) **quarter; unit of measure (quarter of *manya* = 1 kilo)**

čarči n.m. (pl. *čarčiye*) (K) **peddler**

čarx n.m. (K/P) **wheel** | *ʾəlhá ʾasxá wileʿ čárx mčireʿ* God work (our fate) in such a way and turned the wheel (C:5)

čay n.f. (K/P) **tea**

čakma part. **how much? how many? some, several** | *čəkmà šəné ga-dóka xirènʿ* How many years were they there? (B:1); *xa-ʾəxóna xetəʿ čəkma šoglə hitéʿ* Another brother of hers has several jobs (A:6). Combined with *xa*: *xá čəkmá yomé xét hál baqəʿ* In a few more days come for it (D:12). *čakma-i* a small amount: *bár xá čəkmà-iʿ* after a while (a small space of time) (C:3)

čəngāl n.f. (pl. *čəngəle*) (K) **fork**

čəza n.f. **sting (of insect)** (K) | — *dʕy* to sting (insect): *hangá čəzá díla bəiʿ* The bee stung me

čin n.m. (pl. *čine*) (K) **lock (of hair)**

činga n.f. (pl. *činge*) (K) **handful** | *xa činga nuqlə* a handful of sweets

čoke n.pl. (K) **fried pieces of meat**

čort n.f. (P) **abacus**

čruke n.m. (pl. *čruke*) (P) **wrinkle** | *čruke šalma* wrinkles of the face

čuca n.f. (pl. *čuče*) (K) **round sweet pastry**

čun part. (P) **because; when.** (1) **because** | *ʾó lá zíl báqa haštá čún nəxòš-yeleʿ* He did not go to work, because he was ill; *čún ʾát bə-ruxá didi-yetʿ komə̀kòx kónaʿ* Because you are my friend, I shall help you. (2) **when** | *čún tate-ú dačkəkèʿ kəmriwa ʾéa ʿastè-yaʿ* *bronəké-č qə̀bùl kólwaʿ* When the father and mother would say ‘Is she good?’, the boy would accept (A:2); *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plitwa waryàʿ čəqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belàʿ* When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick it and bring (it) home (B:32)

čwargoš n.f. (K) **square**

čwarpaļu adj. invar. (K) **dressed (stone)** | *binagáte batú-č ba-kepé čwarpaļu kménwalu garé!* They raised the foundations of their houses to the roof with dressed stone (B:56)

/d/

d- part. **genitive particle** | Attached to independent 3rd person pronouns: *d-o*, *d-oni*, which function as genitive complements of nouns and prepositions, e.g. *bela d-o* his house, *baqa d-o* to him, or as direct objects of verbs *d-ó xèli!* I saw him

da part. (K) **now** | Used to give intensity to imperatives: *da-már xàena!* Now tell (me), let me see! (B:63)

dačka n.f. (pl. *dačke*) (K) **mother** | *dačka rabta* grandmother; *tatá da-čkà!* father and mother (A:91); *dačka lá qoràlox!* May your mother not bury you (i.e. you should not go to the grave without changing things) (A:103)

dáe n.f. (K) **mother! mummy! (vocative)**

dála n.m. (K/P) **marten**

dálaka n.m. (pl. *dálake*) **barber**

dámăqopān n.m. (K) **Kurdish baggy trousers**

dana n.m (pl. *dane*) **seed; a single, a certain** | *xa-dána lăčăgá rabtá barešâf-yela!* A large veil was on her head (A:24); *zărâké hămènwale-o!* *ga-béla dána dána găbènwale!* (It was necessary for them) to bring bring the wheat back and sort it grain by grain in the house (A:58); *dána dána ʼnyexáe hăsăb kolúwalu!* One by one he would calculate them (the accounts) (A:101); *dána dána kúle zili-ò!* One by one they would go (D:6); *har danu* each one of them

dănăgazoe n.pl. (K) **sweets made of sesame**

danda n.m. (pl. *dande*) (K) **rib**

danduka n.f. (pl. *danduke*) (K) **beak (of bird)**

dăqıqıa adj. (fs. *dăqıqıta*, pl. *dăqıqe*) **thin; fine** | *taqlê dăqıqe* thin threads

darai n.m. (P) **property**

dārč'in n.m. (P) **cinnamon**

dargušta n.f. (pl. *dargušye*) **cradle**

darmana n.m. (pl. *darmane*) (K) **drug, medicine** | *darmanè-č lítwa* 'o-waxtára *darmáne dāen*! They did not have medicines at that time to apply (A:76)

dars n.m. (P < A) **lesson** | *dars qry* to study: *ham-dárs qārènawa*! *ham-ga-bánk ḥaštà konáwa*! I was both studying and also working in a bank (A:5); *dars m-qry* to teach

daruš n.m. (H) **homily** | *ḥaxám-e kništà ga-doká*! *daruš kólwa*! The rabbi of the synagogue there made a homily (B:52)

darya n.f. (pl. *daryae*) (P) **sea** | *səpla darya* the coast of the sea; *tiwa-y qam-darya* He is sitting by the sea

darz n.m. (pl. *darze*) (K/P) **crack, chink** | *mən-dárze* 'o-tárá *xáetun kništāxùn*! You will see your synagogue through the cracks in the door

dāsa, dasta n.f. (pl. *dāse*) (K) **handle; team, group; suit (of clothes); side (in a game)** | *dasta tára* door handle; *dāsa ḥāwān* the pestle of a mortar; *Yerušaláyim ḥiyex*! *dastá ba-dastà*! We came to Jerusalem, group by group (E:10); *xa-dásá ləbàs* a set/suit of clothes (A:51); *ta-hár-kas da'wātéf wile*! *ba-xá dásá jələ zil*! He went in a suit to each one who had invited him (D:16)

dasgiran n.m./f. (K) **betrothed** | *ba-müdüät-e ké bəxlé dasgiran-yelu*! *bāz-ham rába bašòr ləxle xáenwa*! When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3); *xíra ba-dasgiranì*! She became my betrothed (A:20)

dasta → *dāsa*

dāstān n.f. (pl. *dāstane*) (P) **story** | *dāstān ḥāqéwa baqàn*! He would tell us a story (A:92)

dašta n.f. (pl. *dašyale*) (K) **field**

da'wat n.f. : — 'wl **to invite** | *bār-d-o*! *leləf-o*! *da'wát wílu mən-familàn*! Then, in the evening, they invited our family (A:26); *da'watàn wílu* They invited us (A:26); 'anà! *da'wāt-e didāxún wíli*! *ké hètun*! *belí memaní wíli baqāxùn*.! 'axtú *tāmà didí-u daāki da'wát lá kolétun?*!

Look, I invited you to come and I hosted you in my house. Why do you not invite me and my mother? (D:8)

dawaxanadār n.m. (P) **pharmacist**

dawaxane n.m. (P) **pharmacy**

dawlaman adj. invar. (K) **rich**

dawr- prep. **around** | *dawr-e mez* around the table. Combined with *ba-*:
ba-dawr-e 'o bela around that house

dawra n.m. (pl. *dawrān*) (K/P < A) **generation**

dawrandawr prep. **around** | *dawrandawr-e Sanandāj* around Sanandaj

dawreši adj. invar. (K/P) **relating to a dervish/beggar** | *lābās-e dawreši*
beggar's clothes (A:108)

dawri n.m. (pl. *dawriye*) (K) **plate**

dawruwar n.? (P) **surrounding, environment** | *tāmām 'áy dawruwārān!*
da'wāt honū! Let me invite everybody around us (D:2)

dax (i) adv. **how? as** | *dāx-yet?*¹ How are you?; *šratā har-dāx b-ay-jóra*
*ga-lāxā malqī,*¹ *kūle béla ga-doká šratā malqīwa!* Just as they light a
lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp (B:48); *har-dāx-*
dax 'ana-nóši ba-xā t'ká m'téna! *'āy-brona-č m'āte!* Just as I attained
a place (in life), this boy also will attain a place (D:28)

dax (ii) adj. invar. **hot** | *tānurā dāx xārāwa!* The oven would become
hot

daxom part. (K) **even, even if** | *daxóm māhanqīli!* even if they strangle
me (C:3); *'olām 'axār xārā!* *daxóm ga-'Irān!* The world will come to
an end, even in Iran (C:12). Used in indirect questions: *bāqrī mən-*
yalān! *daxóm là xiyā-y!* I asked our children whether they had seen
it (our language) (E:26); *m'ūni ga-dawrān!* *xāēna mà xirā-y!* *rēša 'ay-*
qawmū! *dāxom mà zilā-y!* I looked around to see what had hap-
pened, what had become of my people (E:23)

dáyka interj. (K) **mother! mummy! (vocative)**

deara n.f. (pl. *deare*) (P < A) **tambourine** | *dearā dāēnwa 'šlef-u!* They
would beat the tambourine (A:35)

dehati n.m. (pl. *dehatiye*) (P) **villager**

denula n.f. **fat** | *ga-denulá nóšaf bašlíwala qāšàng^l* They would cook it (the cow) well in its own fat (A:84)

dewa n.m. **gold**

dewana adj. (fs. *dewanta*, pl. *dewane*) **made of gold**

dama n.m. **blood**

dám'a n.m. (pl. *dám'e*) **tear**

dám'ela n.f. (pl. *dám'e*) **tear**

did- part. **independent genitive particle** | Used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes: *didi*, *didan*, *didax*, *didox*, *didāxun*. These function as genitive complements of nouns and prepositions, e.g. *bela didi* my house, *baqa didi* to me, or as direct objects of verbs *didí xèle^l* He saw me

dīm n.? (K) **side, one of two sides** | *xá-dana pardá doqíwa-u^l g-o-dimāf^l kaldá-u xətná samxì^l g-ay-lág-əč našé samxìwa^l* They would draw a curtain. On one side of it stood the bride and groom and on the other side stood the people. (A:47)

diwax n.f. (K) **red cloth put over the head of bride at a wedding**

diyani (K) **seeing** | *híyex baqá diyani^l yalākè^l* We came to see the children (C:5)

dnəwla n.f. (*dənwe*) **fly**

doe n.pl. (K) **yoghurt water**

dohol n.f. (K) **drum** | *dohól ʔu-zorná lapláwa qāme^l* The drum and pipe went in front (A:10); *dohól ʔu-zorná dāyáwa ʔəlāf-u^l* The drum and pipe were played (A:45)

doka adv. **there** | with the preposition *ga-*: *rásm ga-doká ʔāxà-yele^l* The custom there was like this (A:9); *ga-dokà^l kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa^l pəsrá tazà^l* There, every day there was meat, good meat (A:73)

dolta n.f. (pl. *dolte*) (P/K) **government; nation; wealth**

došak n.m. (pl. *došāke*) (K) **mattress**

drága adv. (K) **late** | *xəlástí dràga híya^l* My sister came late

dubára part. (K) **then**

dugla n.m. (pl. *dulge*) **lie**

dujka n.m. (*dujke*) (K) **tail**

duktər n.m. (pl. *duktəre*) **doctor** | *tāmám-e duktəre kúle zilan*! I went to all the doctors (C:1); *duktər kake* dentist

dumin num. (K) **second**

durbin n.f. (pl. *durbine*) (P) **binoculars** | *durbin ‘ākasi* camera

duša n.m. **honey** | *duša ‘ilana* resin of a tree

duwom num. (P) **second**

duxwa n.m. **dish made of rice and yoghurt**

dyar- **seeing** (K) | *yätúna ba-dyaròx*! I shall wait for you/See you soon

/f/

fahmana adj. (fs. *fahmanta*, pl. *fahmane*) (P < A) **understanding, wise**

fäläka (P < A) : — **‘wl to beat**

fam- (P < A) + pronominal suffix **to remember** | with copula or verb
lpl: famef-ya He remembers her (§9.13.4.); *‘aná pil-ó famí ké ...* I remember that ...; *fam-* + negative copula or *‘zl* to forget: *famí là-y,*! *famí zil-ò*! I have forgotten; *dáx famóx zilà mantākóx hāmèta?!* How did you forget to bring it with you?! (E:33)

famil n.m. **family** | *familù rába ‘ayzáy-*! Their family is very good (A:6)

fāqat part. (P < A) **only**

farmande n.m. (P) **commander** | *farmande laškar* army commander

farš n.m. (P < A) **bedding**

farz : (P < A) — **‘wl to suppose** | *fàrz holéx*! Let’s suppose

fawqef adv. (P < A) **at most, maximum** | *doká fawqéf hítwa təlḥà ṭābāqé*! There were three storeys at the most (A:57)

fawri adj. (P) **immediately**

faya n.f. **advantage** | *fayà-lite*! There is no advantage/There is no point (C:6)

fəkr- → *fkər-*

fərča n.f. (K) **brush**

fərya adj. (fs. *frita*, pl. *fərye*) **wide**

fəšār n.m. (P) **pressure** | *ba-fəšār-e d-o-màe* by the pressure of the water (A:59)

fkər n.m. (pl. *fəkre*) (P < A) **thought** | *ʿənyexáe ga-fkər kwénwa ké báqa pätiré má lazóm-ye tahyà holí* They considered what they should prepare for Passover (B:14); *fkər wili-ó* I thought it over (C:6); *fəkr-* + pronominal suffix and copula: to remember | *dāstané rába hítwale ke-ʿaná fəkrí lèn* He had many stories that I do not remember (A:97); *ʿát fəkróx là-ke Hájí ʿIshāq?* Don't you remember Hájí ʿIshāq?

flān mod. (P < A) **such-and-such** | *sé flān tʿkà* Go to such-and-such a place (D:11)

fret n.m. (pl. *frete*) (K) **thick thread on fringe (of carpet)**

frəsta n.f. (P < A) **opportunity**

frišta n.f. (pl. *frišye*) (K) **angel**

/g/

ga-, *g-* prep. **in; at; among; on** | (1) spatial location: *ga-ʿahrá didàn* in our town (A:1); *ga-tára ḥawšú samxìwa* They stood at the door of their courtyard (A:45); *ga-dokà* there (A:2); *ga-lāxà* here (A:19). (2) temporal location: *ga-yomà reš-šatà* on the day of New Year (A:9); *ga-d-ó šoa-yomè* in those seven days (A:68); *g-ó waxtāra-č* at that time (A:29); *g-ò-lele* on that night. (3) on surface: *ḥáná doqí ga-rešá kaldākè* They put henna on the head of the bride (A:41); *dú ga-pulāké* Beat on the drum! (A:107); *pašòr garšíwa ga-ʿaqlú* They scrubbed with a *pašòr* ('foot washer') on their feet (A:38). (4) ingressive: *māttwale ga-xa-xwàn-u* They put them into a chest (A:52). After verbs of movement: *gezíwa ga-pardà* They went behind (literally: into) the curtain (A:49); *ʿaná ga-ʿIrán là gezan-ó* I shall not go back to Iran (C:12); *dubára zíl ga-bazār-u* *ga-našé ké daʿwàt wiliwale* Then he went to the market among the people whom he had invited (D:13)

ga n.f. (K) **time** | *ʿay-ga* at that time: *ʿáy-ga xa-ṭābāqá duwóm-yela šawýáwa māsálán ṭābāqa haftóm-e lāxà* At that time what was the

second floor was equivalent to, for example, the seventh floor here (A:13)

ga adj. invar. (K) **poor**

gaj n.m. (P) **chalk**

gāla n.f. (pl. *gālae*) (K) **leaf**

gānawa n.m (pl. *gānawe*) **thief**

gānawta n.f. (pl. *gānawye*) **thief (f.)**

gārame n.pl. **heavens** | *ʿalḥa-e gārame* God of the heavens

gard-u-xāk n.m. (P) **dust** | *belāké gbé tāmám tamúz holīle,¹ gard-u-xakéf doqīle¹* They had to make the house really clean and remove its dust (A:57)

gare n.m. (pl. *garāwae*) **roof**

gargome n.f. **thunder**

gari n.f. (pl. *gariye*) (P) **cart** | *ba-gariyè maždāre bāqa Hāmān¹* He sends him to Hamadan with carts (B:62)

garma n.m. (pl. *garme*) **bone** | *garma ʿaqla* ankle

garmāwe n.f. (pl. *garmāwe*) (K) **small sieve**

gārusa adj. (fs. *gārusta*, pl. *gāruse*) **thick, broad; big; coarse** | *taqle gāruse* big stitches; *šīlana gārusa* a big apricot; *ʿarbala gārusta* a big sieve

gawne n.pl. **twigs**

gaxkana n.m., *gaxkanta* n.f. (pl. *gaxkane*) **dimple**

gaxkana adj.m. (fs. *gaxkanta*, pl. *gaxkane*) **laughing, merry** | *māṭex tālāxā¹ kūlan gaxkanē¹* We arrived there, all of us merry (E:14)

gāz (K) : — *dwq to bite* | *gāz dwāqlī mən-pāsra¹* I bit into the meat; *kalbā gāz dwāqle mən-ʿaqlī¹* The dog bit my leg

gaza n.f. (pl. *gaze*) (P/K) **unit of measure equivalent to a metre**

gbe part. **must** | *ʿilalī gbé xalnū¹* I must wash my hands

ge → *ke*

gera n.m. (pl. *gere*) **rolling pin**

geraq^wše n.f. **rainbow**

gežəŋga n.f. (K) **axle; shaft of door**

gəla n.m. **grass, herb** | *šəruʔ koliwa gəla čəqənwa*¹ They began to pick herbs (B:32)

gəlka n.f. (pl. *gəlke*) (K) **index finger** | *gəka ʔena* pupil of the eye

gəli adj. invar. (K) **made of mud, earthenware** (K) | *qoqé gəli* earthenware pots (B:24)

gərd adj. invar. (P) **round**

gərse n.pl. (sing. *gərša* f.) **groats** | *xə dana gərša* a single groat

gərza n.m. (pl. *gərze*) **rat**

gəxka n.f. **laughter**

gilaxa n.f. **mixed herbs**

giyahi adj. invar. (P) **herbal, herbaceous** | *məwád-e giyahì* herbal substances (A:40)

giz (P): *har-la-giz* **never** | *ʔátá har-lá-giz la-kélox yátət ʔəxà*¹ Now you could never sit like that (A:56)

glala n.m. (pl. *glale*) **thread**

gläran n.f. (K) **rolling (balls as a game)**

glaw (K) : *warda glaw* n.f. **rose**

gogərd n.m. (pl. *gogərde*) (K) **match** | *gogərd dəənwa ba-zuxaḷəkè*¹ They put a match to the coals (A:90)

gonāhkār adj. invar. (P) **sinful; guilty**

gora n.m. (pl. *gure*) **man; husband** | *wáxt-e gorəf-ye*¹ It is time she got married; *gora daǎka* step-father

gošware n.pl. (P) **earrings**

goza n.f. (pl. *goze*) **walnut**

gozala n.f. (pl. *gozale*) (K) **small pot**

grani n.m. (K) **hunger, starvation, famine** | *ʔənyexáe rábau mən-graní mən-báyn zili*¹ Most of them (the Jews) perished from famine (B:10)

grawa n.m. (K) **sacking material**

groli n.f. (pl. *groliye*) (K) **reel, spool (for thread)**

gul'a n.f. (pl. *gul'e*) **kernel (of fruit); cobble stone**

guna n.m. **penis of young boy**

guni n.f. (K) **sack**

gupa n.f. (pl. *gupe*) **cheek**

gupta n.f. (pl. *gupte*) **cheese**

gurān n.m. (K) **hyena**

gurani n.f. (pl. *guranye*) (K) **song**

gurj, *gwərj* adv. (K) **quickly** | *gùrg xúr!*¹ Hurry up!

guša n.f. (pl. *guše*) (1) **ball of dough**. (2) **support for cooking pot on top of a stove**

guza n.m. (pl. *guze*, *guzane*) **wall**

gware n.pl. (sing. *gwarta* f.) **socks**

gwenya, *gwentā* n.f. (pl. *gwenye*) **eyebrow**

gwərj → *gurj*

ğārib n.m. (pl. *ğāribe*) (P < A) **foreigner**

ğāribi adj. invar. (P < A) **foreign** | *kāmna ta-nəxlà¹ ba-rešàx nandé¹ tozá*
ğāribi¹ m-rešàx mandé¹ I shall tell the rain to fall on your head and
remove the foreign dust (i.e. dust gathered in foreign lands) from
your head (E:51)

ğer 'az part. (P < A) **apart from**

gyān, *gyana* (i) n.f. (pl. *gyane*) (K) **soul; body** | *Sara gyān* my dear
Sarah; *tre gyane* pregnant, *baxta tre gyane* a pregnant woman

gyana (ii) : — 'wl **to extinguish**

/h/

ha part. **presentative particle** | Combined with copula: *ga-lăxá xa-našà*
há-y¹ There is somebody here; *há-ya ga-lăxè-ya¹* Here, it (fs.) is
here

hafta n.f. (pl. *hafte*) (P) **week**

haftom num. (P) **seventh**

hālaxa n.f. (H) **Jewish Rabbinic law**

halbāta part. (K/P) **of course**

haḷa adj. invar. (K) **sour, unripe**

hālušta n.f. (pl. *hāluje*) (K) **plum**

haḷwa (i) n.f. (P < A) **sweet porridge made from flour**

haḷwa (ii) n.f. (pl. *haḷwe*) (K) **spot, pockmark** | *haḷwè plīṭi* Spots came out

ham part. (P) **also** | *hām torà qārēwa*,¹ *hām miḷà kólwa*,¹ *wa-hām šohèt-yele*¹ He read the Torah, he also performed circumcisions, and he also was a *šohet* (A:73)

ham-čonin part. (P) **also the same**

hāmeša part. (P) **always**

hanga n.f. (pl. *hange*) (K) **bee** | *xá hangá dīla bái/ʔǎli*¹ A bee stung me

hangəḷta n.f. (pl. *hangəlye*) (K) **armpit**

har part. **just; still; each, every**. (1) **just** | *har-ʔāxá tāmašà koləxwa*¹ We were just looking (A:12); *hár mangól d-òà*¹ just like that one (B:51); *šratá har-dáx b-ay-jóra ga-ləxá malqì*,¹ *kúle béla ga-doká šratá malqìwa*¹ Just as they light a lamp here, every family there used to light a lamp (B:48); *ʔóni-č qemí hár ʔo-yomà*¹ *sangāki*,¹ *ləxmá sangāki taršīwa*¹ On that same day they would make loaves of bread (A:88); *hár nòšu*¹ all by themselves (B:16) (2) **still** | *tá pəlgà-lele*¹ *xa-sáʔat bār pəlgà-lele yātūwa*,¹ *hár qāre*¹ *hár ʔay-ḥəsəb kólwale*¹ He would sit until midnight, an hour after midnight, still reading and doing the accounts (A:100). (3) **each, every** | *hár belà*¹ ... *xà-dana kālšér baqéf dabḥiwá-o*¹ each family ... would slaughter a cock (B:71). *har kas* everybody: *ta-hár-kas daʔwətéf wile*¹ *ba-xá dšás jalé zìl*¹ He went in a suit to everybody who had invited him (D:16); *gbé hár ḥəqəx ga-ləxà*¹ *ga-lišaná-e ʔəbrì*¹ *ʔāgar-nam ʔoni*¹ *ḥáli lá xərì*¹ Here we must each speak in Hebrew, if not, they do not understand (E:64); *hár danù*¹ each one of them (C:8)

har-či (K/P) part. **every; everything (head of relative clause); however much, although** | *har-či məltè^l ɥasrət ləblá-y báef^l* Every nation became jealous of him (A:95); *hár-či ʔát kəmɾət^l ʔána mətúna ba-réš ʔenì^l* Everything that you say, I am willing to do. (A:18); *pás har-či ʔəšrár wílu là híya^l* Then, however much they insisted/although they insisted, she did not come (A:23)

hara n.f. (pl. *hare*) **grindstone(s); handmill** | *hara ʔwl* to grind (in a water-mill); *zǎrá harà kolíle^l* They grind the wheat

hārasān adj. invar. (K) **in a bad mood**

harzale n.pl. (sing. *harzal*) (K) **cow's dung**

harzan adj. invar. (K/P) **cheap** | *ba-harzàn^l* (we sold) cheaply (C:8)

hǎwa n.m. (K/P < A) **air, weather** | *ʔonyexáe gbé hǎwà ʔaxl^l* They must breathe (literally: eat air); *hǎwa ʔxl* to breathe; *hǎwá wišà-yele^l* It (the weather) was dry

hǎwai adj. invar. (P < A) **by air (travel)**

hǎwān n.f. (*hǎwane*) (K) **mortar** | *dǎsa hǎwān* pestle

hǎwapayma n.? (P) **airplane**

hǎwās (P) : — *qry* to sing

hawkār n.m. (K) **colleague**

háya adv. **quick, quickly; soon** | *kəmríwa hàya-u^l xánči nóšú doqìwala^l* They would say 'Its too soon' and would be rather reluctant (to give their permission) (A:31); *ʔéa bíš hàya házm xárwa^l* This was digested more quickly (B:25)

hazər adj. invar. (K < A) **ready** | — *ʔwl* to prepare: *ʔát nóšax hazər hulá^l* Prepare yourself (D:6)

hazm (P < A) : — *xØr* to be digested | *ʔéa bíš hàya házm xárwa^l* This was digested more quickly (B:25)

hǎžār adj. invar. (K) **poor, needy, unfortunate** | *pǎlenwal-ó ga-fǎqir-u hǎžār^l* They would distribute it among the poor and needy (B:66)

héka part. (rare) **where?** → *leka*

hema pron. **which?**

heštan part. (K) **still, yet** | *heštàn^l wəskí rába litwa^l* There was not yet much whisky (A:12); *heštán mən-‘olám la-zìlwa^l* He had not yet passed away from the world (A:15); *heštán baxtéf la tḥite-ya-ò^l* He has not found his wife yet

həjbi n.f. **match making by intermediary** | *‘oní baxtá šírte-ya həjbí báqa bratì^l* They have sent a women (intermediary) to arrange a match for their daughter; *qúma daākèf^l həjbiyaf holdá híya zíla həjbì bratāké^l* His mother went to act as intermediary to ask for the hand of the girl (D:19)

həl prep. (with nominal or independent pronoun) **object marker; to, belonging to** | *xámé-u xmalè^l həl-kaldú la-xáenwa ‘əqrà^l* The fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law did not see their bride very much (A:3); *‘ay-bronà^l həl-d-áy bratá gbè^l* The boy loves the girl (A:18); *həl-didí markùwa^l* He would cause me to mount (on the horse) (A:16); *‘ay-belá həl-d-ò-ye^l* This house belongs to him. Elided before *d-* or *did-*: *d-ó xèlì^l* I saw him, *didí xèle^l* He saw me; *šòltáli d-o-làg^l* I threw it to that side (A:24)

hərs n. (P < A) **coveting** | *rába hərs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè^l* They did not have much coveting and seeking after money (A:55)

hič part. **no (negating nominal), none** | *ga-Sanandaj-yela,^l ga-hič-‘ka xét ‘éa litwa^l* It was in Sanandaj but was not found in any other place (B:53); *hič məndíx xét là kəxlexwa^l* We did not eat anything else (B:29); *hič-kas ləxmá bazár là šəqóḥwa ba-pätiré^l* Nobody bought bread from the market at Passover (A:67); *hič ka* never

hiči part. (P) **nothing** | *xor-hiči litwalan,^l hiči^l* We had absolutely nothing, nothing (C:12)

hit part. **there is, there are; (it) sometimes (happens that ...)**. *hitwa* part. **there was, there were; (it) sometimes (happened that ...)** | *hitwa-u litwa^l mən-‘əlhá biš-pìr^l hič-kas litwa^l* There was, there was not, there was nobody older than God. Who was there? (opening of a story) (A:98); *hitwa xá-šata ṭùl gərəšwa ké^l gbén xulà hol^l* Sometimes a year would pass before they wanted to hold the wedding (A:30). Possessive construction: *hiti* I have (< *hit-lì*); *taléma ləbá hitóx baxta gorèt?^l* When do you want to get married? (A:5); *hár-či ‘át kəmrát qəbùl hit^l* Everything you say, I agree (to do) (A:18)

hiwula n.f. **the act of giving** | *'əlha-hiwula* divinely given (providence, produce): *ħáli hár danù!* *hamrána čəkmà!* *'əlhá-hiwula gáu!* (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

hol (K) | — *dØy* to push, to shove | *hól dúle ga-maè!* Push him into the water!

holane : *'əlha la holane* **God forfend** | *náwagí hén-u hezí ga-garè-u!* *'əlhá la holanè!* *laplì!* My grandchildren would come and go onto the roof and, God forfend, fall off (C:6)

hoš n.m. (K) **thought, consciousness** | *xéli hoš-u xyalı lága d-èele!* My thoughts were indeed with him (C:7); *hòš hăwélox!* Be careful!

hulaa n.m. (pl. *hulae*) **Jew; Jewish** | *'ənše hulae* Jewish women

hulalta n.f./adj. (pl. *hulalye*) **Jewish woman**

hulaula n.f. **Judaism, Jewishness; Jewish language** | *hulaulà qărenwa!* They studied Jewish tradition (B:11); *lišana hulaula* Jewish language; *'aná hulaulà ħaqéna!* I speak the Jewish language

hulena n.f. (pl. *hulene*) (K) **chicken coop**

humba n.f. (pl. *humbe*) (K) **small pot for dry produce** | used mainly for storing wheat or cracked wheat

/ħ/

ħăda : *'ála ħăda*, *ba-'ála ħăda* (P < A) **aside** | *'éa ba-'ála ħădà matwíwale!* They put it aside (B:17); *tănurá-e 'ála-ħădá maxšús baqà!* *pătirè hítwalu!* They had a separate oven especially for Passover (B:18)

ħafša → *ħawša*

ħag n.m. (H) **festival**

ħăkayat n.f. (P < A) **story**

ħăkim n.m. (pl. *ħăkime*) (P < A) **doctor** | *xá ħăbăqà!* *ħăkimè xirén!* One class consisted of doctors (B:4)

ħāl n.m. (K/P < A) **condition, health** | *ħalèf baqrú!* They asked after his health (D:10); *ħalóx dăx-ye?* How are you?

ḥālābi n.m. **galvanized metal** | *put ḥālābi* metal can

ḥali adj. invar. (P < A) **understanding, aware** | — *xØr* to understand:
*ḥalí xārèt?*¹ Do you understand? *ḥalí xirna*¹ I have understood.
 Without *xØr*: *ḥālí hár danù¹ hamrána čəkmà¹ ʾəlhá-hiwula gáu¹* (You should) understand, in each of them (the vineyards), let me say, there was so much divinely given produce (C:8)

ḥāliq n.m. **paste of nuts, sesame, dates eaten at Passover**

ḥāmaḷa n.m. (pl. *ḥāmaḷe*) (P < A) **porter**

ḥāmām n.f. (K/P < A) **bath** | *ḥāmām-e turki* turkish bath

ḥānabandan n.f. (K) **ceremony of applying henna (in a wedding)**

ḥānukae n.f. (H) **Hanukkah**

ḥaq n.m. (P/K < A) **right** | *bšəlmaná ḥáq litwale ʾíla dáə bəəf¹* A Muslim was not allowed to touch it (B:16)

ḥārik adj. invar. **busy** | *ʾaná ḥārik-yena ḥaštà hóna¹* I am busy working;
ʾo-tré ḥārike¹ šyakà-yelu¹ The two of them were busy wrestling;
tamám-e yomá ḥārik ḥaštà xirá-y¹ All day he has been busy with work;
ʾát ḥāmešá ḥārik-e d-əa¹ You are always busy with this (A:102)

ḥāriš adj. invar. (P < A) **lustful**

ḥas (P < A) : — *ʾwl* to feel, to enjoy oneself; to be happy | *ḥās kóna¹*
 I am happy; *ḥás wíli našé ʾlili-ð¹* I was happy to meet people

ḥāsāb n.m. (P < A) **account, number** | *be-ḥāsāb* without number

ḥāsabi adj. invar. (P < A) **appropriate, suitable, proper** | *kólwale qamxá ḥāsabi-u¹* They made it into flour as it should be made (B:16)

ḥāsərta n.f. **grief, longing**

ḥasrat n.f. (P < A) **envy** | *ḥasrat lbl ba-* to be envious of: *tāmám-e ʾolám¹*
ḥasratəf ləblá-y¹ The whole world became envious of him (A:97)

ḥāšir n.m. (K/P < A) **mat**

ḥašta n.f. (pl. *ḥajyane*) **work; thing, affair** | *ḥašta ʾwl* to work: *ga-bánk ḥaštà konáwa¹* I was working in a bank (A:5); *xá ḥaštá kóna,¹ drága*

lā xirá-y! I shall do something, it is not too late (E:46); *'aná xá haštá káwna baqòx!* I'll sort something out for you (D:11)

hāta part. (P < A) **even; until** | *hātá zlí baqá 'Irāq!* They even went to Iraq (B:10); *xá səfrá šāwə̀xwa! mən-d-əy rēše lo'á! hātá 'ò rēše lo'á!* We spread out a cloth from this end of the room until that end of the room (B:30)

hatman adv. (P < A) **surely**

hāwəš → *hawša*

hawšāla n.m. (P) **patience** | *'aná hawšāla-e 'āra tārošə liti-u!* I do not have the patience to build on the land (C:6)

hawša, hāwəš, hafša n.f. (pl. *hawše, hafše*) (K < A) **courtyard**

haxam n.m. invar. (H) **sage, scholar, rabbi** | *haxám-e kništà!* the rabbi of the synagogue (B:52)

hayf interj. (P) **what a pity!** | *həyf ke-təwrálan!* It is a pity that we broke it (E:30)

hayme n.pl. (H) **cemetery**

hāz (K) : — *'wl to desire, to want* | *kúle náše hāz kolíwale belù! 'ilané bāširə hāwé!* Everybody wanted there to be grape vines in their home (A:72)

hədud n.pl. (P < A) **boundaries** | *ga-hədud-e* approximately: *'onyexáe šáyad ga-hədú-d-e tré-me-u xamšī šəné! tarix hítwalu!* They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty years old (B:58)

hoxma n.f. (H) **wisdom**

hqaq n.f. (K < A) **talking, speaking; speech** | *'ó ga-pliyáw hqaéf bo'inà díle!* When he was talking, he had a blockage in his throat

hrəmta n.f. (P < A) **respect, reverence**

huštər n.f. (*huštəre*) (K) **camel**

/j/

ja part. (P) **now (connective particle)** | Introduces new discourse section or episode: *ja-qáme d-éa 'ay-bráta daǰkí hamrà! xa-šatá ga-Kursàn-yeli! xə yomá! 'ay-baxtı 'átá ya-xətetà! xiyàli!* Now, before my

mother told (me about) this girl, one year when I was in Kurdistan, one day I saw this wife of mine whom you see (now) (A:8)

jähānam n.f. (P < A) **hell**

jähānma n.? (P) **world** | *jām-e jähānmà*^l the mirror of the world (A:93)

jām n.f. (P/K) **mirror, glass** | *belá holíle ba-jām báqa pätirè*^l (in order to) make the house into a mirror for Passover (= make it spotlessly clean) (A:57); *jām-e jähānmà*^l the mirror of the world (A:93)

jam^o (P < A) : — ^o*wl* **to gather (tr.)**; — *xØr* **to gather (intr.)** | *jám^o xārīwa-u^l ba-dólá-u zorná lablīwale kništà*^l They would gather and would take him to the synagogue (A:53)

jāma‘ta n.f. (pl. *jāma‘te*) (P < A) **community** | *jāma‘at hulae* Jewish community

jāmuza adj. (f. *jāmuzta*, pl. *jāmuze*) **cold** | *mae jāmuze* cold water

jān → ^o*amu*

jang n.m. (P) **war** | *jāng-e benulmālālī ‘āwà*^l the First World War (B:10)

jangal n.f. (pl. *jangāle*) (P) **forest**

janjal n.f. (pl. *janjale*) (P) **crowd**

jarhana adj. (fs. *jarhanta*, pl. *jarhane*) (P < A) **wounded** | *lóbí jarhanà^l ba-kárd-u šamsèr^l* My heart is wounded with knife and sword (E:37)

jaw n.? (K) **seeking** | *rāba hārs-u jáw litwálu báqa puḷè*^l They did not have much coveting and seeking after money (A:55)

jāwaharāt n.pl. (P < A) **jewels**

jerm n.? (P) **scale (on vessel), incrustation**

jəgrana adj. (fs. *jəgranta*, pl. *jəgrane*) (K) **angry**

jəhya adj. (fs. *jhita*, pl. *jəhye*) **tired**

jəle n.pl. (K) **clothes** | *jələf ləwšīle*^l He got dressed; *jələf šəlxīle*^l He undressed

jəns n.m. (P < A) **material, stuff**

jgər n.f. (K) **anger** | *jəgrí ké mənèf*^l I am angry with him, I detest him

jiqe (K) : — **dry to shout** | *jiqè dréle*¹ He shouted

jmana n.f. (pl. *jmane*) (K) **pocket** | *pulé drélu ga-jmanòx!*¹ Put the money in your pocket!

jobrān (P < A) : — **wl to make amends to, to compensate** | *ʾágar čānānče xá-nāfar ʒòlm xirāwe-lèf,¹ gezəlwa¹ jobrān kolwalé-u¹* If a person had suffered some injustice, he would go and make amends to him (A:109)

joga n.f. (pl. *joge*) (K) **stream** | *xa-jogá máe rāwān hawyáwa¹* a stream that was flowing water (B:70)

jolana n.f. (pl. *jolane*) (K) **nest (of bird); hammock**

jole n.pl. **urine**

jora, jor n.m. (pl. *jore*) (K) **type, kind; way** | *rásm ba-d-áy jorà-yela¹* The custom was like this (A:9); *tāmám-e réša safrá zamtíwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixāne¹* They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *ʾaná ta-ʾátá haštá-e xa-b-ay-jóra lǎxá liti-u¹* Up until now I have not had any particular job here (D:19); *hár-jor xirá-y yǎlǎpna¹* Whatever the situation may be, I shall learn (D:21); *bšəlmané trè jorén¹* Muslims are (one of) two types (A:77). *mangol-e xa jor* as if: *mangól-e xa-jòr¹ mən-nóšu rizèn¹* as if they were angry with themselves (E:24) → *ma-jor*

jra'ta n.f. (P < A) **bravery; fierceness** | *šer jra'ta* fierce lion

juja, jujka n.f. (pl. *juje, jujke*) (K) **chick**

jwāb n.m. (pl. *jwabe*) (P < A) **answer** | *jwāb hwl* to answer

jwānqa n.m. (pl. *jwānqe*) (K) **young man**

jya adv. (K) **on one side; separate** | *suraé ʾaḥrá jyà-yelu¹* The Christians of the town were (living) separate (from the Jews); *kúle náša béla jyà hítwale¹* Everybody had a separate house (A:71)

/k/

ka (K) : *ʾáy-ka* **this time**

kābāb n.f. (K/P < T) **kebab**

káčāl adj. invar. (K) **bald**

káčawa n.f. (pl. *káčawe*) (K) **rissole, cutlet (of meat)**

kae n.f. (pl. *kae*) (K) **game** | *dméli ʿasàn-ye^l mangól-e xa-kàe^l* I imagined it to be easy like a game (E:22); *kae goze* walnut game; — *ʿwl* to play

kafi adj. invar. (P < A) **sufficient** | *ba-ʿānazé kafi^l* in sufficient measure (C:13)

kaka n.m. (pl. *kake*) **tooth** | *duktər kake* dentist

käläka n.m. (pl. *käläke*) (K) **side, flank**

kälam n.m. (pl. *käläme*) (P) **cabbage**

kälanta n.f. (pl. *kälane*) **onion pastry**

käläqan n.f. (K) **stick of sugar**

kalba n.m. (pl. *kalbe*) **dog**

kalda n.f. (pl. *kälale*) **bride; daughter-in-law** | *be-kalda* the family of the bride: *ga-yomà^l reš-šatà^l, baqa-xətnà^l mən-be-kaldá xwān kwíwa^l* On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride. (A:9)

kalla n.m. (K) **head of an animal**

kaḷäka n.f. (pl. *kaḷäke*) (K) **melon**

käläšer n.m. (pl. *käläšere*) (K) **cock, rooster**

kämerta n.f. (pl. *kämere*) **pear**

känasa n.f. (pl. *känase*) **innards, gizzard (of chicken)** | *koze-u känase ʿaklela* the innards of a chicken

käpana n.m. (pl. *käpane*) **shoulder**

kār : *ba-kār ʿxl* **to be worthwhile** | *ʿát ba-d-áy zəndəgí ba-kār mayayòx kxál^l* What use is this life to you? (A:103); *ba-kār lá kxà^l* It is not worthwhile

kära n.m. (P) **butter**

käram n.m. (P < A) **grace**

kärat, kārāta n.? (pl. *kārāte*) (K) **time, instance** | *baqá-ʿawaḷ kārāt^l* for the first time (A:25); *ʿawál kārātà^l* the first time (B:67); *xá-kārat là mirán^l ʿáxa mò wilán^l* We did not say once 'Why have we done

this?' (E:20); *yaxá xà kárát^l xílan xála dàe^l* (Only) once a month did we eat mother's food (E:17); *təlhà kárāte d-éa,^l 'arbà kárāte d-éa^l* three times (the size) of this, four times (the size) of this (A:90)

kārd n.f. (pl. *kārde*) (K/P) **knife** | *ləbí jarḥanà^l ba-kārd-u šəmšēr^l* My heart is wounded with knife and sword (E:37)

kare → *qawm*

karma n.f. (pl. *karmale*) **vineyard; garden, orchard**

karta n.f. (K) **load; job**

karxana n.m. (P) **factory**

kas: *har-kas* (P) **everybody** | *har-kásu gezálwa béla nòšef^l* Everyone of them went to his home (A:52)

kasa n.f. (pl. *kase*) (1) **stomach**. (2) **bowl**

kāsbi, kasəbi n.f. (K/P < A) **earning, gain; business** | *'áyza kásbi hùl ta-nóšox^l* Take the good earnings for yourself (A:103); *kāsbi kolíwa^l* They did business (B:4)

kasəb n.m. (pl. *kasəbe*) (K < A) **trader, merchant**

kāsif adj. invar. (P) **dirty**

kašer adj. invar. (H) **kosher**

kašti n.f. (P) **boat**

kat n.f. (pl. *kāte*) (K) **bed (on roof)**

kātira n.f. (pl. *kātire*) (K/P) **gum tragacanth** | used for making clothes

kātuwa n.f. (H) **marriage contract**

kau n.m. (pl. *kaue*) (P) **lettuce**

kawšdoz n.m. (K) **cobbler**

kāxāta n.f. (pl. *kāxaye*) (K/P) **letter** | *kāxātà híya baq^l* I have received a letter

ke (variant *ge*) part. (P/K) **subordinating particle**

kepa n.f. (pl. *kepe*) **stone**

kəšā n.m. **whitewash**

- kərya* adj. (fs. *krita*, pl. *kərye*) **short** | 'ó *baxtá kritè-ya*! That woman is short; 'ó *gorá qoméf kəryà-y*! That man is short in stature
- kəsta* n.f. (pl. *kəsyə*) **small bag; small bag containing soap used in bath** | *kəstà garšíwa*! They scrubbed with a bag (soap) (A:38)
- kətana* n.m. **flax, cotton**
- kípa* adj. (fs. *kipta*, pl. *kipe*) **bent** | *xaséf kípà-y*! He is hunchbacked
- kipur* n.f. **The Day of Atonement**
- kləsyə* n.f. (pl. *kləsyə*) **church**
- klifta* n.f. (pl. *klifye*) **amulet**
- kluča* n.f. (pl. *kluče*) (K) **cake**
- klum* n.m. (pl. *klume*) (K) **wooden beam used to lock door**
- knif* n.f. (pl. *knife*) (K) **ceramic potty placed under cradle of child**
- kništa* n.f. (pl. *knište*, *knišye*) **synagogue**
- kolaka* n.f. (pl. *kolake*) (K), *kolake ʿila* **elbow**
- koma* adj. (fs. *komta*, pl. *kome*) **black; dark** | *lele koma* a dark night; *koma twira ba-xwarta* black flecked with white
- komak* (P) : — 'wl **to help** | *komäkòx kóna*! I shall help you; *gbé het-ó mantáke d-ó komák holèt*! You must come back and help him (A:27)
- komanj* n.f. (K) **steps leading onto a roof**
- komula* n.f. **blackness**
- kora* n.m. **midday** | *korá kexwa-ó belà*! At midday we used to return home; *sá'at ʿárba bār korá*! at four o'clock in the afternoon (B:31)
- koša* adj. (fs. *košta*, *koše*) **low**
- koter* n.f. (pl. *kotre*) (K) **dove, bird**
- koza* n.f. **liver**
- kpina* adj. (fs. *kpinta*, *kpine*) **hungry**
- kpinula* n.f. **hunger** | *kpinulà gróšlì*! I am hungry

kra n.? (K/P < A) **rent** | *kra hwl* to rent; *ba-kra hwl* to rent out, to let; *kra ʔwl* to hire: *mən-xá tʔkaná jələ krà wilé-u*! He hired clothes from a shop (D:16)

krawat n.m. (pl. *krawäte*) (F) **neck-tie**

ksila n.f. (pl. *ksiye, ksile*) **hat** | *ksila pərče wig*

ktāb n.f. (pl. *ktabe*) (K/P < A) **book** | *gbéwa yätúwa ḥāsāb-u ktābe holú*! He had to sit and do the accounts and books (A:100)

ktəwla n.f. (pl. *kətwe*) **thorn**

kujī n.f. (pl. *kujīye, kujāwae*) (K) **lane, alley**

kul mod. **each, every** (§8.9.1.) | *ga-dokà kúl yomá pəsrà-hitwa*! There, every day there was meat (A:73)

kúle mod. **all; the whole; each; everybody** (§8.9.2.) | *kúle našé ʔǎgadá qǎrénwala*! All the people (= everybody) read the Aggadah (A:61); *našé kúle tìwi-u*! All the people sat down (D:3); *ʔátá kúle ʔolám xirté-ya pułé*! Now the whole world has become money (A:55); *kúle náša béla jyà hitwale*! Everybody had a separate house (A:71); *kúle daʔwát kolìwalu*! They invited them all (A:42); *ʔá kúle dasgiranàx-ye*! Oh, it is none other than your betrothed! (A:21)

kulfat n.f. (P < A) **maid, maidservant**

kulya n.f. (pl. *kulye*) **kidney**

kunja n.f. (pl. *kunje*) (P) **corner**

kura n.f. (pl. *kure*) **kiln**

kurd n.m. (pl. *kurde*) **Kurd; Kurdish Jew**

kursi n.f. (P < A) **heated seat**

kuzi n.f. (pl. *kuziye*) (P) **ceramic container for cooked meat** (*qawurma*)

kwər adj. invar. (K) **blind** | *kwər xír*! He became blind; *kwər xíra*! She became blind

kxəwla n.f. (pl. *kəxwe, kxəwle*) **star** | *kxəwle ʔenà dǎén*! The stars twinkle

/l/

la part. **negative particle** | With final laryngal /ʔ/ when emphatic: *laʔ* no!: *tatāké míre làʔ!* The father said ‘No!’ (D:20)

la- **copula** | used with L-suffixes to form dative copula (§3.11.3.): *ʔaná pulé mən-ləka lalí háwna ta-didóx?* From where shall I have money to give to you?

lā n.m. **side, prep. by the side of; at the home of** (< *laga*) | *zíl lā táta dačkâf-u!* He went to (the home of) her father and mother (D:19); *xa lā ʔila rəza* half a handful of rice (literally: one side of a hand of rice); *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàw! b-lā səngù!* They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here, on (literally: by the side of) their chest (A:78); *šáta zilá-y lā xà baxtéf!* He went to one of his wives (once) in a year (A:94); *kúle hulaé lā-ləxle yelí!* All the Jews were close to one another (A:44) → *laga*. With *izafe* particle: *zína lā-e pirè!* I went to the old folk (E:31)

la-ʕolām → *ʕolām*

la-ba, la-bada part. **lest** | *lá-ba bšəlmané taqri-bàu!* lest the Muslims touched them (A:78); *yatwíwa ʔənšè! dána ba-dána gəbènwale!* *lá-bada xá-mdi xarají gáf hāwè!* The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it (B:14)

lăčăga n.f. (pl. *lăčăge*) (K) **veil**

lăʕefa n.m. (pl. *lăʕefe*) (K) **quilt**

láʕel, m-láʕel, mən-láʕel adv. **above**

laga n.m. (K) **side** | *laga nəhala* earlobe; *lagí mărè!* My side hurts. In adverbial expressions in absolute state: *šoltáli l-d-o-läg!* I threw it (the veil) on one side (A:24). prep. **by the side of; at the home of; to the home of; in the community of** | *xét şalmé litwala samxá lága didí ʔána xəənəf!* She no longer had confidence to stand by me, whilst I could see her (A:22); *pätiré ga-lága didàn! rába moħkàm doqíwala!* In our community they observed Passover very strictly (B:14); *ta-ʔalpá šənə xèt! yătàt ba-lagán!* You shall sit by our side for another thousand years (E:74); *laga tati* at my father’s home. Movement towards: *mar-hé ta-labnăxún dóka lagèf!* Let him come so that I may take you there to him (B:60); *hós-u xyalı lága d-éele!* My thoughts were with him (C:7)

lahja n.f. (P < A) **accent, pronunciation** | *lahjóx bäsintè-ya*¹ Your accent is good

lähāl, lāha adj. invar. **far, distant** | *mən-lähāl* ^{o-xiyàli} I saw her from afar (A:13); *ṭurè lahāl* distant mountains; *lähá m-šalmá ḥaliye*¹ May it be distant from the face of those present (said when death or something unpleasant is mentioned). With the *-o* particle: *xmarāké mən-pliyáw* ^o *daštá lähál-o mrəqlu*¹ They made the ass run from the field into the distance

lāḥmal adv. **the day before yesterday**

lala n.m. (pl. *lale*) **maternal uncle**

laqalaq adv. (K) **slowly**

lašá n.f. (K) **body**

laškar n.f. (P) **army**

lāxa adv. **here** | *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàu*¹ They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here (A:78)

léka, lekane adv. **where? whither?**

lelange n.f. **festival of Purim**

lele n.m./f. (pl. *lelāwae*) **night** | *lele šata* celebration at the end of Passover (literally: the night of the year)

lāma part. **when?** | *lāma két?*¹ When will you come? *báqa lāma gbétulu?*¹ For when do you need them? (B:49)

lesa n.m. **chewing gum**

leša n.m. **dough**

lāba n.m. **heart** | *lábí* ^{iqà-y} My heart is sad; *ta-lāma lābá hitóx bāxta gorèt?*¹ When do you want to get married? (A:5); *ba-lábí līt*¹ There is nobody in my heart (= There is nobody I love); *kúle šatá ba-lābá bäsímà-u*¹ *qáləb šàq doqéte*¹ May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54)

lābās n.m. (P < A) **clothing, clothes** | *lābās-e dawreš*¹ beggar's clothes (A:108)

lāfka n.m. **loofah** | *lāfkà garšíwa*¹ They scrubbed with a loofah (A:38)

lǎxle pron. **each other** | *mǎntáke lǎxle hezíwa waryá čǎkmá müdǎtè-u*¹
They went out with each other for some time (A:1); *ʿǎqrá*
*ʿǎhtarám-e lǎxle doqíwa*¹ They had such respect for one another
(A:45); *rába bašòr lǎxle xǎenwa*¹ They saw each other very little
(A:3)

lǎxma n.m. **bread** | *mǎn-maʿlamulà lǎxmá kǎxlíwa*¹ They earned their
livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11); *lǎxma saji* bread
made on a griddle; *lǎxma tǎnuri* bread made in an oven; *lǎxma bela*
bread made (on a griddle) at home and dried to store

lila n.f. **fat of a sheep's tail** | *máe lílá* liquid fat of a sheep's tail (B:24)

limo n.f. **lemon**

lišana n.m. **tongue** | *lišanéf ʿsirà-y*¹ His tongue is tied (He is dumb)

lit part. **there is not, there are not**. *litwa* part. **there was not, there**
were not | *hítwa-u litwa*¹ *mǎn-ʿǎlhá biš-pìr*¹ *hüč-kas litwa*¹ There was,
there was not, there was nobody older than God (opening of a
story) (A:98). Possessive construction: *liti* I do not have have (<
lit-li); *ba-lábí lit*¹ There is nobody in my heart (= There is nobody I
love)

loʿa adv. **inside**. n.m. (pl. *loʿáe*) **room** | *xá safrá šǎwèxwa*¹ *mǎn-d-à-y réše*
*loʿá*¹ *hǎtá ʿò réše loʿá*¹ We spread out a cloth from this end of the
room until that end of the room (B:30)

lul adj. invar. (K) **curly (hair)**

lula n.m. (pl. *lule*) (K/P) **pipe** | *lula qori* the spout of a teapot

/l/

laḷa n.f. (pl. *laḷe*) **lung**

/m/

ma part. **what; why?** | *mà kolíwa ga-pǎtiré?*¹ What did they do at Pass-
over? (B:14); *ʿáy mà-ye?*¹ What is this? (B:81); *mà baxyát?*¹ Why
are you crying? (C:4); *má kul-yóma gezét ʿay-jangà*¹ *ʿay-kúle*
*zahamtá garšèta-u?*¹ Why do you go to the woods everyday and
take all this trouble? (A:104); *lá kǎena mà-li*¹ I do not know what
the matter is with me; *mayayèf?*¹ What is it to him? (§2.6.)

mă'alija n.? (P < A) : — **ʔwl to cure** | *tămám-e duktóre kúle zìlan¹ là kéwalu mă'alijí hòliwa¹* I went to all the doctors but they could not cure me (C:1). — *xØr to be cured* | *báška m-ʔlhà-y mă'alija xărát¹* Perhaps it is (the will of) God that you will be cured (C:1)

mă'arəfi (P < A) : — **ʔwl to present, to introduce (person)** | *xá bratá mă'arəfi wilálu báef¹* They introduced a girl to him (D:17)

ma'da n.f. (P < A) **small intestine**

ma'dan n.? (P < A) **quarry**

ma'lela n.f. **eve (of festival)** (*ma'le* + *'ela* 'festival) | *ma'lelá kipùr¹* on the even of the Day of Atonement (B:71)

ma'ləm n.m. (pl. *ma'ləme*) (P/K < A) **teacher; rabbi**

ma'ləmula n.f. **profession of teacher or of rabbi** | *xá-ʕada-č hítwalan ga-Kurdəstān¹ mən-ma'ləmulà ləxmá kəxlíwa¹* We had a group of people in Kurdistan who earned their livelihood from the teaching profession (B:11)

ma'mulan adv. (P < A) **generally**

ma'lum adj. invar. (P < A) **known** | *ma'lüm-la-y ʔát hulaét yá bšəlmanèt¹* It is not known whether you are a Jew or you are a Muslim (B:25), *ma'lüm!* Of course!

madrəsa n.f. (P < A) **school**

mae n.pl. tantum **water** | *mae raduxe* boiling water

măgar part. (P) **perhaps**

magreta n.f. (pl. *magrete*) **shaving knife; razor**

măgara n.f. (P < A) **cave**

măhala n.f. (pl. *măhale*) **street; district** | *mən-d-áy kují-u măhălè¹* through the alleys and streets (A:44)

majbur adj. invar. (P < A) **obliged, forced** | *kipúr majbúr-ye šóma dòq¹* He is obliged to fast on the Day of Atonement (B:73)

ma-jor part. **how? like what?** | *ħămám-e turkí mà-jor-ila?¹* What is a Turkish bath like? (A:37)

mal n.f. (K) **bird**

mala n.f. (pl. *male*, *malāwáe*) **village**

mālaqa n.f. (pl. *mālaqe*) (K/P < A) **large spoon**

mālawani (K) : — *ʔwl to swim* | *ʔaná mālawani káena*¹ I know how to swim; *ʔaná gbéna hézna mālawani hóna*¹ I want to go swimming

māluxa n.f. (pl. *māluxe*) **instrument padded with a cushion used to stick bread dough to the sides of an oven**

malək n.m. (P < A) **landlord, owner**

malka n.f. (P < A) **queen**

malpana n.m. (pl. *malpane*) **teacher**

māluxa adj. (fs. *māluxta*, pl. *māluxe*) **salty**

maḷa n.f. (pl. *maḷe*) **trowel**

māḷa n.m. (P) **mullah; rabbi**

mānora n.f. (H) **menorah, candlestick (for festival of Hanukka)**

mama n.m. (pl. *mame*) **paternal uncle**

mamlākāta n.f. (pl. *mamlākāte*) (P < A) **kingdom, country**

mamnun adj.invar. (K < A) **thankful** | *ʔaná rába mamnùn-yena*¹ Thank you very much

māmōna n.f. (pl. *māmōne*) **breast; lump of a matzo**

mamožna n.f. (K) **wife of paternal uncle** → *temona*

mangal, *mangol* prep. (*mangol d-o*, *mangol d-o gora*) **like**

mangaḷ n.f. (pl. *mangāḷe*) (K) **brazier** | *txeləḷ xá-dana mangāḷ-yela*,¹ *harg-a-ʔará čəqyàwalu*¹ Under it there was a brazier, which they had dug in the ground (A:90)

māni pron. **who?** | *la-káyan māni-ye*¹ I do not know who it is (A:21); *ga-dokàl táte-u daākèl bì-zoa*¹ *ʔəntəxəb kolíwa*¹ *māni*¹ *gorí ta-bronùl* There, the fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2)

mānixā adj. **granting rest (God)** | *tatí yätüwa*¹ *ʔəlhá mānixà*¹ *dāstán ḥəqéwa baqàn*¹ My father, may God grant him rest (literally: God [be] granting of rest), would sit and tell us a story (A:92)

- mānora* n.f. (H) **menora, candle-stick**
- manya* n.f. **unit of weight (4 kilos)**
- maqlana* adj. (fs. *maqlanta*, pl. *maqlane*) **burning** | *šəmša maqlanta* the burning sun
- maqlobta* n.f. **vomiting; vomit** | *maqlobtí kiyà*^l I feel like vomiting (literally: My vomiting is coming)
- maqryana* n.m. (pl. *maqryane*) **teacher**
- mar* part. (K) **deontic particle** | *mar-’āxə̀l*^l May he eat
- māra-mila* n.m. **penis**
- mārasem* n.f. (P < A) **custom, ceremony** | *’éa mārasém-e širné xorànyela*^l This was the ceremony of the ‘eating of the sweets’ (betrotal) (A:33)
- mard* n.m. (P) **man**
- mare* n.m. (only in annexation) **owner** | *mare t^wkana* a shopkeeper; *máre belākè*^l the householder (A:83); *qáwme ’ána máre nāwagèyan-u*^l In the future (literally: tomorrow) I shall have grandchildren (C:6); *mare dolta* rich; *mare qəwta* strong
- mārəmta* n.f. (P) **trouble** | *mārəmtá là grúš*^l Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out; *mārəmtá-e ’olám gərsàle*^l He took upon himself the troubles of the world
- mārira* adj. (fs. *mārirta*, pl. *mārire*) **bitter**
- markan* n.f. (pl. *markāne*) (K) **pot lined with ceramic used for kneading dough**
- mārorta* n.f. **bile, gall-bladder** | *mārortí pə̀qya*^l I am in distress (literally: My gall-bladder has burst)
- māroṭa* n.f. (*māroṭe*) **fart (with noise)** | *māroṭà díle*^l He farted
- māsala* n.f. **scales (for weighing)**
- māsālan* part. (P < A) **for example**
- masoret* n.f. (H) **tradition**
- mast* adj. invar. (P) **drunk, inebriated**

masta n.f. (K) **yoghurt** | *masta toraq* cream of yoghurt (made by draining off water)

mašša n.f. (pl. *maššae*) (H) **matzo, unleavened bread eaten at Passover**

maštorta n.f. (pl. *maštorye*) **curse** | *ta-gānawé maštoryè drélu*¹ They cursed the thieves

mašwa n.f. (H) **good deed, mitzvah** | *ʿnšé pīr*¹ *ba-mašwá-e nòšu*¹ *kwiwa*¹ Old women would give as their good deed (B:48)

mašāla interj. (P < A) **what good fortune!**

maše n.pl. (sing. *maša* f.) **black lentils**

mašhur adj. invar. (P < A) **famous**

māšin n.f. (P < A) **machine; car** | *māšin-e raxt-šuri* washing-machine

maška n.f. (pl. *maške, maškāwae*) (K) **skin; leather; leather bag; leather churn** | *syame maška* leather shoes; *maška doe* churn for yoghurt water

mašrub n.f. (P < A) **drink, beverage**

māt adj. invar. (K) **miserable, morose**

māwād n.pl. (P < A) **substances** | *māwād-e giyahì* herbal substances (A:40)

mawzo^c n.m. (P < A) **subject, topic** | *ʿéa-č mawzó^c-e pāsra*¹ This is the subject of meat (B:25)

maxlopta n.f. **exchange**

maxlpana n.m. (pl. *maxlpane*) **exchanger**

maxltana n.m. (pl. *maxltane*) **somebody who causes another to err, somebody who leads astray**

maxšuš adj. invar. (P < A) **special** | *ʿéa maxšúš-e nòšan-yela*¹ It was special to us (B:53)

maxšušan part. (P < A) **especially**

mayay- → *ma*

mayta n.f. (K < A) **corpse**

mazhab n.m. (P < A) **religious party; religion**

mdi → *məndix*

memani n.f. (pl. *memanye*) (K) **party, celebration** | 'áy *memaní*
*dəwqàlox*¹ You held that party (D:9)

mesi adj. invar. (P) **made of copper** | *xə-tášt-e mesi*¹ a copper bowl
(B:19)

mewa n.m. (K/P) **fruit; vine** | 'ilané *mewà*¹ fruit trees (A:72); *gǎlae*
mewa vine leaves

mewajat n.m. (pl. *mewajäte*) (K) **fruit** | *mewajäte bikür*¹ first fruits (B:38)

meydān n.f. (pl. *meydane*) (P) **square (of town)**

mez n.f. (pl. *meze*) (K) **table**

məče n.pl. (K) **ticks**

məlk n.m. (P < A) **property**

mälte n.f. (P/K < A) **nation**

məlxə n.f. **salt**

mən, *m-* prep. **from; through; because of; with; at** (1) **from** | *susyäké*
*mən-sarbāzخانە knéwale qam-tārà*¹ He would bring the horse from
the barracks to the door (A:16); *mən-lāḥāl 'o-xiyāli*¹ I saw her from
afar (A:14); *mən-xanāwadè 'ayztá*¹ from a good family (A:6). Parti-
tive: *mən-d-áy ləxmá là 'axlétun*¹ Do not eat any of this bread!
(B:23). Source: *mən-taxtə trəšwalu*¹ They had made it from board
(A:9); 'ənyexáe kúle mätíwalu tāmám-e rēša səfrá zamtíwa *mən-d-ay-*
*jóra məndixāne*¹ They filled the whole surface of the cloth with
such things (A:65); *hár-či ké mən-xalwá-yele lá kəxləxwale*¹ We did
not eat anything that was made from milk (A:68). Comparative
distance: *mən-əlhá biš-pir*¹ *hič-kas lítwa*¹ There was nobody more
senior than God (A:98). Relative position: *xá-əda píle m-qáməf*¹ *xá-*
*əda píle m-bəraf*¹ some positioned in front of her some behind her
(A:46). (2) **through** | *geziwa ba-dohól 'u-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u*
*māḥālè*¹ They went with drum and pipe through the lanes and
streets (A:10). (3) **because of** | *mən-qardá rəḥ*¹ He is shaking be-
cause of the cold. (4) **with** | *tíw m-daākéf ḥqèlè*¹ He sat down and
talked with his mother (D:6). (5) **at** (temporal or spatial location)

| *m-zāmàn-e^l Kuréš-e Kābîr^l* at the time of Cyrus the Great (B:1);
mən tex, m-tex below, *m-lá^cel, mən-lá^cel* above

məndix, məndi n.m. (pl. *məndixane*) **thing** | contracted to *mdi* when combined with *xa* and not in pause: *xá-mdi lá míri baqòx^l* I have not told you something (A:77); contracted to *mdix* when combined with *xa* in pause: *'éa xá mdix^l* This is one thing (B:27)

məntāke prep. (*məntākef, məntāke d-o, məntāke d-o gora*) **with**

məqdār n.? (P < A) **quantity, amount**

məsta n.f. (K) **hair (individual item)**

məšnayote n.pl. (H) **Mishna extracts**

məšpaḥa n.m. (H) **family**

məšxa n.m. **oil**

məṭya adj. (f. *mṭita*, pl. *məṭye*) **ripe** | *bāšire məṭye* ripe grapes

məzdanta n.f. (pl. *məzdane*) **gift** | *məzdane 'ilane* festival of Tu bə-Shvat (literally: gifts of trees)

məzgani n.m. (K) **good news; surprise**

məzгла n.f. (pl. *məzgle*) **mosque**

məfāšal adj. invar. (P < A) **copious; large**

mila n.m./adj. **dead, dead person**

mīla n.f. (H) **circumcision** | — *'wl* to circumcise; — *xØr* to be circumcised: *hulàa^l mīlá xirā-y^l* A Jew is circumcised (B:65)

mīye n.pl. **intestines** | *mīye rūwe* large intestine; *mīye zore* small intestine

mīlāgo n.f. (pl. *mīlāgoe*) (K) **bud** | *mīlāgó bās xar-Ø^l* The bud opens

m-léka adv. **whence?**

mo part. **why?** | Used to express surprise: *mò híyet?^l* Why have you come? (said when the speaker expected that the person would not come); *mò lá híyet?^l* Why did you not come? (said when the person is expected to have come); *xá-kārat là mirán^l 'áxa mò wílán?^l* We did not say once 'Why have we done this?' (E:20)

mo'āsāsa n.m. (P < A) **institution**

moblamān n.? (P < F) **furniture**

moḥkam adj. invar. (P < A) **firm, strong** | *'ay-guzá moḥkām sāmáx rešé^f* The wall would stand firmly on it (B:56); *pätiré ga-lága didàn^l rába moḥkām doqíwala^l* In our community they observed Passover very strictly (B:14)

mojálal adj. invar. (P < A) **grand, fine**

moji n.f. (K) **woven cloth**

mola n.m. **death**

molta n.f. (pl. *molte*) (P) **delay, moratorium** | *molta hól baq^l* Give me more time (to pay my debt)

momyanta n.f. **oath** | *momyantà moména^l* I swear an oath

mone pl. tantum **cracked wheat**

morāfah adj. invar. (P < A) **comfortable** | *xāšti baté ké^l morāfāh-yelu^l máre doltà-yelu^l 'arba dabḥiwà-o^l* A few families who were comfortable, who were rich, slaughtered a sheep (B:47)

morāxāši n.m. (P < A) **leave, vacation** | *morāxāši šaqná-u^l ken-ò^l* I'll take leave and come back (A:7)

morəd n.? (P < A) **cause, source** | *rāba huláe ga-doká mórəd 'əḥtəramèf-yelu^l* The Jews there were very much the source of his respect (= He very much respected the Jews) (B:85)

mošae xag (H) **end of a festival**

mo'taqəd adj. invar. (P < A) **convinced, determined**

moxa n.m. **brain**

mozaḥam adj. invar. (P < A) **molesting, disturbing** | *wa-bšəlmané mozaḥmù lá xāriwa 'eṣafán^l* and, indeed, the Muslims did not disturb them (B:36)

mra n.m. (K < A) (with suffix: *mraef*) **request; desire** | *ba-mrá-e nóšef mətè^l* He attained his heart's desire (D:27)

mriči n.f. (pl. *mričiye*) (K) **a small bird**

mročā n.f. (pl. *mročē*) (K) **ant**

msərqa n.f. (pl. *msərqe*) **comb**

mšəlmana n.m. (pl. *mšəlmane*) **Muslim convert from Judaism** → *bšəlmana*

mšəlmanta n.f. (pl. *mšəlmanyē*) **Muslim woman convert from Judaism**

mšurta n.f. (P < A) **advice** | *mšurtà^l wilá-y baqəḏ^f* He gave him advice (A:95)

mtawj- : — *xØr to care* | *mtawjù xără^l* She cares for them; *mtawjⁱ didi xără^l* She cares for me

müdat, müdäta n.f. (pl. *müddäte*) **time, period** | *ba-d-ó mudätà^l* at that time (A:68); *bar-xa-müdat-xet* after a while (A:27); *čəkmá müddätè* sometimes (A:1); *xá čəkmá müddäte^l híyen-u zili^l* They came and went a few times (D:18); *ba-müddät-e ké^l bəxlé dasgíràn-yelu^l báz-ham rába bašòr ləxle xáénwa^l* When they became betrothed, they still saw each other very little (A:3)

muntəzər (P < A) : — *xØr to wait, to expect* | *muntəzər xír^l bašká da‘wätèḏ hol^l* He waited hoping they would invite him (D:7)

musaf n.m. (H) **additional prayer**

/n/

nabi n.m. (H) **prophet**

nəfar n.m. (pl. *nəfäre*) **person** | *xa-nəfar-əč mangál nokàr^l xa-sarbàz^l ləpəlwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt^l* Somebody like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another horse (A:16)

naft n.m. (P < A) **oil**

nəhār n.m. (P) **lunch**

nəhala, nəħalta (pl. *nəhale*) **ear**

nəjəs, nəjəs adj. invar. (P < A) **unclean** | *huláa ba-nəjəs là káénwale^l* They (the Sunnites) did not know a Jew as unclean (= did not consider a Jew unclean) (B:64)

nəjib adj. invar. (P < A) **noble**

nanawakār n.f. (P) **baker**

nandān n.m. (K) **baker**

nəqara n.f. (P) (pl. *nəqare*) **wind instrument, pipe**

năqashi n.m. (K/P < A) **drawing, sketching** | — *grš* to draw

năqole n.pl. **ritually unclean parts of an animal that have to be removed** | *'o-năqolê-u măqolê-u* *'onyexáe yá 'gdiđim^H-yen* *xărâb-yen*, *lá kăxlilù* *doqwalú-u šošetwalù* He would take out the ritually unclean parts and the like that had to be removed, those parts that were sinews and were polluted, which they did not eat, and threw them away (A:82)

năqorča n.m. **pinch** | *năqorčá dòqnox* I shall pinch you

na-raḥat adj. invar. (P/K) **uncomfortable, unwell; upset, sad** | *ga-dóka kúle na-raḥat xăríwa-u* Everybody there became sad (B:52); *ga-³Irán na-raḥat-yeli* In Iran I was unwell (C:1); *daăkéf-ăč rába nóšaf na-raḥát wilála* His mother became very upset (D:9)

na-raḥăti n.m. (P/K) **discomfort, grievance** | *xáe ... 'ăgar čănănče xa-našá na-raḥăti hăwèle* He would see whether a person had a grievance (A:108)

narma (P) : *narma naḥala* **soft part of ear, earlobe**

năšəḥta n.f. (pl. *năšəḥye*) (P < A) **advice; lesson**

naša n.m. (pl. *naše*) **man, person** | *năš* (absolute state): *'anà* *bratí ta-xá-năš lá kównaf ké ḥaštá lite-u 'exá* I shall not give my daughter to a man who has no job and so forth (D:20); *mà kéle hól* *xa-năš ké gənè?* What can a man who is asleep do? (E:66)

năšoqta n.f. **kiss**

naṭrana n.m. (pl. *naṭrane*) **guardian (God)**

năwaga n.m. (pl. *năwage*) (K) **grandson, grandchild** | *qáwme 'ána máre năwagè-yan-u* In the future (literally: tomorrow) I shall have grandchildren (C:6)

nawe n.pl. **nits (in hair)**

nawrəsta n.f. (K) **middle (of hand)** | *nawrəsta 'ila* palm of hand

nawšar (pl. *nawšare*) (K) **grandchildren**

naxoš adj. invar. (K) **ill**

naxoš n.f. **illness**

năz n.m. (K) **indulgence; coquetry**

negahdār adj. invar. (P) **protecting** | *ké ʿáy séfar torà negahdaróx hawyá*¹
so that the Torah scroll would protect you (B:84)

nəjəs → *nājəs*

nəmro n.f. **fried egg**

nəqla adj. (fs. *nqalta*, pl. *nəqle*) **thin** | *xola nəqla* thin rope; *glala nəqla*
thin thread

nəxla n.m. **rain** | *nəxlá nəxəl*¹ It is raining; *nəxlá nandè*¹ The rain is dancing (on the ground)

nəxpə n.f. **shyness** | *nəxpə doqá mən-did*¹ She is shy of me

nfixa adj. (fs. *nfixta*, pl. *nfixe*) **puffed up, conceited**

nimašora n.m. (K) **cleansing mud (made from small stones from river beds) used in baths**

nišan n.m. (K/P) **mark, sign** | *nišan-e s^wkāke mātūwa*¹ He would mark out (the place) of the booth (A:76)

nita : — *ʿwl* **to swear, to make an oath**

noba (i) n.m. (P < A) **turn** | *ba-noba* in turn

noba (ii) n.m., *nopta* n.f. (P < A) **fever** | *nobà dwáqlə*¹ He caught a fever

nokar n.m. (pl. *nokäre*) (P) **servant**

nopta → *noba*

noşrat n.f. (P < A) **victory** | *taqa noşrat* arch of victory

noš- n.f. (with suffixes only) **self** | *noşef* himself, *noşaf* herself, etc. *ʿaná wáxt-e xlúla wilì ga-Taràn-yeli nóši*¹ When I married, I was by myself in Tehran (A:5); *gezíwa báqa béla nõšu*¹ They went to their (own) homes (A:11); *tára mázra ba-réša nõşaf*¹ She closed the door behind her (literally: upon her) (A:22); *gezíwa báqa béla nõšu*¹ They went to their (own) homes (A:11); *xánči nóşu doqìwala*¹ They held themselves a little (= they were rather reluctant) (A:31)

ntoa adj. (fs. *ntota*, pl. *ntoe*) **high; tall** | *tura ntota* a high mountain; *gora ntoa* a tall man; *baté ntòe-yelu*¹ The houses were tall (A:12)

nunila n.f. **fish** | *zíl pliyáw kása xá nunilà*¹ He (Jonah) went into the stomach of a fish (B:77)

nunilta n.f. **fish**

nuqla n.f. (pl. *nuqle*) **sweet, candy**

nuqta n.f. (pl. *nuqte*) **spot**

nura n.m. **fire**

nwua n.f. (H) **prophecy** | *nwuá-e ha-nabí ba-triṣà plitá*! The prophecy of the prophet turned out to be true

/p/

paetaxt n.f. (pl. *paetaxte*) (P) **capital (city)**

pa-goša n.? (P) **stretching of the leg** | Symbolic act signifying the agreement of the family of the bride to the betrothal

palǎpal (K) : — **ʼwl to rush** | *palǎpál la-holmù*! Do not rush! (A:31)

pāl (K) : — **lpl to lie down** | *se pāl pul*! Go and lie down!

panjāra n.f. (pl. *panjāre*) (K/P) **window**

paqa n.f. (pl. *paqe*) **top of the chest where child or bundle is carried**
| *ʼaná yalí dóqnef paqí*! I am carrying my child in my arms; *ʼaná tulé dóqna paqí*! I am carrying twigs in my arms

par (K) : — **ʼwl to weave**

pāra n.m. (pl. *pāre*) (K.) **feather; propeller of water-mill** | *pāré ba-taxtè-hitwa*! There were propellers made of wood (A:59)

pārākanda (P) : — **xØr to be scattered** | *pārākandà xirén mən-doká*! They were scattered from there (B:2)

pārasu n.f. (pl. *pāraswe*) (K) **rib**

parča n.m. (pl. *parče, parčane*) (K/P) n.pl. **material, fabric** | *parčane dargušta* bands of material used to tie around child in a cradle

parča-froš n.m. (pl. *parča-froše*) (P) **seller of cloth** | *rábau parča-fròš-yelu*! Most of them were cloth-sellers (A:69)

parda n.f. (pl. *parde*) (K/P) **curtain** | *xá-dana pardá doqìwa-u*! They would draw a curtain (A:47)

pārəšt n.m. (K) **cracked wheat**

paro n.f. (pl. *paroe*) (K) **snow shovel** | *talgǎké gǎrpále ba-parò*¹ He swept away the snow with a snow shovel

pǎro n.m. (pl. *pǎroe*) (K) **rag** | *pǎroé maqlíwa*¹ *ʾo-qilâ*,¹ *ʾo-qilé pǎroè*¹ *mátíwale réša ʾo-milâ*¹ They would burn rags and they would put on the circumcision the burnt ash, burnt rags (A:76)

pas part. (P) **then; so** | *pás ʾijazá xlulá kwíwa*¹ Then they gave permission for the wedding (A:32); *ʾo-waxtára mašiné ʾǎqrá litwa*,¹ *pás mǎn-susi ʾastǎfadá kolíwa*¹ At that time there were not so many cars, so they would make use of a horse (A:16)

pas-andāz (P) : — **ʾwl to save (money)** | *xánči pułé pas-andāz wiliwale*¹ He had saved some money (D:12)

pasaxu n.f. (K) **woman who verifies virginity of bride** | *bǎqǎtâ-č*¹ *gbé paxasù*¹ *hezâ*¹ *ʾay-stacé bǎkǎrǎt-e*¹ *d-ay-kaldâ*¹ *lablálu báqa tata-udaǎkâ*¹ 'In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the father and mother' (A:50)

pǎšixa adj. (fs. *pǎšixta*, pl. *pǎšixe*) **merry, happy**

pǎša n.m. (pl. *pǎše*) (P) **mosquito**

pǎšaban n.f. (pl. *pǎšabǎne*) (K) **mosquito net**

pašor n.f. (pl. *pašore*) (K) **instrument consisting of black pumice for washing feet**

pǎšota n.f. (pl. *pǎšoye*, *pǎšote*) **fart** | *pǎšotâ pǎšýále*¹ He farted

pǎtíla n.m. (pl. *pǎtíle*) **cooking pot; container; tin** | *ʾay-bšǎlmanè*¹ *ke-xálwa zǎbni ta-didàn*¹ *ʾay-xalwâ*¹ *mǎn-d-ó tortâ*¹ *yá mǎn-d-ó ʾǎrbá dǎwqâ-y*¹ *ga-xa-pǎtíla dǎwqâ-y*¹ *ké pǎtíłáké mǎnkǎn-ye pǎsrá bǎšla-hǎwélú gǎeǎ*¹ Those Muslims, who sell milk to us, have taken the milk from the cow or from the sheep and have kept it in a container in which they may have cooked meat (A:64)

pǎtire n.f. **Passover** | *ga-tǎmám ʾay-haftâ*¹ *ké pǎtiré xirtè-ya*,¹ *šóa yomè*¹ *híč-kas*¹ ^H*dǎvrè*^H *xalwâ là kxólwa*¹ During the whole of the week in which Passover took place, seven days, nobody ate dairy products (A:63)

patla n.m. **cooked husked wheat**

pǎtuxa adj. (fs. *pǎtuxta*, pl. *pǎtuxe*) **wide**

paxasu n.f. (K) **woman inspector of sheets after consummation of marriage** | *bəqātā-č̄l gbé paxasùl hezàl 'ay-staçé bākārāt-e! d-ay-kaldà! lablálu báqa tata-u-dačkà!* In the morning the 'woman inspector' had to go and take the 'sheets of virginity' of the bride to the father and mother (A:50)

payiz n.? (K) **Autumn**

payja n.f. (pl. *payje*) (K) **ladder**

pea (K) : — *xØr to be born* | *ga-Taràn peá xirá-y!* He was born in Tehran

pela n.m. (pl. *pele*) **radish**

peła n.f. (pl. *pele*) (K) **eyelash**

pəlga n.m. **half; middle** | *pəlga yoma* midday; *pəlga lele* midnight; *'ána gézna ga-pəlgùn-u!* I shall go among them (= I shall visit them) (D:3)

pəlkane n.pl. (sing. *pəlkanta*) (K/P) **stairs** | *'ó pəlkané 'əšəq!* He is going up the stairs

pəlka (K) *'ena* n.f. **eyelash**

pəma n.m. (pl. *pəme*) **mouth** | *pəmóx bəsimà!* thank you (said after a conversation)

pəqya adj. (f. *pqita*, pl. *pəqye*) **cracked, split**

pərče n.pl. (K) **hair** | *ksila pərče* wig; *sélox xà! ksilá pərčé mätù!* Go and put on a wig! (D:11)

pərsaxta n.f. (pl. *pərsaxe*) **sweet pastry** | long pastry made of dough, egg, sugar and sesame

pərta'na n.f. (pl. *pərta'ne*) **flea**

pəs adj. invar. (K) **dumb** | *lišanéf pəs xír!* His tongue became dumb

pəšha n.m. (Rabbinic Aramaic) **Passover ceremony** | *léle pätiré yätíwa baqá pəšhà!* On the eve of Passover they would sit for the purpose of the Passover ceremony (A:61)

pəsra n.f. **meat** | *pəsra kake* gum

pəšla n.m. (pl. *pəšle*) **onion**

pəšk, *pəška* n.m. (K) **share, lot; sufficiency** | *hár-käsu pəška-nóšef*
hítwale^l Every one of them had enough for himself (A:55)

pəškaḷe n.pl. (K/P) **sheep's dung**

pəšpara n.f. (pl. *pəšpare*) **omelette**

pəšti (K) n.f. **back-support (on wall)**

pičyaw (K) : — *xØr* **to twist around** | *xiwá pičyàw xír ʔaqléf*^l The snake
twisted around his leg

pír n./adj.ms./fs./ (pl. *pire* or invar.) **old (person); senior** | *xá-ʕada*
mən-náše píre^l a few senior people (A:30); *ʔnšé píre*^l old women
(B:48); *zána lá-e píre*^l I went to the old folk (B:31); *hítwa-u lítwa*^l
mən-ʔáhá biš-pír^l *hüč-kas lítwa*^l There was, there was not, there was
nobody more senior than God (formula opening a story) (A:98)

piš part. (P) **before** | *jáng-e benulmälälí ʔáwà*^l *wáxt-e piš-ʔèa*^l just before
the First World War (B:10)

plixa adj. (fs. *plixta*, pl. *plixe*) **open** | *šalma plixa* aggressive

pliyaw, *pliyawa* part. **amid; between; within** | *galglíwale ga-pliyáw*
mašxá nòšef^l They would stir it round in its own oil (A:84); *xá-*
kilo-u pəlge^l *mən-d-áy qamxà*^l *därenwa ga-pliyáw xá kasá rabtà*^l They
poured out a kilo and a half of the flour into a large bowl (B:17);
ʔó ga-pliyáw ḥqaéf boʕinà díle^l When he was talking, he had a
blockage in his throat; *čórt xa-məndix-yela*^l *məndixáne gərd-yelu ga-*
pliyáw xa-süm^l An abacus is something (containing) things that
were round on a wire. (A:101); *pliyaw d-o gora-u d-o-baxta* be-
tween that man and that woman; *bár-d-o məndélu pliyawà*^l Then
they threw him in (the sea) (B:77)

plulta n.f. (pl. *plulye*) **gutter (of roof); wick**

popwana n.f. (pl. *popwane*) (K) **cock's comb**

poqa n.m. **nose**

poxa n.m. **shade**

pqara, *pqarta* n.f. **neck**

pšila adj. (< *pšira*) **melted** | *käre pšilà*^l melted butter (B:41)

ptara n.f. (pl. *ptare*) **stand for a cooking pot**

ptiła n.f. (pl. *ptiłe*) **wick**

puče n.f. (K) **open hand**

puł, pułe n.pl. (P) **money** | *'aná puł káwna ba-'ilóx* I shall put money into your hand (A:104); *xánči pułe pas-andáz wiliwale* He had saved some money (D:12)

puše n.pl. **straw, straw matting (put on roof beams)**

put n.f. (pl. *pute*) (K) **can, container** | *put hălābi* tin can; *bušké 'asrí putè* barrels of twenty cans (in capacity) (B:6)

pyała n.f. (pl. *pyałe*) (K) **glass**

/q/

qabla adv. **formerly, in the past**

qablāma n.m. (*qablāme*) (P) **saucepan**

qābul adj. invar. (P < A) **accepted** | *ta'nitóx hāwé qābùl* May your fast be accepted (B:54); *qābul 'wl* to accept, to agree | *čún tate-ú da-ākākèl kəmriwa 'éa 'astè-ya?* *bronāké-č qābùl kólwa* When the father and mother say 'Is she good?', the boy accepts (A:2). *qābul hit-* to accept, to agree | *hár-či 'át kəmrát qābùl hitl* Everything you say, I agree (to do) (A:18)

qača-šale (K) n.f. **crippled leg (name of game)** | In this game there were two opposing sides (*dāse*) who attempted to touch each other while hopping: *qača-šalè kolíl* They are playing the 'crippled leg' game

qādāgan adj. invar. (P) **forbidden**

qafəla n.f. (P < A) **convoy; caravan**

qala n.m. (pl. *qale*) **voice, sound** | *híč qalá lá šmili* I did not hear a sound; *hýyena qalèl* I started to speak; *xét là čér šāmásl ga-pəlgá-e leləl qalè sliħót ga-hár-či belèl* The beadle no longer goes around in the middle of the night to call to every house '(Come to) penitential prayers!' (E:38)

qaləb n.m. (P < A) **frame; (dead) body** | *kúle šatá ba-ləbá bāsīmà-u' qáləb sàq doqéte* May you keep it (the fast) every year with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54)

qäləmta n.f. (pl. *qalme*) **louse**

qälöže n.pl. (sing. *qälöžta*) (K) **rubber shoes; galoshes**

qalpa n.m. **peel, crust** | *qalpa ləxma* crust of bread

qälula adj. (fs. *qälulta*, pl. *qälule*) **light; easy** | *ħašta qälulta* easy work

qalya n.m. **cooked meat and fat preserved for winter**

qali n.f. (pl. *qaliye*) (K/P) **carpet**

qáme, *qam* prep. (with suffixes: *qámef*) **before (spatial and temporal); in front of. adv. forward. conj. before (temporal); because** | *qáme xamá-u xmalá ya-’äxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryàl* She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *bár tmanyá yomé leləl réša šatá kyáwa qáme* After eight days New Year’s Eve came before (us) (B:30); *qam-tära, ga-qam-tära* in front of the door, outside: *susyáké mən-sarbāzخانە kméwale qam-täràl* He would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A:16); *tíw ga-qam-tärà-u* He sat outside (D:6). Adverb: *laḷà kménwa qáme* Then they brought forward the lungs (of the sheep) (B:68); *šomá-e šadil mandéxile qáme* We put forward (to a day earlier) the fast of joy (B:73); *’áy-əč ke-qáme* He comes forward (B:81). Clausal conjunction: *’áy hawsá qənsáwali qáme ke-ħètl* I swept the yard before you came; *qáme d-éa ’ay-bráta daäki hamrəl* before my mother told (me about) this girl ... (A:8). Causal: *ħič-kasl da’wätí lá wile-òl wa-là káena m-qám d-éa ’anàl pərčè lití, káčäl-yena yá šəmà lití ’exál* I held a party and nobody invited me back. I don’t know whether it was because I do not have any hair and am bald, or whether I am not well known and so forth. (D:10). *qáme-o* adv. beforehand; forwards | *qáme-o kòl* He moves forward. Combined with *mən-/m-*: *xá-’əda píle m-qáməf xá-’əda píle m-bàraf* some positioned in front of her some behind her (A:46)

qamxa n.m. **flour**

qan, qand n.? (K/P) **stick of sugar** | *xa tika qan* a piece of sugar

qāna’at n.f. (K/P < A) **contentment** | — *’wl* to be content: *ba-d-áy zəndəgí rába qāna’at kólwa* He was very content with this life (A:99)

qānušta n.f. (pl. *qānušye*) **broom**

- qāpan* n.f. (K) **large scales (for weighing)**
- qaṣṣān* n.pl. (K) **small stones (used in game)**
- qāra* n.f. (pl. *qāre*) **gourd**
- qārān* n.? (P) **unit of currency (= 1/10 of toman)**
- qāraula* n.f. **rabbinic school** | *gezól qāraulà*^l He goes to a rabbinic school
- qārče* n.pl. (K) **mushrooms**
- qarda* n.f. **cold** | *qardà-yela*^l It (the weather) was cold
- qārib* adv. (P < A) **nearly, approximately** | *qārib-e*^l *'alpà baté*^l approximately a thousand families (B:3)
- qāriira* adj. (fs. *qāriira*, pl. *qāriire*) **cool, cold** | *talga qāriira* cold snow
- qarwa* adj. invar. **near** | *qarwá-yelu bāxle*^l They were close to one another; *qárwa sätwà*^l close to winter (A:81); *qarwá pätiré ké xarwà*^l close to when Passover took place (B:15). With the *izafe* particle: *māšnayotè qārénwa-u*^l *zohàr qārénwa*^l *ta-qarwá-e yomà*^l They would read the Mishnayot and they would read the Zohar, until near dawn (B:79); *hiyén ba-qarwi*^l They have come near to me. *qarwa xØr* to approach, to get near
- qaryana* n.m. (pl. *qaryane*) **reader. adj. (fs. *qaryanta*, pl. *qaryane*) learned**
- qaspa* n.f. (pl. *qaspe*) (K) **date**
- qāšāb* n.m. (P < A) **butcher**
- qāšābxana* n.f. (P) **butcher's shop**
- qāšang* adv. (P) **beautifully** | *'ay-susí qāšáng marzənwale-ò*^l He decorated the horse beautifully (A:43)
- qat* n.f. (pl. *qāte*) (K) **wooden bed**
- qatər* n.m. (P) **mule**
- qaṭra* n.f. (pl. *qaṭre*) (P < A) **drop** | *qaṭra mae* a drop of water
- qaṭu* n.f. (*qaṭuwe*) **cat**
- qawa* n.f. **coffee**

qaway adj. invar. (K < A) **brown**

qawe quye n.f. (K) **twittering; chattering**

qawm n.m. (pl. *qawme*) (K/P < A) **family; relatives; people** | *qawm-u kare* relatives, the extended family; *čírma ba-šòne^l qáwm-u 'ašnàe^l* I searched for family and friends (E:22)

qawme → *qome*

qawurma n.m. (K < T) **cooked meat preserved in a pot**

qayči n.m. (pl. *qayčye*) (K) **scissors; shears** | *'amrá 'ərbá ba-qayči qešîle^l*
They cut the wool of a sheep with shears

qaymi adj. invar. (K/P < A) **ancient**

qaysuron n.f. (pl. *qaysurone*) (K) **dish made of apricot**

qeṭa n.m. **Summer**

qəna (i) n.f. (pl. *qəne*) **kernel**

qəna (ii) n.m. (K) **goldsmith**

qəncəkla n.f. (pl. *qəncəkla*) (K) **little finger**

qənya adj. (fs. *qnita*, pl. *qənye*) **blue; turquoise** | *šəme qənye* blue sky

qərča n.f. (pl. *qərče*) (K) **spark; burning heat** | *qərčá-e qeṭá* the burning heat of summer (E:53)

qərčina adj. (fs. *qərčinta*, pl. *qərčine*) **mouldy**

qəṭa n.m. (pl. *qəṭe*) **piece**

qəṭma n.m./f. **ash**

qəṭra n.m. (pl. *qəṭre*) **knot** | *qəṭra qoḷa* elbow

qəwta n.f. (K < A) **strength** | *ba-qəwta* strong; *mare qəwta* strong; *be-qəwta* weak

qfəl n.m. (pl. *qəfle*) (P/K < A) **lock** | *wá 'sirén knišyè^l ba-qfəl-u zanjür^l*
Look the synagogues are closed with lock and chain (E:37)

qira n.f. (K/P < A) **tar**

qiz (K) : — *qizì dāe bāxle^l* It disgusts me

qlăpi adj. invar. (K) **bare (foot)** | *b-aqla qlăpi* barefoot; *ʼaqlá qlăpì gezíwa-o belá!* They would go home barefoot (B:46)

qlila n.f. (pl. *qlile*) **key**

qliwa adj. (fs. *qliwta*, pl. *qliwe*) **cleaned, clean** | *šišmé lá qliwè!* uncleaned sesame (B:27)

qolawěš n.f. (K) **stick for extracting bread from the oven**

qoła n.f. (K) **upper arm**

qóme, qáwme adv. **tomorrow; the next day**

qoqa n.f. (pl. *qoqe*) **pot** | used for storing water, yoghurt or meat fat; *qoqé gə̀lì* earthenware pots (B:24)

qora n.f. (pl. *qore, qorane*) **grave**

qorbān n.m. (P < A) **sacrifice** | *xá-yoma qə̀me roš-ha-šaná!* *ʼaqláb-e batè!* *ʼərbá dabḥìwa-o báqa qorbān!* One day before New Year, most families slaughtered a sheep as a sacrifice (B:66). Expression of respect: *ʼaxnì qorbān!* We are (your) sacrifice (B:81)

qori n.f. (pl. *qoriye*) (K/P) **teapot**

qorqorata n.f. **Adam's apple**

qot n.f. (pl. *qote*) (P) **jacket**

qrawa n.m. **war**

qrixa adj. (fs. *qrixta*, pl. *qrixe*) **covered in a white coating** | *ʼéa là xárwa ʼo-lá qrixá hăwè!* It (a vessel at Passover) could not be unwhitened (B:19)

qṭila adj. (fs. *qṭilta*, pl. *qṭile*) **killed; beaten**

qudra, qudrat n.m. (K/P < A) **power** | *ràba qudréf xirlále!* He has become very powerful (A:108)

quł (K) adj. invar. **deep**

qułăqu (K) : — *ʼwl* **to bubble up (liquid)** | *máe qułăqu kolí mən-ʼărà!* The water is bubbling up out of the ground

qulaša n.f. (pl. *qulaše*) (K) **earlobe**

qulba n.f. (pl. *qulbe*) **bracelet**

qurbaqa n.f. (pl. *qurbaqe*) (P) **frog**

qurs adj. invar. (K) **heavy**

quta n.f. (pl. *quṭe*) **vagina**

qyanta n.f. **resurrection** | *pešát ta-qyamtà^l ga-lábé-u xaṭərə^l* so that you remain for ever (literally: until the resurrection) in hearts and minds (E:72)

/r/

rab n.m. invar. (H) **rabbi**

rāba mod./adv. **many, much** (§8.9.4.) | *rāba náše da‘wāt kolíwa^l* They would invite many people (A:75); *duktərə^l rāba hítwalan^l* We had many doctors (A:69). With pronominal suffix: *rābau parča-fròš-yelu^l* Most of them were cloth-sellers (A:69). Intensifier: *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx^l rāba zərīf^l, rāba ‘ayzta^l* I have arranged a girl for you, very pretty, very nice (A:6)

rad (P) : — *xØr to pass* | *‘áy-u xäləstáf rád xəri^l* She and her sister pass by (A:17); *mən-d-áy jogá máe ràd xúr^l* Cross this stream of water!

rāduxa adj. (fs. *rāduxta*, pl. *rāduxe*) **boiling** | *mae rāduxe* boiling water

rahnamai (P) : — *‘wl to guide, to direct* | *rahnamái wile-u^l míre sé flán t^okà^l* He guided him and said ‘Go to such-and-such a place’ (D:11)

raḥat adj. invar. (P < A) **at ease** | *huláe ga-lāxá gbe-raḥàt hāwén^l* The Jews here must be at ease (B:85)

rajə’ ba-, ba-rajə’ ba- (P < A) part. **relating to, concerning** | *rajə’ ba-ḥăná-č là-ḥqelan^l* We have not talked about hennah (A:38)

rākixa adj. (fs. *rākixta*, pl. *rākixe*) **soft**

rana n.m. (pl. *rane*) (K) **thigh**

rang n.m. (pl. *range*) (K/P) **colour**

rangana adj. (fs. *ranganta*, pl. *rangane*) (K/P) **colourful**

raq adj. invar. (K) **stiff** | *ləxmá koliwale-ò,^l šaṭxiwale-ò,^l ráq xàrwa^l ta-léle pätirè^l* They opened out and spread out the bread, and it (dried and) became stiff (and was kept like this) until the eve of Passover (A:67)

- răqata* n.f. (pl. *răqate*) **patch (of fabric)** | *șurí bzitè-ya,*¹ *ʿaná gbéna*
*răqatà dăénaf*¹ My shirt has a hole in it, I want to put a patch on it
- rās* n.m. (K/P) **truth** | *rās miré*¹ He spoke the truth (E:75)
- rāsala* n.f. (pl. *rāsale*) (P) **article, epistle**
- rasi* part. (K/P) **in truth, in fact**
- rasm* n.m./f. (P < A) **custom, practice** | *rasm ga-doká ʿăxà-yele*¹ The custom there was like this (A:9); *rasm ba-d-áy jorà-yela*¹ The custom was like this (A:9)
- rasmí* adj. invar. (P < A) **official, legal**
- răwān* adj. invar. (K) **flowing, moving** | *xa-jogá máe răwān hawýawa*¹ a stream that was flowing water (B:70)
- răwana* (P): — *xØr* **to set off**
- raxt-șuri* n.f. (P) **laundry; washing** | *mășin-e raxt-șuri* washing-machine
- raʿyâte* n.pl. (P < A) **subjects, citizens**
- rāz* n.m. (pl. *raze*) (P) **secret**
- raza* n.f. (K) **story**
- razi* adj. invar. (P < A) **satisfied, content**
- rđixa* adj. (fs. *rđixta*, pl. *rđixe*) **boiled** | *máe rđixe* boiled water
- rek* adj. invar. (K) **right, straight** | *rek ʿwl* to make straight
- reša* n.m. (pl. *reše*) **head; top; surface** | *reší mărèli*¹ I have a head-ache; *ba-rešòx!*¹ (I swear) by your head! (= It is really so!) (B:63); *ba-rešèf diyá-y!*¹ He is queer in the head (E:26); *ʿát ba-rešòx diyá-y?!*¹ Are you mad?! *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ʿásábe bar-reší-u!*¹ They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2); *tămám-e reša səfrá zamťiwa mən-d-ay-jóra məndixàne*¹ They filled the whole surface of the cloth with such things (A:65); *reša ʿaqla* top of the foot; *reš-šata* New Year; *ba-reš-o* at first; *mən-d-ay reš-o* again: *mən-d-áy reš-ó ken-ò,*¹ *ʿonyexáe təqnú lá pešà!*¹ When I come back again, the beard of those people must not remain (unshaven) (B:81); *reša dØy* to visit, to make a tour: *mən-doká xa-rešá madräsà dăéxin!*¹ From there we make a tour of the school

reša, *reš* prep. **upon; to, for; about**. (1) **upon** | *rešá 'ǎràl* on the ground (A:56); *rešá susìl* on horseback (A:70). (2) **to, for** | *qímna zína reš-Tarán* I set off and went to Tehran (A:27). (3) **about** | *tatí yátùwa! 'ǎlhá mǎnixà! dāstán ḥāqéwa baqàn! ... reš-Šlómo ha-mèlex!* My father, may he rest in peace, would sit and tell us a story ... about King Solomon. (4) Combined with other prepositions: *báqa réša ḥaštìl* for my work (A:27). *hár-či 'át kəmràt! 'ána mātúna ba-reš 'enìl* Whatever you say, I am willing to do (literally: I shall put on my eye) (A:18); *léle reš-šatá xa-səfrá šāwénwa rūwà, mən-d-ây-lag reš-ay-belá! ta-reš-o-belá!* On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth, from this side, on this (side of) the house, to that (side of) the house (A:65)

reza mod. (K) **a little, a small amount** | *xa-rezá ləxmá-u guptá šāqāl báqa yaləf-u!* He buys a little bread and cheese for his children (A:102); *xa-rezá tomè nǎténa!* I shall take a few seeds

rəpya adj. (fs. *rpita*, pl. *rəpye*) **thin (liquid)**

rəzza n.m. **rice** | *rəzza yǎruqa* green rice (containing vegetables), *rəzza smoqa* red rice (containing tomatoes)

rixa n.m. **smell**

riza adj. (fs. *rista*, pl. *rize*) **angry** | *mən-nòšef rizá-y!* He is angry with himself

roļa interj. (K) **my dear (said to small child)** | *roļa gyān* my dear

rošan adj. invar. (P) **bright, clear** | *bar-^caléh-e dīn! wǎle lā-²abya-y!* *róšan hole-ò!* He was against religion but he did not want to make it explicit (B:82); *šáyad b-áy jorà! ləbí xár ròšan!* Perhaps in this way my heart would become bright (= joyful) (E:25)

rota n.f. **Friday**

roxa n.f. **wind**

roxana n.f. (pl. *roxane*) (K) **river**

ršəfta n.f. (P < A) **bribe**

rūwa adj. (fs. *rabta*, pl. *rūwe*) **big**. n.m. (pl. *rūwane*) **dignitary; important person**

rūwana n.m. **the Almighty (God)** | *'amre rūwana* the commands of the Almighty

rüwanula n.f. **greatness**

/ř/

řag n.m. (pl. *řage*) (K) **artery, vein**

řewi n.m. (K) **fox, fox fur**

řex n.f. (pl. *řexe*) (K) **smooth stone (in stream)**

řut adj. invar. (K) **naked**

/s/

sa'at, sa'āta n.f. (pl. *sa'āte*) (K/P < A) **hour** | *sa'at čəkmè-ya?*¹ What time is it?; *sa'at xè-ya*¹ It is one o'clock; *sa'at trè-ya*¹ It is two o'clock; *sa'at tré-u pəlgè-ya*¹ It is half past two; *ta-sa'āt-e*¹ *tresār lelé* until twelve o'clock at night (D:6)

sa'lab n.f. (P < A) **fox, fox fur**

sābāta n.f. (pl. *sābāta*) (P) **bag, basket**

sada adj. invar. (P) **simple**

saer n.? (P < A) **remainder, rest** | *hulaé 'áħra Sanandāj,*¹ *mangól hulaé sāer-e t'ké xèt,*¹ *'elāwae*¹ *doqìwalu külé*¹ The Jews of the town of Sanandaj, like the Jews of other places, observed all the festivals. (B:13)

sāfāl n.? (P) **earthenware**

sāfali adj. invar. (P) **made of earthenware**

sahra n.f. (pl. *sahre*) (P < A) **field, plain** | *geztwa báqa sahrà*¹ They would go to the fields (B:31)

sāj n.m. (pl. *saje*) (K/P < A) **griddle**

saji adj. invar. (K/P < A) **of the griddle** | *laxma saji* bread made on the griddle

sakənin n.pl. (P < A) **inhabitants; congregation**

sala n.m. (pl. *sale*) **witness**

sālāt n.f./adv. (P/K < A) **early morning (before sunrise); early** |
ḥāqéx mənṭākax^l mən-sālāt ta-lelè^l We shall talk to you from early
 morning until night (E:67); *bəqáta sālāt* early in the morning

salmāni n.m. (P) **barber**

salula n.f. **testimony**

samar (P < A) : — *hw^l* **to produce fruit**

sanandaji n./adj. invar. **from Sanandaj**

san^ʿat, san^ʿeta n.f. (P < A) **profession, craft**

sandali n.f. (pl. *sandaliye*) (P) **chair**

sangāki n.f. (pl. *sangakye*) (K) **loaf of bread**

sangfānak n.f. (pl. *sangfānake*) (K) **flint (used to ignite fires)**

santānur n.f. (pl. *santānure*) (K) **kitchen**

sāpa n.f. (pl. *sāpe*) **slice (of bread), small sandwich** | *xá sǎpà dúq baq^l*
 Make me a sandwich

sāq adj. invar. (K < T) **healthy; cleansed of sin** | *kúle šatá ba-ləbá*
bāsīmā-u^l qáləb sǎq doqéte^l May you keep it (the fast) every year
 with a good heart and a healthy body (B:54); *ʿéa kwíwalu báqa*
fǎqiré saqè^l They gave them (the cocks) to the poor to cleanse
 from sin (B:71); *ʿaná xárna saqòx^l* Let me be (the means of) clean-
 sing your sin (expression of respect)

saqa n.m. **shin; trunk** | *saqa ʿila* bone of arm; *saqa ʿilana* the trunk of a
 tree

sāqata n.f. **offal of cow** | *yaxni sāqata* beef soup (made from offal)

sāqəzi n./adj. invar. **from Sāqəz**

saqf n.m. (pl. *saqfe*) (P < A) **ceiling**

sārand n.f. (K) **large sieve (for sieving earth)**

sarbāz n.m. (pl. *sarbaze*) (P) **soldier**

sarbāzxane n.f. (P) **barracks**

sārīna n.f. (pl. *sārīne*) (K) **cushion; pillow**

sarwatmand adj. invar. (P) **rich**

- saṭla* n.m. (pl. *saṭle*) (K/P < A) **bucket, can**
- sawzi* n.m. (K) **vegetable, herb** | *sawzi jad* mixed herbs
- saxti* n.m. (P) **difficulty, hardship**
- saxtmani* n.m. (P) **construction** | *wásá'el-e saxtmani zăbónwa*¹ He would sell building materials (A:7)
- sayər* n.f. (pl. *sayəre*) (K) **picnic** | *geziwa sayər*¹ They would go on a picnic (B:35)
- sāz* n.f. (K) **stringed musical instrument**
- sebzămîni* n.f. (pl. *sebzămînye*) (P) **potato**
- sefar* n.m. (H) **Torah scroll** | *kûle zîli bāraxá sefár mirù*¹ Everybody went and said the blessing on the Torah (A:53)
- sema* n.m. **silver**
- semana* adj. (fs. *semanta*, pl. *semane*) **made of silver**
- sera* n.f. **moon**
- seta* n.f. **sister of husband**
- səfra* n.m. (K) **cloth spread on ground on which food was eaten** | *léle reš-satá xa-səfrá šăwénwa rüwá*¹ On New Year's Eve we spread out a large cloth (A:65)
- səft* adj. invar. (P) **hard**
- səḥya* adj. (fs. *šhita*, pl. *səḥye*) **thirsty**
- səḥyanula* n.f. **thirst**
- səkla* n.m., *skəlta* n.f. (pl. *səkle*) **hiccup** | *səkle/skəlta dØy* to hiccup
- səlsəla* n.f. (P < A) **dynasty** | *səlsəlá-e 'axamanešî* the Achaemenid dynasty (B:1)
- səmbele* n.pl. (K) **moustache**
- sən, səna* n.m. (P < A) **age** | *xor-səní rába là-yele*¹ I was still not very old (A:5); *'átá g-áy səná didòx*¹ *ké xirèt*¹ *'əsri šənè*¹ *'əsri-u xamšá šənè*¹ *dāx kélox ḥaşta yalpét?*¹ Now at the age that you are, twenty years old, twenty-five years old, how can you learn a job? (D:21)

səŋga n.m. (pl. *səŋge*) (K) **chest** | *gbéwa xa-párča zayrá dāén ba-lāxàù^l b-lā^l səŋgù^l* They had to put a patch of yellow on their (body) here, on their chest (A:78)

səpla n.m. (pl. *səple*) **edge** | *səpla gare* the edge of the roof; *səpla darya* the coast of the sea

sətwa n.m. **Winter**

sim n.m. (P) **wire**

simorǝ n.f. (pl. *simorǝe*) (P/K) **mythical giant bird**

sirāj n.f. (K) **cheese left after churning yoghurt**

sisərka n.f. (pl. *sisərke*) (K) **cricket, locust**

sita n.f. (pl. *siye*) **span of the hand**

six n.f. (pl. *sixe*) (P) **skewer**

skəltə → *səkla*

skira adj. (f. *skirta*, pl. *skire*) **drunk, inebriated**

skita n.f. (pl. *skiye*) **knife**

slaḥ (K < A) : — ^{ʿwl} **to shave**

slām n.m. (K/P < A) **greetings** | *slām maždr̥lox^l* They send their greetings to you

smoqa adj. (fs. *smoqta*, pl. *smoqe*) **red** | *rəzza smoqa* red rice (cooked with tomatoes)

sopa n.f. (pl. *sope*) (K) **stove**

spalta n.f. (pl. *spale*) **lip**

sqəltə n.f. (pl. *sqəlye*) **ring**

srota n.f. (pl. *srote*) **ladle**

sta n.f. (pl. *ste*) **wooden mortar**

stača n.f. (pl. *stače*) (K) **sheet** | *bəqātā-č^l gbé paxasù^l hezà^l ʿay-stačé bākārāt-e^l d-ay-kaldà^l lablálu báqa tata-u-daākà^l* In the morning the ‘woman inspector’ had to go and take the ‘sheets of virginity’ of the bride to the father and mother (A:50)

stun n.m. (pl. *stune*) (P) **pillar**

suja n.f. (pl. *sujae*) (K < A) **mat**

sunni adj. invar. (P < A) **Sunnite**

suraa n.m./adj. *suralta* n.f./adj. (pl. *surae*) **Christian**

susi n.m. (pl. *susiye*) **horse**

swaqta n.f. **permission, consent**

s^wka (i) n.m. (pl. *s^wke*) **knitting needle**

s^wka (ii) n.f. (H) **booth (at the festival of Tabernacles)**

syamta n.f. (pl. *syame*) **shoe** | *syame taršana* maker of shoes

/š/

šāf adj. inv. (P) **smooth** | *lešá šāf kolíwale ba-gerà*! They made the dough smooth with a rolling pin

šalma n.m. (pl. *šalme*) **face** | *šalmè doqáwa*! She was shy (A4); *šalmé litwala qámé xamá-u xmalá ya-’ăxóne dasgiranáf hiyá waryà*! She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *šalmáf taršàle*! She is making up her face; *šalma plixa* aggressive

šälolta n.f. (pl. *šälole*) **prayer** | *šälolta šälé*! He is praying

ša’suwa^c n.m. (pl. *ša’su’im*) (H) **delight**

šîga n.f. (P) **temporary wife, concubine**

šîwa n.m. (pl. *šîwe*) **wood, piece of wood** | *tănurăké ba-šîwè malqíwala*! They heated the oven with wood (A:67)

šoma n.m. **fast** | *hulâe rüwé ta-zorè kúle šomá doqíwa*! The Jews, old and young, all kept the fast (B:53); *nawád dar-sáde hulaé šomâ-yelu*! Ninety percent of the Jews fasted (B:44)

šorer n.m./adj. invar. (H) **enemy (of Jews); hostile (to Jews)** | *’anyexáe ’əqrá šorèr-yelu mălé*! They were so hostile (to the Jews) that God said ‘That is enough!’ (A:77)

šura n.f. (pl. *šurale, šurane, šurye, šure*) **shirt**

/š/

šābāt n.f. (H) **Saturday***šābāta* n.f. (K) **bunch** | *šābāta bāšire* a bunch of grapes*šābuba* n.m. (K) **pipe, flute** | *šābubà dāenwale*¹ They played the pipe (A:35)*šadi* n.m. (P) **joy** | *šomá-e šadi*¹ a fast of joy (B:73)*šagərd* n.m. (P) **servant***šāh* n.m. (P) **king***šahi* n.m. (P) **coin; penny** | *wāle báqa didi*¹ *wūjud-dídi xa-šāhì lá šāwé*¹
But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)*šāḥarit* n.f. (H) **morning prayer***šahr̄bani* n.? (P) **police***šākar* n.m. **sugar***šal* adj. invar. (K) **crippled** | *'aqléf šāl-ya*¹ His leg is crippled*šala* n.f. **fever***šāłomi* n.m. (H + K) **safety; good health** | *šāłomí ləma hiyet-ó?*¹ When did you return? (literally: When did you come back safely?)*šalšālākān* n.pl. (K) **hopping game (played at Passover)***šalte* (K) *xware* n.pl. **linen trousers***šam^c* n.f. (P < A) **candle***šām* n.m. (P) **dinner***šāmaka* n.f. **palate***šambalila* n.m. (P) **fenugreek***šāmīna* adj. (fs. *šāmīnta*, pl. *šāmīne*) **fat***šana* (i) n.m. (pl. *šane*) (K) **shoulder** | *móte reš-šaná-e šwaqtà*¹ He ended up giving his consent (literally: He came to the shoulder of consent)*šana* (ii) n.m. **coriander**

šaplulta n.f. **vegetable eaten at New Year**

šarbat n.m. (P < A) **sherbet**

šarḥ n.m. (P < A) **sermon; homily** | *šarḥ kwálwa báqa didàn*! He gave us a sermon (B:52)

šāša n.f. (H) **party held on the sixth day after the birth of a child** | *šāšā doqíwa*! They would hold a 'sixth day' party

šata n.f. (pl. *šəne*, *šatāwáe*) **year; birthday** | *šata qāmaynta* last year, the previous year; *šatāxún brixtà hawyá*! Happy New Year; *lele šata* celebration at the end of Passover (literally: the night of the year); *xá-šo qāme Purim*! *šatá Mošé Rābénu* 'alaw ha-šalòm-yela! A week before Purim was the birthday of Moses our Lord, peace be upon him (B:52); *šatāwáe wìri*! The years passed (E:21)

šawnam n.m. (K) **fog**

šaxa n.m. (pl. *šaxe*) (P) **branch** | *šaxé 'ílaná palṭi*! The branches of the tree are growing

šāxina adj. (fs. *šāxinta*, pl. *šāxine*) **hot, warm** | *mae šāxine* hot water

šáyad part. (P) **perhaps**

šer (i) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (P) **lion**

šer (ii) n.m. (pl. *šere*) (P) **water tap**

šet n./adj. invar. **madman; mad**

šeza n.f. (pl. *šeze*) **almond**

šə're n.pl. (P < A) **poems, poetry**

šəhe n.m. **neighing** | *susí šəhè kól*! A horse neighs

šəlkena n.f. (pl. *šəlkene*) **small cake**

šəma n.m. (pl. *šəme*) **name** | *xa-šəmà-hite ga-tāmám-e Xáyfa*! He is well known in the whole of Hayfa (C:14); *šəmà lití* I am not well known (D:10); *qāšáb hítwalan b-šamá 'Aziz-Xàn*! We had a butcher by the name of Aziz-khan (A:74)

šəme pl. tantum **sky, heaven**

šəmša n.f. **sun**

šəmšer n.f. (pl. *šəmšere*) (K) **sword** | *ləbí jarḥanà^l ba-kárd-u šəmšèr^l* My heart is wounded with knife and sword (E:37)

šanda n.f. **sleep** | *šandá pilté-ya ʿenèf^l* He has fallen asleep

šara n.f. **navel**

šarma n.f. **buttocks**

šəršərota n.f. (pl. *šəršərote*) **lining of stomach of ruminant, tripe**

šəru^l (P < A) : — *ʿwl to begin* | *šəru^l kolíwa gəlá čáqénwa^l* They began to pick herbs (B:32); *zəndəgièf^l šəru^l wilé^l* He began his life (= He happily ever after) (D:28); With *ba-*: *šəru^l wíli ba-ḥaštà^l* I began work; *šəru^l wíli ba-mewá ʿăxolè^l* I began to eat fruit; *šəru^l wílu ba-yálope hulaulà-u^l yálope fāransà-u^l ʿəbrì^l fārsì^l* They began to learn Judaism and to learn French, Hebrew and Persian (B:12)

šərwale n.pl. (K) **trousers**

šəṭqa adv. **last year**

šəxna n.m. **warmth, heat**

šḥora adj. (fs. *šḥorta*, pl. *šḥore*) (H) **black (character)** | *ʿáy baxtá komtá-u šḥortà^l* That woman is the pits!

šilanta n.f. (pl. *šilane*) (K) **apricot**

šing n.f. (K) **edible herb**

šira n.m. **vegetable oil, syrop** (K) | burnt in lamps (*šrae*)

širini, širni n.f. (pl. *širinye*) (P) **sweets**

šiša n.f. (pl. *šiše*) (K) **bottle**

šišme n.pl. **sesame seeds** | *šišmé lá qliwè^l* uncleaned sesame (B:27)

šiwān n.f. (K) **weeping, wailing, mourning** | *lá šóqna baxyàt^l ba-šóne didàn^l yála bār daākèf^l rāšəx ba-šiwàn^l* I shall not let you weep (searching) after us (as) a child walks after his mother wailing (E:59); *našé tiwén ga-šiwàn^l* The people are sitting in mourning

škayta n.f. (pl. *škaye*) (K/P < A) **complaint** | *škaytá lábna ʿəlòx^l ~ škaytá kóna ʿəlòx^l* I shall make a complaint against you

škur (K < A) **thank you** | *ya-rábi škùr!* Thank you Oh Lord (B:47);
príqna mən-ḥaštáké ya-rábi škùr! I have finished the job, thank
 God! *dàx-yet?* | *ṭòb-yena,* | *škùr!* How are you? I am well, thanks

šo n.m. (pl. *šoe*, absolute state of *šoa*) **week** | *'áy-šo xəmà kwé!* This
 week will be hot; *xá-šo xét kéna lagòx!* I shall come to you in a
 week's time

šoa num. **seven** | *šoánan* seven of us; *šoau,* *šoawau* seven of them

šoasar num. **seventeen**

šofar n.m. (H) **ram's horn** | *qarwá-e yomà!* *šofàr mǎxénwa baqán!* Near
 dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

šogl n.m. (pl. *šogle*) (P < A) **job, profession** | *xa-'áxóna xètaf!* *čákma*
šoglè hité! Another brother of hers has several jobs (A:6)

šoḥet n.m. (H) **slaughterer**

šoi num. **seventy**

šolta n.f. **cough** | *šoltá híya baqì!* I coughed (literally: A cough came to
 me)

šon- (K) : *ba-šon-* **in the footsteps of, behind, after** | *xa-náfar-ač*
mangál nokàr, | *xa-sarbàz,* | *lǎpǎlwa ba-šonéf réša susí xèt!* Somebody
 like a servant, a soldier, would, moreover, follow him on another
 horse. (A:16); *bar-xa-müddát-xet daǎkí híya ba-šoní* After a while my
 mother came after me (A:27); *gezítwa ba-šon-ḥaštù!* They went to
 get on with their work (B:69)

šrata n.f. (pl. *šrae*) **lamp**

štālwa n.f. (pl. *štālwe*) (K) **peach**

šukyale n.pl. (sing. *šukyalta*) **testicles**

šula n.f. **error, mistake** | *xá šulá là holét* Do not make a mistake

šura n.m. (K) **shame, scandal** | *'áyb-u šurà-y!* It is scandalous!

šülüq n.f. (P) **riot, disorder** | *ba-wását d-éa 'orxá šülüq xirté-ya!* *là-məhre*
šáre báqa Kurdəstàn, | *báqa Hamàn!* On account of the fact that
 there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not
 dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

šwaqta n.f. **permission**

šwawa n.m. (pl. *šwawe*) **neighbour**

šwawta n.f. (pl. *šwawye*) **neighbour (f.)**

šwawula n.f. **neighbourliness**

šwətya n.f. (pl. *šwətye*) (K) **watermelon**

šwila n.f. (pl. *šwile*, *šwəlye*) **bed, bedding**

/t/

ta- prep. (*ta d-o*, *ta-didan*) **to; for; until; at (time); object marker.**
conj. **when, until.** (1) **to, for** | *tāte-u daākèl bi-zoa^l ʔəntəxəb kolíwa^l mānīl gorī ta-bronū^l* The fathers and mothers would generally choose who they married to their son (A:2); *ʔay-bšəlmanè^l ke-xálwa zábni ta-didān^l* those Muslims, who sell milk to us (A:64); *ta-ma?* why? (2) **until** | *péš ta-sətwà^l* so that it remains until winter (A:83); *ta-gezíwa be-kaldà^l* until they arrived at the house of the bride (A:10); *hāméša xa-čəčəw ba-rešəf-yele^l yá ləčəgə ba-rešəf-yela^l ta-zāmān-e ke-ʔanà xlulá wilī^l* There was always a robe on her head or there was a veil on her head, until the time that I married (A:4). (3) **at, on, for (time)** | *ta-bəqātef-o zina-ò^l* In the morning I went back (A:27); *yātúwa ta-saʔətè^l* He would sit for hours (A:101); *ta-láma ləbá hitóx baxtá gorèt?^l* When do you want to get married? (A:5), (4) **object marker** | *ʔəlhá šóqla ta-daākèf^l* May God preserve his mother (A:17). (5) **when** | *ta-ʔəxá míre baqəf^l ʔáy ʔərqàla^l* When he said this to her, she fled (A:22)

taʕna n.m. (pl. *taʕne*) **load**

tābiʕi adj.invar. (P < A) **natural**

tabrik n.m. (P < A) **blessing, good wishes** | *tabrík kəmnáwa baqəf^l I* would convey to him good wishes (B:50)

təfawot n.m. (P < A) **difference** | *ba-təfawót-e našəkè^l čəkmá nəfəre-hítwalu xála ʔaxlī^l* according to the different (numbers) of people, how many people they had who eat the food (B:17); *máre beləkè-č^l ba-təfawót^l pūl kwálwa^l xá xamšə qərané^l trè qərané^l* The householder would give money in varying amounts, five qarans, two qarans (B:51)

tafsir n.? (P < A) **translation of Bible** | *tafsír-e torá qrélan ga-kništá^l* We read the translation of the Torah in the synagogue (E:28)

tahdid n.? (P < A) **threat** | — *ʔwl* to threaten

tahya n.? (P < A) :— *ʔwl* to **prepare** | *ʔanyexáe ga-fkár kwénwa ké báqa pätiré má lazám-ye tahyà holi!* They considered what they should prepare for Passover (B:14)

ta-ḥayme n.f. (H) **cemetery**

tāḥela n.f. **spleen**

taḥšil n.m. (P < A) **studies** | *ʔát taḥšilóx timà-y!* Your studies are finished (A:27)

taḥwil n.? (P < A) **delivery** | Used adverbially after *hwl* to give: *kwálwale taḥwíl-e nanawakâr!* He handed it over to the baker (B:20)

tajər n.m. (pl. *tajəre*) (P < A) **merchant**

tāla n.f. (pl. *tāle*) (P) **mouse trap**

tálda adv. **two years ago**

talga n.f. **snow; ice**

tālila adj. (fs. *tālilta*, pl. *tālile*) **wet**

taltálda adv. **three years ago**

talxi n.m. (P) **bitterness, bitter hardship** | *ʔanà! talxí grəšli!* I suffered bitter hardship (C:12)

talya n.m. (pl. *talye*) **trunk of an animal that is hung to dry** | *talyóx lá yăqəll!* May you have a carefree life! (literally: May your trunk not burn!)

tá-ma part. **why?**

tāmām mod. (P < A) **all** | *ga-tāmám ʔay-ḥaftà!* during all that week (A:63); *belăké gbé tāmám tamúz holile!* They had to make the house completely clean (A:57); *tāmám-e mamlăkăté ke-xarəj m-Israyel-yén!* all the countries that are outside Israel (A:62); *g-o-mūdât-e tāmamef!* during the whole of its period (A:64)

tāmami adv. (P < A) **completely**

tāmaša (K) : — *ʔwl* to **look at, to watch** | *har-ʔăxá tāmāšà koləxwa!* We were just watching (A:12); *tāmāšá-e pərčəw wil!* I looked at her hair

tāmisi n.m. (K) **cleaning** | ʾənšé-u gurèl hár-kas hewalèl ga-belá yätùwa!
tamisi dóqwa! Women and men, everybody who could, would stay
 in the house and do cleaning (A:57)

tāmiz adj. invar. (K/P) **clean** | *beláké gbé tāmám tamíz holile*! They had
 to make the house really clean (A:57)

tanha part. (K) **alone; only** | *g-ó waxtára-čl tanhá xà ʾákás hítwa*! ʾáks
nátéwa ga-Kursân! At that time there was only one photographer
 who took photographs in Kurdistan (A:28)

taʿnit n.m. (H) **fast** | *taʿnitóx háwé qābùl*! May your fast be accepted
 (B:54)

tānura n.f. (pl. *tānure*) **oven**

tānuri adj. invar. **of the oven** | *laxma tānuri* bread made in the oven

tāpa n.f. (pl. *tāpe*) (K/P) **hill; peak of a mountain** | *tāpe-u turane* hills
 and mountains

tāpolta n.f. **sneeze**

tāpoqa n.m. (pl. *tāpoqe*) (K) **top; summit** | *tāpoqa reša* top of the head;
tāpoqa tura the summit of a mountain

tāq n.f. (pl. *taqe*) (K) **storage unit made of clay**

tāqala n.? (K) **attempt; exertion** | *našé rába tāqalà lá dāénwa*! People
 did not exert themselves much (A:55)

tāqal n.f. (pl. *tāqāle, taqle*) (K) **stitch** | *tāqāle gāruse* big stitches; *Léya*
Léya mašké māyà! *ga-tārá hāmám tāqāle dāyà*! Leya, Leya churns
 churns, she knits at the door of the baths

tāra n.m. (pl. *tāre, tārane*) **door; lid (of vessel)** | *qam-tāra* in front of
 the (house) door: *susyáké mən-sarbāzخانé kméwale qam-tāra*! He
 would bring the horse from the barracks to the door (A:16); *tāra*
qori the lid of a teapot

tārazu n.f. (pl. *tārazue*) (P) **balance, scales**

taʿrif (P < A) : — *hwl* to describe, to characterize | *rāba taʿrifēf hi-*
wlá-u! She described him in glowing terms (D:25)

tarix n.? (P < A) **date, age** | ʾonyexáe šáyad ga-ḥdúid-e tré-me-u xamšī
šəné! *tarix hítwalu*! They are perhaps around two-hundred and fifty
 years old (B:58)

tarz n.? (P) **method, mode**

tarzāka n.f. (K) **hail**

tās n.f. (pl. *tase*) (K/P) **metal bowl**

tasbāḥ n.m. (K/P < A) **rosary**

tasis n.? (P < A) **foundation, establishment** | *hiyá-y báqa ʿIrán báqa tasís-e madrásá ʿaliāns*¹ He had come to Iran in order to found the school of the Alliance (B:61)

tašmim (P < A) : — *dwq* **to decide** | *tašmím dwáqlu xlulá hólí baqèf*¹ They decided to arrange a wedding for him (D:27)

tāši n.m. (pl. *tašye*) (K) **spindle**

tašlix n.m. (H) **ceremony of throwing off sins (in water)**

tata n.m. (pl. *tate*, *tatāwale*) **father** | *tata rūwa* grandfather; *ga-dokà*¹ *táte-u daāké*¹ *bì-zoa*¹ *ʿantəxāb kolíwa*¹ *māni*¹ *gorí ta-bronù*¹ There, the parents would generally choose who they married to their son. (A:2); *ʿāmantáe tatán-u tatāwalàn*¹ a trust given by our ancestors (E:30)

tatula n.f. **fatherhood**

tāwājoh n.? (P < A) **attention; care** | *tāwājòh farmnét?*¹ Are you paying attention? (B:65)

tāxāšus n.? (P < A) **specialism** | *dāy-gyān*¹ *ʿəqrà ʿšlu*¹ *ʿanà*¹ *ga-lāxá*¹ *tāxāšùš lá qārēna*¹ Mother dear, you should know this, that I I shall not study a specialism here (C:3)

taxtaband n.f. (pl. *taxtabande*) (K) **wooden bed**

tayfa n.f. (P < A) **family; tribe**

taza adj. invar./adv. (K) **new, recent, fresh; recently; soon** | *pəsrá tazà*¹ fresh meat (A:73); *čún-ge tazá mən-txél talgá plítwa waryà*¹ *čāqénwa-u kmenwa-ó belà*¹ When it had just sprouted out of the snow, they would pick (it) and bring (it) home (B:32); *tazà Bahràn*¹ *ʿaná b-ʿeni la-xáé*¹ I shall not see Bahram with my own eyes again soon (C:4)

tazyin n.? (P < A) **decoration**

telefon n.m. **telephone** | — *dŌy*, — *ʿwl* to telephone

támal adv. **yesterday** | *támal lele* last night

temona n.f. **wife of paternal uncle**

tex adv. **down, downwards, downstairs** | *kaldá kménwala tēx*^l We brought the bride down (A:46); *máe mən-lá'el kénwa tēx*^l Water would come down from above (A:59). Combined with *mən*: *m-tex* below, from below. With the *-o* particle: *xá ṭabáqa xèt-əč xirén*^l *bīs tex-ō*^l There was another, lower, class (B:6)

texana adj. (fs. *texanta*, pl. *texane*) **lower**

təf n.m. (K/P) **spittle** | — *'wl* to spit

təjarat n.f. (P < A) **trade, business** | *'onyexàe*^l *təjarát xírlalu mántáke xarə*^j They had business abroad (B:6)

təla n.f. (pl. *təle*) **mulberry**

təlhə num. **three** | *təlhánan* three of us; *təlhau*, *təlhawau* three of them

təlhamin num. (fs. *təlhaminta*, *təlhmīne*) **third**

təlhasar num. **thirteen**

təlhúšab n.m. **Tuesday**

təm'a n.m. **taste; value** | *ba-təm'a* tasty; *be-təm'a* tasteless; *ḥašta ba-təm'a* a good job

tən- → *tərn-*

təna n.f. **smoke**

təqna n.f. (pl. *təqnane*) **beard**

təqna-xwara n.m. (pl. *təqna-xware*) **old man** | *'aḡlāb-el təqna-xwarè*^l *ke-hič-mənu lá pišiwà*^l *kəwəlu-ō*^l He knew the majority of the old folk, none of whom were alive (by that time) (B:63)

tərn-, *tən-* num. **both, the two of** | *tərnən*, *tənan* the two of us

təšqəlta n.f. **problem**

tika n.f. (K) **piece** | *xa tika parča* a piece of cloth; *'arba tike šiwe* four pieces of wood; *'áy 'ārà*^l *xá-tikaf 'axtù ntúmu*^l *xá-tikaf 'àxni*^l This land—one piece of it you take, one piece of it we (shall take) (C:5)

tir-'ahān n.? (P) **metal beam**

- tkelta* n.f. (pl. *təkle*, *tkəlye*) **trouser cord**
- tman* n.? (pl. *tmane*) (P) **toman (Iranian unit of currency)**
- tma'ni* num. **eighty**
- tma'nisar* num. **eighteen**
- tmanyā* num. **eight** | *tmanyānan* eight of us; *tmanyau*, *tmanyawau* eight of them
- tofān* n.m. (P < A) **storm**
- tolta* n.f. (pl. *tole*) **worm**
- tome* n.pl. (sing. *tomta*) **nut kernels (eaten as snack)**
- top* n.f. (pl. *tope*) (K) **ball**
- topawana* n.f. (pl. *topawane*) (K) **stopper for a pot made of fabric**
- toqa* n.m. (pl. *toqe*) (K) **skin; peel, husk; crust of yoghurt; membrane;** | *toqa 'ili* the skin of my hand; *toqa pəsri šmiṭ* The skin of my flesh is broken
- tora* n.m. (P) **net** | *tór mātáxwa ba-dáwre qát ké pšáá lá hé lo'á* We would put a net around the bed so that mosquitoes did not come inside
- tora* n.m. (pl. *tore*) **ox**
- toranj* n.m. (P) **etrog fruit**
- toranjula* → *bāraxa toranjula*
- toraq* : *masta toraq* (K) **cream of yoghurt (made by draining off water)** → *toraqān*
- toraqān* n.f. (K) **skin for draining water from yoghurt**
- torqa* n.f. (pl. *torqe*) (K) **bag**
- torta* n.f. (pl. *torye*) **cow**
- tošqa* n.f. (K) **knapsack** | *tošqú 'əsràlu* They tied up their knapsack (E:1)
- toz* n.m. (K) **dust** | *kámna ta-nəxlà* *ba-rešàx nandé* *tozá gäribi* *m-rešàx mandé* I shall tell the rain to fall on your head and remove the foreign dust (i.e. dust gathered in foreign lands) from your head (E:51)

tqənta n.f. (pl. *təqnane*) **beard**

tre gyane adj. invar. **pregnant (literally: two souls)** | *baxta tre gyane* a pregnant woman

tre num. **two** | *trau, trawau* two of us

tremín num. (fs. *treminta*, pl. *tremine*) **second**

tresar num. **twelve**

trəšqa n.f. **loud bang** | *trəšqá pīla*¹ a loud bang sounded (in sky)

triša adj. (fs. *trišta*, pl. *triše*) **fulfilled, true** | *nwuá-e ha-nabí ba-triša plitá*¹ The prophecy of the prophet turned out to be true

trúšab n.m. **Monday**

tuła n.m. (pl. *tułe*) **twig, shoot** | used to build booth during festival of Tabernacles

tun n.f. (pl. *tune*) (P) **furnace of baths**

tuna n.m. **straw**

turki adj. invar. **Turkish**

twira adj. (fs. *twirta*, pl. *twire*) **broken**

tʷka n.f. (pl. *tʷke*) **place** | *ʔágar kiló bi-zóa xărăwa mastākè,*¹ *là därewal-ó tʷkâf*¹ If the yoghurt turned out to be more than a kilo, he did not pour it back in the place (it came from) (A:79); *tʷka tati* instead of my father; *külü nšúqlu ba-tʷki*¹ Kiss them all for me (said when conveying greetings to absent people); *ʔiléf mən tʷkéf zīla*¹ His arm was dislocated

tʷkana n.f. (pl. *tʷkane*) **shop**

txela, txel prep. **under** | *kaští ga-daryá pīla txéla mæ*¹ The ship in the sea sank under the water. Combined with *m-*: *xá-tʷká taršīwa*¹ *ké šáh m-txéla d-éa ʔòr*¹ *ʔále ʔéa hulæ trəšté-ya*¹ They made a place (in such a way) that the Shah would pass under and know that the Jews made it (B:83). n.m. **bottom** | *ga-txelef* at its bottom; *kménwala ga-txéla ʔaqlú*¹ They applied it to the bottom of their feet (A:38)

/t/

tābaq n.m. (pl. *tābāqe*) (P) **tray, platter**

ṭābāqa n.f. (pl. *ṭābāqe*) (P < A) **layer, class; storey (of house), floor** | *xá ṭābāqà¹ ḥākīmè xirén¹* One class consisted of doctors (B:4); *'onyé yá ṭābāqá 'āwaḷ-yelù¹* those who were the first class (B:5); *bānāe Kurdəstān mən-təlḥá ṭābāqé bi-zóa là tarṣíwa¹* The builders of Kurdistan did not build higher than three storeys (B:57)

ṭālāba n.? (pl. *ṭālābe*) (P < A) **requesting (the hand of a woman in marriage); criticism** | *zilā-y¹ ṭālābá málka Šābà¹* He went and sought the hand of the Queen of Sheba (A:97); *báxtef zíla ṭālābè¹* His wife went and criticized (him) (A:102)

ṭālabkār n.m. (P) **creditor** | *puḷè¹ ṭālabkār kwiwale-ó baqù¹* They would give the money of the creditors back to them (B:9)

ṭāqa n.f. (P < A) **arch** | *ṭāqa noṣrat* arch of victory

ṭārāf : *mən-ṭārāf-e* (P < A) **on behalf of** | *mən-ṭārāf-e 'aliāns hiyéwa báqa Kurdəstān¹* He had come to Kurdistan on behalf of the Alliance (B:58)

ṭārefa n.f. (H) **unkosher food** | *xáewa 'ay-ḥaywán ké dabḥile-ò¹ trefá là ḥāwé¹* He would see that the animal that they slaughtered was not unkosher (A:73)

ṭāšt n.f. (P) **bowl** | *xa-ṭāšt-e meš¹* a copper bowl (B:19)

ṭaxona n.m. **mill**

ṭayfa n.m. (pl. *ṭayfe*) (P < A) **family, clan**

ṭəmya adj. (fs. *ṭmíta*, pl. *ṭəmye*) **unclean**

ṭəpla n.f. (pl. *ṭəple*) **drop**

ṭəpra n.f. (pl. *ṭəpre*) **finger nail; toe nail**

ṭəyara n.f. (pl. *ṭəyare*) (P < A) **airplane**

ṭina n.m. **clay, mud**

ṭinana adj. (fs. *ṭinanta*, pl. *ṭinane*) **earthenware** | *qoqé ṭinanè* (B:23)

ṭlai num. **thirty**

ṭloxe n.pl. (sing. *ṭloxta*) **lentils (red and green)**

tota n.f. **goodness; profit**. adv. invar. **well** | *híyet ba-ṭotà,¹ ṭotà híyet¹* You are welcome; *ṭotà ḥāwét,¹ ṭotà ḥawyát,¹ ṭotà ḥāwétun¹* Goodbye! *ba-ṭotà yatwét¹* I hope you will be well; *ṭotà kóna¹* I am earning

well, I am making a profit; *ʔotà mélox baqán*¹ You have brought us goodness; *nəxlá nəxəl ba-ʔotà*¹ It is raining heavily

ʔriqa adj. (fs. *ʔriqta*, pl. *ʔriqe*) **locked together** | *laplí reš-ʔará ba-ʔaqlé ʔriqè*¹ They fall on the ground with legs locked together

ʔul (P < A) : — **grš to pass (time)** | *xa-müďát-e trè-yarxe,*¹ *təlhà yarxé ʔül gərəšwá*¹ A period of two months or three months would pass (A:30)

ʔura n.f. (pl. *ʔure*, *ʔurane*) **mountain**

/v/

vialon n.f. **violin**

/w/

wa part. **look! (presentative particle)** | *wá ʔà*¹ There he is; *wá ʔà-y*¹ Look it is him; *wá ʔó rəxəš*¹ Look he is walking

wále part. (P < A) **but**

wān n.f. (P) **bath**

wānəʔtaqa n.f. (pl. *wānəʔtaqe*) (K) **herb put in yoghurt**

warəd (P < A) : — **xØr to enter** | *yəwəš*¹ *yəwəš*¹ *warəd xír-u*¹ *wa-našé ʔəlilu-ò-ʔəle*¹ Gradually he entered (their social circle) and the people got to know him (D:16)

warya adv. **outside** | *ʔalmé litwala*¹ *qáme xəmə-u xmalá ya-ʔaxóne dasgi-ranáf hiyá waryà*¹ She was shy to come out before her father-in-law and mother-in-law or the brother of her betrothed (A:4); *lá ké mənáf warya*¹ Nothing comes of it

wəsaʔel n.pl. (P < A) **means, materials** | *wəsaʔel-e saxtmanì zəbónwa*¹ He would sell building materials (A:7)

wəsaʔ n.? (P < A) **middle, means** | *ba-wəsaʔ* on account of: *ba-wəsaʔ d-éa ʔorxá šülùq xirté-ya*¹ *là-məhre šáre báqa Kurdəstān,*¹ *báqa Hamān*¹ On account of the fact that there were disturbances on the road, he (the Grand Vizier) did not dare send him to Kurdistan, to Hamadan (B:62)

waxt n.? (K/P) **time, conj. when** | *waxtí parxànwa*¹ I almost flew.
Clausal conjunction: *'aná wáxt-e xlulá wilí*¹ *ga-Taràn-yeli nóši*¹ At the time that (= when) I married, I myself was in Tehran (A:5)

waxtāra n.? (pl. *waxtāre*) **time** | *'o-waxtāra* at that time, then:
*'o-waxtāra Xanāká pišwa*¹ At that time Xanāka was alive (A:15);
xa-waxtāra once: *xa-waxtāra 'ána 'afsār-yeli*¹ Once I was an officer (A:15); *xašti waxtāre* a few times, sometimes

wazna n.f. (P < A) **weight (used on scales)**

wel (K) : — *'wl to cease, to stop; to abandon* | *'ána hāšta bānk wēl wilāli-u*¹ I stopped working at the bank (A:24); *lišanú là káena*¹ *tamá wēl wilí*¹ I do not know why I abandoned my language (E:45); *wēl lá wilàle*¹ He did not let her go

werān adj. invar. (K) **destroyed** | *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké*¹ *bet-ha-məqdāš werān xirté-ya*¹ *'axnū là-xar šratá hāwélan*¹ It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light (B:46)

wiša adj. (fs. *wišta*, pl. *wiše*) **dry**

wijud n.m. (P < A) **existence, life** | *wāle bāqa didi*¹ *wijud-dídi xa-šahi lá šāwé*¹ But as far as I was concerned, my life was not worth a penny (in Iran) (C:12)

/x/.

xa num. **one; a (indefinite article)** (§8.1.1.) | *xa-gorà hitwá*¹ There was (once) a (certain) man (A:98); *xayan, xānan* one of us. With *dana* expressing individuation (§8.1.3.): *xa-dána lāčāgá rabtá ba-rešāf-yela*¹ A large veil was on her head (A:24)

xabra n.m. (pl. *xabrane*) (K < A) **word, speech** | *xābra hāqèn*¹ They are speaking (A:109); *'aná xabrá hāqènox* I am speaking to you; *rešá pāloe-léf xabrú là dwáqlu*¹ They did not agree regarding its division (amongst themselves)

xāfat n.m. (K) **sorrow, worry** | *xāfāt mabšór sālamāti*¹ Worry reduces my peace of mind. — *'xl to worry: 'āt*¹ *xāfāt la-xúl*¹ Do not worry (D:8)

xaiš (K) : — *'wl to request, to plead*

xǎjaḷat n.f. (P < A) **shame** | *xǎjaḷat gǎrǎš*¹ He is shy

xala n.m. **food** | *mən-ʔašref-o*¹ *sáʕat xamšà bar-korá*¹ *xalà kəxliwa,*¹ *xét là kəxliwa*¹ *har-tá qáwme lelè*¹ That evening at five o'clock in the afternoon they would eat food, but did not eat again until the night of the next day (B:45); *ḥālāl-ye baqóx ga-béla huláa ʔaxlét xalà*¹ It is permitted for you to eat food in the house of Jew (B:65)

xala adj. (fs. *xalta*, pl. *xale*) **new**

xǎleta n.f. (pl. *xǎlete*) (K < A) **gift** | *xǎleta ba-xlula labna* I shall take a gift for the wedding; *ga-dokà*¹ *xǎletèf holì*¹ in order that they give him there his gift (A:51)

xǎlasta n.f. (pl. *xǎlasye*) **sister**

xǎlifanta n.f. (pl. *xǎlifane*) **picnic** | *xǎlifanè doqì*¹ They hold picnics

xǎlopta n.f. **exchange**

xalwa n.m. **milk**

xāl n.m. (K < A) **mole (on skin)**

xali (K < A) adj. invar. **empty (hand)** | *dirn-ó ʔilalí xali*¹ I returned empty handed

xamra n.m. **wine**

xamsar num. **fifteen**

xamša num. **five** | *xamšánan* five of us; *xamšau,* *xamšawau* five of them

xamši num. **fifty**

xamšúšab n.m. **Thursday**

xǎmuša adj. (f. *xǎmušta*, pl. *xǎmuše*) **sour**

xǎmušta n.f. (pl. *xǎmušye*) **apple**

xan part. **a little, slightly** | *xán hól baqán báqa šráe ḥǎnukàè*¹ Give us a little for the Hanukkah lamps (B:48)

xana n.f. **lap**

xanǎwade, *xanǎwada* n.f. (P) **family** | *mən-xanǎwadè ʕayztá*¹ from a good family (A:6); *gbéwa xá-ʕada mən-náše pìre*¹ *xanǎwadà*¹ *hezí baqà*¹ *xosté xlulà*¹ A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage (A:30)

xanči mod. and adv. **a little, some** | *xánči 'aràq šăténwa*¹ They drank some arak (A:10); *ga-doká xánči naqlìwa-u*¹ They danced there a little (A:52)

xārāb adj. invar. **bad** | *zəndəgiú xārāb là-yele*¹ Their life was not bad

xārāe adv. **afterwards; in the end** | *bār-d-o xārāe* then, afterwards

xārazi-froš n.m. (P < A) **haberdasher**

xāre adv. **back, backwards; behind; afterwards** | *šomá-e 'ázàl mandéxile xāre*¹ We put back the fast of mourning (to the following day) (B:73); *ba-là lapléx xāre*¹ Let us not be left behind (E:2); *'anà xétl mən-qóme-u xāre gbé hézna haštà*¹ From tomorrow onwards I have to go to work (D:23); *ba-xāre* at last, finally

xarəj n.m./adv. (K/P < A) **abroad** | *'onyexàe tajarát xírlalu məntáke xarəj*¹ They had business abroad (B:6)

xarəji adj. invar. (K/P < A) **extraneous** | *yatwíwa 'ənšèl dána ba-dána gəbènwale, lá-bada xá-mdi xarəjí gáef háwè*¹ The women would sit and sort it grain by grain, lest there be something extraneous in it (B:14)

xarj (K/P < A) : — **'wl to spend, to disburse (money)** | *xà-lele rába xərj wíle*¹ *rába xalà trəšle*¹ One night he spent a lot of money and made a lot of food (D:3)

xarman n.m. (P) **harvest** | *ga-réša xarmàn*¹ at the time of the harvest (B:9)

xasta adj. invar. (P) **tired**

xāstgari n.? (P) **suit (for a bride), wooing** | *gbé hét xāstgarí lá tatí-u daākì*¹ You must make your suit with my father and mother (D:18)

xəša n.m. (pl. *xəše*) **back** | *xəša 'ena* eyelid

xāšti mod. **some, a few** | *xāšti báte hütwa*¹ *tānurá-e 'ála-ħădá maxšúš baqà*¹ *pătirè hütwalu*¹ There were a few families who had a separate oven especially for Passover (B:18)

xat n.m. (pl. *xāte*) (P < A) **line; handwriting** | *ba-xāt-e nòšef* in his own handwriting (A:48); *Daryúš rəs miré b-áy čəkmá xātè*¹ Daryuš has spoken the truth in these few lines (E:75); *xāte šalma* lines of the face, wrinkles

xāṭāʾ n.m. (pl. *xāṭāʾe*) (P < A) **sin, fault**

xāṭar n.? (P < A) **danger**

xatər n.? (pl. *xatəre*) (P < A) **memory; mind** | *pešāt ta-qyamtaʿ ga-ləbə-u xatərəʿ* so that you remain for ever (literally: until the resurrection) in hearts and minds (E:72). *ba-xatər* part. **for the sake of, because of** | *ʾó hāwā-e Kursān-uʿ zəndəgī-e sadəʿ ba-xāṭər lāxəʿ məndəlan xa-lagəʿ* That air of Kurdistan and its simple life we threw aside because of (our life) here (E:44)

xatrat n.? (pl. *xatrate*) (P < A) **memory** | *xatrate nōšef hqəle baqānʿ* He told us his memories (B:61)

xāzana, xāzəna n.f. (pl. *xāzane, xāzene*) (P < A) **treasure; cistern of water**

xelapa n.f. **willow** | *ʾilanə xelapá* willow trees (B:55)

xesar num. **eleven**

xet adj. invar. **other; again; discourse particle** | *bar-xa-mūdāt-xet* after a while (A:27); *xá yarxá xət baxtí mašxəʿ* My wife will give birth in another month; *xət lá zərb dəélwa ʾaláf-uʿ* He no longer played on the drum (A:107); *xət lá kaxlíwaʿ har-tá qóme leləʿ* They did not eat again until the night of the next day (B:45); *xət galút mǎleʿ* Enough, no more, with exile! (E:2). When used as a discourse particle, it expresses boundary and prominence, often with an adverbative sense: *lá,ʿ xet-bronǎké rəwyā-y,ʿ bratǎké rwitə-ya-uʿ gbé xlulá holí* No, but the boy is already grown-up, the girl is grown-up, they must marry (A:31)

xéta part. **filler used when the speaker is searching for a word**

xəḷta n.f. **dregs, lees**

xəlyə adj. (fs. *xlita/xəlta, xəlye*) **sweet**

xəlyanula n.f. **sweetness**

xəma (i) n.m. (pl. *xəme*) **father-in-law (pl. parents-in-law)** | *be-xəme* in-law family; *mən-belá xəmə,ʿ mən-belá xətnǎkə,ʿ gezíwa ba-dohól ʾu-zorná mən-d-áy kují-u mǎḥǎləʿ* From the house of the parents-in-law, the house of the groom, they went with drum and pipe through the lanes and streets (A:10)

xəma (ii) n.m. **heat** | 'ázyo *xəmə-y*^l Today it is hot; 'áy-šo *xəmə kwé*^l
This week will be hot

xəmya n.m. **yeast**

xəre pl. tantum **excrement**

xəška n.m. **darkness**

xəšt, xəšta n.f. (K) **baked mud brick**

xətna n.m. (pl. *xətne*) **groom (at wedding), son-in-law; husband of sister**

xiwa n.m. (pl. *xiwe*) **snake**

xiyabān n.f. (pl. *xiyabane*) (P) **road**

xiyāl n.m. (K/P < A) **thought(s), imagination** | *xéli hós-u xyāl lága d-èele*^l My thoughts were indeed with him (C:7)

xiyarta n.f. (pl. *xiyare*) (K < A) **cucumber**

x-kar (part.) (K) **once, ever; yet; still** | *ja-rásm 'ăxà-yele*^l *xor-'ay-bratá lá-xar 'ay-broná xáya x-kār*^l Now, it was the custom that the girl should not yet see the boy (A:24); *hàya-x-kar* It is still too early (for marriage) (A:31)

xlula n.f. (pl. *xlulye, xlule*) **wedding** | *xlula 'wl* to hold a wedding, to get married: *šáyad hélăxun băxle*^l *xlulá holētu*^l Perhaps you can marry one another (D:17)

xmala n.f. (pl. *xmale*) **mother-in-law**

xmara n.m. (pl. *xmare*) **ass**

xmarta n.f. (pl. *xmarye*) **ass (f.)**

xmata n.f. (pl. *xmaye*) **needle** | *xà-xmata dyálu ga-ăsábe bar-reš-i*^l They injected a needle in the nerves behind my neck (C:2); *xmatá nqisa ga-'ili*^l The needle pricked my hand

xmira n.m. **leaven. adj. leavened**

xmiša adj. (f. *xmišta*, pl. *xmiše*) **made sour, pickled** | *xyare xmiše* pickled cucumbers; *xmiša-y*^l It has become sour (said of food that has gone off)

xmurta n.f. (pl. *xumrye*) **small bead; small ring attached to necklace**

xo part. **indeed** | *be-xo* without meaning; vacuously: *be-xò lá mirá-y*^l He has not said this lightly

xola n.m. **rope**

xoláša adv. (P < A) **in short**

xor part. (K) **still, yet; indeed** | *xor-səní rába là-yele*^l I was still not very old (A:5); *ja-rásm ʾāxà-yele*^l *xor-ʾay-bratá lá-xar ʾay-broná xáya x-kār*^l Now, it was the custom that the girl should not see the boy yet (A:24); *xor-ʾaxní là-kelan xālélxilul*^l Indeed, we cannot wash them (C:11). With concessive sense: *ʾaslán na-raḥátí litwalu ʾo-našé,*^l *xór darmanè-č lítwa ʾo-waxtára darmáne dāen*^l The people were not ill at ease, yet they did not have medicines at that time to apply (A:76)

xorak, xoraka n.m. (P) **food** | *lá bàda^l xoràka^l ḥaméš ga-d-éa xila-hāwè^l* lest leaven was eaten in the food (B:19)

xoste n.? (K/P) **request** | *gbéwa xá-ʿada mən-náše pìre^l xanāwadà^l hezì baqà^l xosté xlulà^l* A few senior people of the family had to go to request the marriage (A:30)

xoš n.m. (K/P) **goodness. adj. invar. good; in good spirits, happy** | *ké ʾaná hèli^l ga-pəlgá našé hāwèna^l našé xošú hé mənì^l* so that I can be among people and people will like me (D:12)

xoša n.m. (pl. *xošè*) (P) **bunch; cluster; necklace** | *xa xoša bāšire* a bunch of grapes

xoš-baxt adj. invar. (P) **fortunate; happy**

xoš-ḥāl adj. invar. (P) **happy, merry**

xriwa adj. (fs. *xriwta*, pl. *xriwe*) **bad**

xšaba n.m. **Sunday**

xšalta n.f. **jewelry (of women)**

xumra n.m. (pl. *xumre*) **bead, metal ring attached to necklace**

xumša n.m. **pungency, sourness**

xupna n.f. (pl. *xupne*) **handful (with two hands)**

xurma n.f. (K/P) **date**

xurma-u-run (K) n.f. **dish made from dates and eggs**

xuṭmane n.pl. (sing. *xuṭmanta*) **chickpeas**

xwān n.f. (P) **table (containing gifts)** | *ga-yomà^l reš-šatà^l baqa-xətnà^l mən-be-kaldá xwān kwíwa^l* On New Year's day they would give a table (of gifts) to the groom on behalf of the family of the bride (A:9)

xwara adj. (fs. *xwarta*, pl. *xware*) **white**

xwarula n.f. **whiteness** | *xwarula beta* the white of an egg

xzəmta n.f. (K < A) **service** | *'árz hăwé ba-xzəmtòx^l* Let me tell you (literally: May a petition be made to your service) (A:70)

xzura n.m. (pl. *xzure*) **pig**

/y/

y(e) **present copula** (§3.11.1.)

ya part. **or; relative particle** (§12.1.)

yād n.? (K/P) **memory** | *ba-yād-e d-eà-y ké^l bet-ha-məqdáš weràn xirté-ya^l 'axní là-xar šratá hăwélan^l* It was in memory of the fact that the Sanctuary had been destroyed, that we were not permitted to have a light (B:46)

yala n.m. (pl. *yale*) **boy; child** | *yala zora* baby (m.)

yalpana n.m. (pl. *yalpane*) **learner**

yalta n.f. **young girl** | *yalta zorta* baby (f.)

yalula n.f. **childhood**

yani part. (K/P < A) **that means, that is**

yapraǵe n.pl. (K) **leaves stuffed with rice** | — *ba-kālam* stuffed cabbage leaves; — *ba-gǵlae mewa* stuffed vine leaves

yāqa n.f. (K) **collar** | *yāqa 'sirta* closed collar

yāqura adj. (fs. *yāqurta*, pl. *yāqure*) **difficult; oppressive** | *ḥašta yāqurta* difficult work; *tšš'a ba-'Āb^l hulaé raba yaqurtá doqíwala^l* The Jews would observe the Ninth of Ab very strictly (B:44)

yaqut n.m. (pl. *yaqute*) (P < A) **jewel**

yaraq n.m. (K) **decorative cover of a horse**

yārixā adj. (fs. *yārixta*, pl. *yārixē*) **long; tall**

yāruqa adj. (fs. *yāruqta*, pl. *yāruqe*) **green**

yāruqula n.f. **vegetation; greenness**

yarxa n.m. (pl. *yarxe*) **month**

yāšīwa n.f. (H) **session, gathering in home**

yātuma n.m. (pl. *yātume*) **orphan**

yātumta n.f. (pl. *yātumye*) **orphan girl** | *yātūmta¹ mā baxyát?¹* Poor woman, why are you crying (said to a mother whose son has just married) (C:4)

yāwāš, *yāwāš yāwāš* adv. (K/P) **slowly** | *xa-dána lāččāgá rabtá ba-rešāf-yela.¹ rešáf ksēwala-u¹ yāwāš mən-rešáf gəršàli¹ šoltáli l-d-o-lāg.¹* A large veil was on her head. She had covered her head. I slowly pulled it from her head and threw it to one side (A:24); *bár-d-o xét yāwāš yāwāš¹ hīya¹* Then she slowly came (A:24)

yax n.m. (P) **ice** | *maé yax wilá-y¹* The water has frozen

yaxčāl n.f. (P) **refrigerator**

yaxni n.m. (pl. *yaxnye*) (K) **soup** | *yaxni sāqata* soup made from offal of cows

yele **past copula** (§3.11.2.)

yoma n.m. (pl. *yome*, *yomāwae*) **day; dawn** | *qarwá-e yomà¹ šofār máxénwa baqán¹* Near dawn they would blow the shofar for us (B:38)

yona n.f. (pl. *yone*) **dove**

/z/

zæ adj. invar. (K) **bad; gone off (food)**. adv. **badly** | *'ay-xalá zæ xír¹* This food has gone off; *ħaštāke zæ wilálox¹* You have done the job badly

zāħamta n.f. (K/P) **trouble** | *má kul-yóma gezét 'ay-jangà¹ 'ay-kúle zāħamtá garšêta-u?¹* Why do you go to the woods everyday and take all this trouble? (A:104); *zāħamtá là grúš¹* Do not take trouble/Do not put yourself out! *ħaxám-e kništà ga-doká¹ dariš kólwa¹*

Mošé Rābēnu ‘alaw ha-šalóm dāx m-‘olám zíl,¹ mà wīle,¹ zāḥamtá mà grāšle báqa huláe¹ The rabbi of the synagogue there would give a homily concerning how Moses our Lord, peace be upon him, passed away from the world, what he did, what trouble he took for the Jews (B:52)

zalana n.m. (pl. *zalane*) **goer**

zāmān, zāmana n.? (P < A) **time** | *ta-zāmān-e ke-ʿanà xlulá wíl¹* until the time that I married (A:4); *m-zāmāne¹ Kurēs-e Kābūr¹ hiyén báqa Hāmāđān¹* At the time of Cyrus the Great, they came to Hamadan (B:1)

zāmīni adj. invar. (P) **by land (travel)**

zang n.f. (P/K) **bell** | — *dŌy* to ring, to telephone: *Soqrát zàng díle baq¹* Soqrat gave me a ring (C:4)

zanguḷa n.f. (P/K) **bell**

zanjir n.m. (P/K) **chain** | *wá ʿsirén knišyè¹ ba-qfál-u zanjir¹* Look the synagogues are closed with lock and chain (E:37)

zāra n.m. **wheat**

zārar n.? (P) **loss (financial)** | *zārār kóna¹* I am making a loss

zaʿra n.m. **barley** | *xa zaʿra* a grain of barley

zarb n.f. (P < A) **drum, percussion instrument** | *xét lá zàrb dāēlwa ʿláf-¹* He no longer played on the drum (A:107)

zardawaḷa n.f. (pl. *zardawaḷe*) (K) **hornet**

zardena n.f. (P) **yoke (of egg)** | *zardena beta* the yoke of an egg

zarf n.m. (pl. *zruf*) (P < A) **container** | *qoqé xa-zárf, zrufək-yelu mán ʿápre smoqà¹* Pots were a container, containers made of red clay (A:84)

zargar n.m. (P) **goldsmith**

zārif adj. invar. (K/P < A) **fine, pretty, handsome** | *xa-bratá mətwali-ó baqòx¹ rába zārif¹* I have arranged a very pretty girl for you (A:6); *ʿājáb zārif-ye¹* He is wonderfully handsome (A:17)

zaryaw (K) : — *ʿwl* to bray | *xmará zaryàw kól¹* An ass brays

zātīla n.f. (pl. *zatyē*) **flat bread**

zayra adj. (fs. *zayrta*, pl. *zayre*) **light yellow**

zбота n.f. (pl. *zбonye*) **finger** | *zбота rabta* thumb

zdele n.f. (pl. *zdele*) **fear**

zəlzəla n.m. (P) **earthquake**

zəmrə n.f. (pl. *zəmrə*) **song** | *qārén ta-ləxle^l zəmré 'aşəqil^l* They sing love songs to one another

zəndəgi n.m (P) **life; livelihood** | — ^ʔ*wl* to live; *ba-d-éa zəndəgi kòlwale^l* He would make himself a livelihood by this (A:98)

zinat n.f. (P < A) **decoration; splendour**

zmaṭa adj. invar. **full** | *karma* (f.) *zmaṭa warde* a garden full of flowers; *šəmé* (pl.) *zmaṭá kəxwè-yelu^l* The sky was full of stars; *baxtí kasáf zmaṭà-ya* My wife is pregnant

zmərta n.f. **turban**

zmorta n.f. **song**

zoa, *bi-zoa* part. **more; mostly**

zoanula n.f. **excess**

zor (K) n.m. **force** | — ^ʔ*wl* to force; *ba-zor* by force: *'axréf ba-zór miyàlun-u^l* In the end they brought her by force (A:23)

zora adj. (fs. *zorta*, pl. *zore*) **small; young**

zoṛa n.f. (pl. *zoṛe*) **water jar (carried on shoulder)**

zorula n.f. **smallness**

zoxāl n.m. (P) **coal**

zruf → *zarf*

zūkur n.pl. (P < A) **males**

zwān n.m. (pl. *zwane*) (K) **language**

zyadi adj. invar. (K/P < A) **excessive**

zyarta n.f. (K/P < A) **cemetery**

/z/

zól̥m n.? (K/P < A) **harm, injustice** | *là šóqwa xét zól̥m holì-lef^l* He did not allow them to harm him any more (A:109)

/ž/

žān n.f. (K) **pain** | *'ení mórya ba-žān^l* I had pain in my eye

žerxān n.f. (pl. *žerxane*) (K) **basement**



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