

SYNTAX

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE SYNTAX OF NOMINALS

14.1. EXPRESSION OF DEFINITENESS

14.1.1. *Preliminary Remarks*

The term ‘definiteness’ can refer to a cognitive phenomenon in the act of linguistic communication or to a feature in the grammatical structure of a language. It is important to distinguish these, since the definiteness of something on the cognitive level is not always signalled by the grammatical structure. When a nominal is said to be definite on the cognitive level, this refers to the informational status of a nominal. The crucial factor is the judgement by the speaker concerning the identifiability of the referent by the hearer. If the speaker assumes that the hearer can identify which specific referent he is referring to by the nominal, the nominal is treated by the speaker as definite in status. This assumption is typically made when the referent has been mentioned previously or at least is associated in some way with the context or situation that is being talked about, or when the nominal has a unique referent, as is the case with proper nouns. If, on the other hand, the speaker assumes that the hearer cannot identify which specific referent he is talking about, the nominal is treated as indefinite in status. The grammatical expression of this definiteness varies across languages.

In Aramaic the distinction between the definite and indefinite status of nominals was originally expressed grammatically by the distinction between the ‘determined state’ and the ‘absolute state’ respectively. In the NENA dialects, this original grammatical means of expressing the distinction has broken down, but other devices have been developed to compensate for its loss. In the C. Barwar dialect, as in other NENA dialects and indeed as in many other languages, the cardinal numeral ‘one’ (*xa m.*, *ða f.*) is often used as an indefinite article that is a grammatical signal of the indefinite status of the nominal. The dialect has not, however, a corresponding definite article, though, as we shall see, there are embryonic signs of this developing.

In this section we shall be concerned with the usage of the particle *xa* in its function as an indefinite article.

14.1.2. *The Distribution of the Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

The masculine form of the cardinal indefinite particle *xa* is often used with nouns of feminine gender, although the feminine form *ða* is available. This reflects a general phenomenon in the numeral system, whereby the distinction between the masculine and feminine forms of the numerals is in the process of decay, with the masculine form replacing the feminine. Examples:

<i>ða-bráta</i> (A25:25)	<i>xa-bráta</i> (A4:32)	‘a girl’
<i>ða-máθa</i> (A48:1)	<i>xa-máθa</i> (A15:10)	‘a village’
<i>ða-dùkθa</i> (A12:54)	<i>xa-dùkθa</i> (A10:1)	‘a place’
<i>ða-qàtu</i> (A14:2)	<i>xa-qàtu</i> (A23:19)	‘a cat’
<i>ða-káwe</i> (A18:22)	<i>xa-kàwe</i> (A10:4)	‘a window’
<i>ða-yàma</i> (A11:7)	<i>xa-yàma</i> (A12:30)	‘a sea’
<i>ða-lawùrta</i> (A14:17)	<i>xa-lawùrta</i> (A22:38)	‘a valley’
<i>ða-kértə qésa</i> (A10:6)	<i>xa-kértə qésa</i> (A12:69)	‘a bundle of wood’
<i>ða-qàsəət</i> (A14:35)	<i>xa-qàsəət</i> (A4:31)	‘a story’

The feminine words *gaya* (*ga*) and *bena*, both meaning ‘time, instance’, regularly take the masculine *xa* in adverbial phrases such as *xa-ga* ‘once’, *xa-gaya xeta* ‘another time, again’, *xa-bena* ‘for a while, after a while/then’, e.g.

- (1) *mállá Naşradín xá-ga báyéwa mbaşəlwa pača*.¹ ‘Once mullah Naşradin wanted to cook pača.’ (A5:1)
- (2) *xá-ga xéta plittela Leliθa*.¹ ‘Again Leliθa came out.’ (A51:12)
- (3) *málka hóle xázya xá-ga xéta xəlma*.¹ ‘The king has had a dream again.’ (A1:12)
- (4) *şuréla xá-bena xéta bxàya*.¹ ‘They began to cry again.’ (A25:7)
- (5) *túwela xá-bena hàdax*.¹ ‘They sat for a while like that.’ (A26:17)
- (6) *zàlɛwa*,¹ *xá-bena xzèle m-rəhqa xá-mdi xwàra*.¹ ‘He was going along and (after) a while he saw in the distance something white.’ (A14:28)

The cardinal particle *xa* is not used with all nominals that have indefinite status on the cognitive level. Certain general tendencies can be discerned in its usage, though there are no categorical rules. These patterns of usage of the indefinite particle have been found in other NENA dialects (cf.

Khan 1999: 195–203, Khan 2002: 245–251, Khan 2004: 225–231). The English indefinite article has a far wider distribution among nouns with indefinite status and it is often appropriate to use the indefinite article in English translation where no *xa* particle appears in the dialect.

In general, the indefinite particle *xa* occurs with an indefinite countable nominal with a referent that is individuated and salient in some way but tends to be omitted when the referent lacks this feature. The particle picks out one of a class of items denoted by the description of the noun. It is used or omitted in accordance with the degree to which the speaker wishes to focus on a referent of the nominal or on the descriptive content of the class denoted by the nominal respectively.

14.1.2.1. *Particle Used*

There is a tendency to use the particle in the following circumstances:

(i) Nominals with a topically prominent referent

In such cases the referent of a nominal with the particle acquires salience due to its prominent topical role within the following text. This is clearly seen by the regular use of the particle to introduce a protagonist at the beginning of a narrative, e.g.

- (7) *ʔiθwa xa-nāša¹ gu-ḏa-màθa,¹ rába rába duglāna-wewa.¹ mdagálwa mən-nāše,¹ ɣ-ámər hātxele wíḏa fállən,¹ hātxele wíḏa fállən.¹ rába məndiyáne ɣ-awəḏwala,¹ béna náše là hāməníwa ʔille díye.¹* ‘There was a man in a village who was a great liar. He would tell lies about people, saying so-and-so did such-and-such, so-and-so did such-and-such. He would do all kinds of (deceptive) things to them and people did not believe him.’ (A48:1)
- (8) *xa-nāša¹ siqewa¹ l-túra¹ qṭála ʔrwe.¹* ‘A man had gone up into the mountains to kill sheep.’ (A31:1)
- (9) *ʔiθwa xa-málka¹ ʔáwewa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.¹ ʔu-qédamta móre¹...* ‘There was (once) a king. This king had a dream. In the morning he said...’ (A1:2)

In (7)–(9) the nominal has a specific, unique referent. This is not, however, the crucial feature that conditions the use of the particle. A nominal that has a non-specific referent that plays a prominent role in the following discourse is often marked with the particle due to this textual prominence, e.g.

- (10) *xa-náša* *y-azólwa*¹ *ʔíθwa maθwáθa qurbèni*¹ *šaqláwa čánta mènne-u*¹ *máttu láchma gáw*¹ *y-azólwa čyáda*¹ *béθa bèθa*¹ ‘A man would go to villages that were near us. He would take a bag with him, in which he put bread, and would go from house to house making invitations.’ (B5:20)
- (11) *ʔasqáxwa márzə Žáwa*¹ *šaqláxwa xa-ʔərba mánne*¹ *ʔu-ʔurxa-ʔurxa*¹ *ʔu-ʔarmáxwale har-táma l-márzə Žáwa*¹ *ʔu-y-odáxwa núra*¹ *m̄taiwáxwale táma*¹ ‘We would go up to the banks of the Zab. We would take a sheep with us and slaughter it there, on the trip, on the banks of the Zab. We would make a fire and roast it there.’ (B3:6)

In (10) the phrase *xa-náša* does not refer to one specific man who would take invitations to the villages each time there was a wedding. Rather the sense is that one man went around on each occasion, but not necessarily the same man, i.e. one unspecified item of the class denoted by the nominal. Similarly in (11) *xa-ʔərba* refers to one item of the class of sheep that was slaughtered on each occasion, but obviously not the same item.

In (12) both the man and the woman play a prominent role in the ensuing discourse. The nominal phrase containing the two coordinated nouns is treated as a unit and has only one indefinite particle:

- (12) *ʔíθwa xa-gáwra-w báxta*¹ *ʔíθwala bnòne*¹ ‘There was a husband and wife. They had children.’ (A 22:1)

We may include in this category the regular use of the indefinite particle before a noun denoting a period of time in adverbial expressions with enduring relevance in that they set the temporal frame for the following discourse. The most common adverbial construction of this nature in narratives is *xa-yoma* ‘one day’, e.g.

- (13) *xá-yoma qáryele máre tla-réšət màθa*¹ *ʔáwewa šemma mšaxálpüle*¹ ‘One day he appealed to the head of the village saying “Change this name.”’ (A7:2)
- (14) *xa-yóma síqe-wawwa l-šèda*¹ ‘One day they had gone up (the mountains) hunting.’ (A25:2)
- (15) *xa-yóma*¹ *qímila zílla mərə*¹ *t-ázax l-ʔərwe*¹ ‘One day they set off and said “Let’s go to the sheep.”’ (A25:23)

In (16), which occurs at the beginning of a narrative, the frame setting adverbial and the two protagonists are all marked with the indefinite particle:

- (16) *xá-yoma ʔíθwa xá-qaša ʔu-xà-malla.*¹ ‘One day there was a priest and a mullah.’ (A2:1)

(ii) Contrasted members of a set

There is a tendency to use the particle when the indefinite nominal is presented as one member of a limited set of items in some kind of contrastive opposition to other members of the set. The set is assumed to be identifiable, either since it is mentioned explicitly or at least implied. In such cases the nominal has salience due to this contrastive opposition, e.g.

- (17) *ʔap-ánna pési trè jwíne.*¹ ***xa-jwina***¹ *gawàye,*¹ *xà*¹ *qam-tàra.*¹ ‘They again form two teams, one team inside and one outside.’ (B11:11)
- (18) *qímsele ʔap-Fárxo šqilalle zòrna,*¹ *mzáya zòrna,*¹ *bejýe hóla* ***xa-gòta***¹ *ʔrwa* ***xa-gòta.***¹ ‘Farxo also took up the pipe and played pipe music, the young lambs were one side and the sheep on one (other) side.’ (A25:31)

In some cases only one member of the set is explicitly given, the other members being implied. This is often found in clauses containing a universal quantifier, in which the construction has a distributive sense, e.g.

- (19) *qam-mpatpàtla*¹ *kút-xa qam-xaşalle* ***ða-gòta.***¹ ‘He tore them apart and threw everybody down to one side.’ (A25:56)
- (20) *kút-yum* ***ða-brata***¹ *gawórwa.*¹ ‘Every day he would marry a girl.’ (A14:1)
- (21) *bεθ-qòra,*¹ *ʔan-náše mìθe*¹ *ʔáni y-amráxxa bεθ-qòra.*¹ *fa-y-azìwa.*¹ *kút-xa ʔítle* ***xa-miða.***¹ ‘The cemetery, (in which were) the dead people, we call the place they lie (literally: we call them) the cemetery. The people would go (there). Each person has a dead (family member).’ (B5:56–57)
- (22) *díya kút-bεθα ʔítle* ***xa-tanùra.***¹ ‘Now every house has an oven.’ (B10:93–94)
- (23) *θáni yómət ʔéða y-odðxwa duxràna.*¹ *kút-xa maşléwa* ***xà-lagǎna.***¹ ‘On the second day of the festival (of Easter) we would make a memorial. Everybody would take down a pan (of food).’ (B10:2)

The distributive sense is expressed in (24) and (25) by the repetition of the particle:

- (24) *xá-b-xa béθa y-oràxwa gáwe mbarxàxwa 'éða.*¹ ‘We would go into one house after another and offer festival blessings.’ (B6:15)
- (25) *xa-xá-ga márát béθa mbašálwá 'ixála 'imə-t hóya dānət 'ixála.*¹ ‘Sometimes (i.e. on one occasion and on another occasion) the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.’ (B6:16)

In a related construction, the particle is used with the adjective *xena* (f. *xeta*) ‘other’ in references to a further member of a set of items that is assumed to be identifiable, e.g.

- (26) *paltíwa mən-bèθa¹ y-oríwa gu-xa-béθa xèna.*¹ ‘They would leave one house and enter another house.’ (B15:7)
- (27) *'áp-xa lìθ lāxxa gu-béθa.*¹ *'ayále díye hóle mšüdrəlla xa-dúkθa xéta.*¹ ‘There is nobody here in the house. He has sent his children to another place.’ (A22:28)
- (28) *'iman t-àθyət,*¹ *ða-kəsta-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*¹ ‘When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one.’ (A4:16)

When the indefinite noun has a possessive pronominal suffix and so denotes one member of a set of items in the possession of the referent of the suffix, the particle is obligatory, e.g. *xa-xòri* ‘a friend of mine’ (B15:88), *xa-xóni* ‘a brother of mine’ (A18:16), *xa-nàsí* ‘a relative of mine’ (A18:16), *xa-màmi* ‘a maternal uncle of mine’ (B8:7), *xá-’ərwən* ‘a sheep of ours’ (A10:5).

(iii) Portion of a mass

The particle is used with a noun that by itself denotes an undelimited mass to express a single countable portion of this mass, e.g.

- (29) *qāša¹ 'u-šamāša¹ 'i-mšàli¹ b-réše-u béθa dére míye b-réše díye.*¹ *'u-máxa xa-mášxa gu-be-’éne díye.*¹ ‘The priest and the deacon pray over him and his family and they put water on his head. They put some oil on his forehead.’ (B6:36)
- (30) *māsta¹ xálya mēθàxxe,*¹ *marəθxàxxe.*¹ *qāyər xánčī.*¹ *dérəx xa-māsta gáwe,*¹ *péša māsta.*¹ ‘Yoghurt—we would fetch milk and boil it. It would cool slightly. We would put a portion of yoghurt in it and it would become yoghurt.’ (B10:26)
- (31) *'u-talile b-xa-qəsa.*¹ ‘They hang it onto a piece of wood.’ (B6:38)

Similarly, nouns meaning ‘piece of’ or the like are typically preceded by the particle, e.g. *xa-qəttət qəsa¹* ‘a piece of wood’ (B10:100).

A noun of mass is given the particle when its description is delimited by an attributive modifier of some kind and is thereby presented as one member of a set of types, e.g.

- (32) *ʔiθwa xa-ʔupra¹ mašxàna,¹ ʔupra smòqa.¹* ‘There was an oily clay, red clay.’ (B10:68)

(iv) Focus on unity

The particle is regularly used when the speaker wishes to give prominent focus to the unity or uniqueness of the referent. This focus is expressed on the prosodic level by putting the nuclear stress on the particle, e.g.

- (33) *ʔiθwalən šawwá ʔabòne¹ gu-máθa dìyən.¹ píšela mútte gu-Mar-Qiyóma kúlla gu-ðà qáwra.¹* ‘We had seven bishops in our village. They were all laid in one grave in (the church of) Saint Qiyoma.’ (B2:6)
- (34) *ʔána xà-yoma káslux la-péšən.¹* ‘I won’t stay with you a single day (longer).’ (A12:40)
- (35) *ʔána ðà-braten.¹* ‘I am an only daughter.’ (A34:7)

14.1.2.2. *Particle Omitted*

The indefinite marker tends to be omitted in the following circumstances, in which the referent of the nominal is low in individuation and salience.

(i) Nominals with a referent that play an incidental role in text

Nominals often lack the indefinite marker when their referent does not play a prominent, durable role in the text, but is only incidental and is part of supportive background material. In (1), for example, the ‘old man’ marked with the particle has a degree of durability of reference, but the ‘load of wood’ that he was carrying and the ‘stone’ on which he was sitting are incidental. Likewise in (2) the ‘basket’ in which the eggs and bread were placed plays no significant role in the text. In all cases the nominals have specific referents:

- (1) ***xa-náša sàwra¹** ʔúmre díye..., yáni dóqne díye mṭáya l-àra,¹ hóle tina **kértat qèse¹** l-xàše.¹ hóle tíwa l-**kèpa,¹** hàtxa.¹ ʔánna piðalla mənne díye,¹ ʔap-šlāma léla dóryalle.¹* ‘An old man, whose age... that is his beard reached the ground, was carrying a load of wood on his back. He was sitting on a stone, like this. They passed by him, but did not even greet him.’ (A15:13)

- (2) *mšádrən mēxòlta ʔálle díye, ʔixàla. ʔìmtəla, ʔlìqta ʔbèʔe, ʔšàwwa béʔe. ʔu-muttéthəla ʔláθi ləxme ʔgu-čànta. ʔmərə bábí nábəlla ʔgu-jàma ʔhàlle.* “I shall send food to him, some food.” She boiled eggs, seven eggs, and put thirty loaves of bread in a basket. She said “Father, take them to the mosque and give them to him.” (A17:11)

The omission of the particle with the word *məndi* ‘thing’ can be explained in the same way in (3) and (4), where it refers to something that is incidental and not referred to in what follows. By contrast in (5) and (6), where *məndi* has the particle, it refers to something that is talked about in the ensuing discourse:

- (3) *ʔáθət ʔána mbàšlən məndi.* ‘Come and I shall cook something.’ (A22:14)
- (4) *tüwə, ʔxille məndi.* ‘He sat down and ate something.’ (A15:1)
- (5) *ʔána ʔáxxa nšəli xa-məndi.* ‘I have forgotten something here.’ (The speaker then goes on to talk about the thing he had forgotten to mention earlier) (B5:35)
- (6) *ʔámər ʔálla díya ʔt-amrənnəx xa-məndi. ʔmərə mùr.* ‘He said to her “I shall tell you something.” She said “Tell (me).”’ (A16:7)

In some cases the particle is omitted before a nominal with a referent that has a certain durability in the ensuing clauses of a section of discourse, but lacks textual salience due to the fact that the section of discourse in question is not in the foreground of the discourse as a whole, but supplies background information. This applies to (7), in which the ‘lion’ clearly plays a dominant role in the chain of clauses that is cited, but these are not in the main foreground of the narrative, but rather provide explanatory background information as to how the protagonist of the section lost his hand:

- (7) *zille xa-béna ʔárya ʔéle ʔálbe díye, ʔáwəwə ʔtille ʔla-ʔárya, ʔína ʔárya ʔide díye ʔəm-axəlla.* ‘A lion once attacked him. He killed the lion, but the lion ate his hand.’ (A11:1)

(ii) Listing members of a set

In contexts where a member of a set is presented as one of a list of many rather than being presented in distinct opposition to another member, the particle is sometimes omitted, e.g.

- (8) *qimle 'áqla xéta... qəm-parəmla.*¹ 'He cut off another leg (one of a series).' (A22:5),

(iii) Where the existence of a referent is negated or questioned

In negative or interrogative constructions that deny or question the existence of a referent, where the nominal clearly does not denote a referent that saliently stands out from the class of items denoted by the description of the noun, the particle is often omitted, e.g.

- (9) *la-bāba 'itle,*¹ *la-yəmma 'itle.*¹ 'He has neither a father nor a mother.' (A14:16)
- (10) *har-ʔawwəle*¹ *ʔən-ʔitle nawəge,*¹ *ʔən-ʔitle bāba,*¹ *ʔən-ʔitle yəmma,*¹ *ʔən-ʔitle xonāwàθa.*¹ 'Is he alone or does he have grandchildren, does he have a father, does he have a mother, does he have brothers?' (A17:16)
- (11) *m-éka məθənnux nasarta*¹ *ta-t-nasrənnux qése* *t-odənnux gəšra,*¹ *šáwərx réše réše diye.*¹ 'From where should I bring you a saw so that I could saw the wood to make a bridge, over which we could cross?' (A17:3)
- (12) *Mar-Yuhánna lá-mšele kút-xa dréle qáwwət míya b-rəše.*¹ 'Saint John could not put a scoop of water over everybody.' (B6:10)

When, however, the noun is presented as standing out distinctly as a single individual member of a identifiable set, the particle may be used. In (13), for example, the phrase *xa-səryóqa* has the sense of 'not even one single member of the set of twigs':

- (13) *məθíwa səryóqe,*¹ *tárpa qátiwa y-azíwa.*¹ *məθíwa ʔən-qése naqíde.*¹ *kúlla torəxwala.*¹ *ʔáxni la-morəxwa xa-səryóqa gu-béθa ʔən-la-torəxwale.*¹ *torəxwala kúlla barəye.*¹ 'They would bring thin pieces of wood. We would break them all. We would not bring a single twig into the house without breaking it. We would break everything outside.' (B10:70)

(iv) Focus on descriptive content

The particle tends to be omitted in a variety of contexts in which attention is being directed to the description or descriptive content of the nominal rather than to a referent. This is clear in cases such as (14) and (15) in which a specific referent of a nominal is first introduced into the narrative by a phrase containing the particle and then the definition of

the descriptive content of the nominal is clarified in a subsequent clause, in which the nominal is indefinite but without the particle:

- (14) *ʔiθwa*¹ ***xa-rəbbən***,¹ *tíwɛwa gu-xa-gəppìθa*.¹...***rəbbən***¹ *yăðət-mà-yɛ*?¹
rəbbən¹ *ʔáwwa t-i-sàxəð l-ʔálaha*¹ *ʔu-t-i-m.sàle-u*¹ *lé-y-ʔaxəl bəsra-w*¹
ʔáw y-amrile rəbbən.¹ ‘There was once a monk who lived in a cave.... Do you know what a monk is? A monk is somebody who worships God, who prays and does not eat meat. He is called a monk.’ (A15:1–4)
- (15) *múttela xa-sállət miya*.¹ *múttela qam-ʔaqlaθèy*.¹ ***sállət miya*** *yăðət mèla*?¹ *béna miya kólye gu-sàlla*?¹ ‘They had put out a basket of water, they put it in front of their legs. Do you know what a basket of water is? But, can water stay in a basket?’ (A16:9–10)

Similarly in (16) the first mention of ‘a mountain’ introduces a specific referent and has the particle, whereas the following occurrence of the noun without the particle occurs in an appositional phrase that is intended to clarify the descriptive content of ‘a mountain’:

- (16) *sígela gu-xa-ṭúra*,¹ ***ṭúra*** *ʔisáre ramàne*.¹ ‘They went up into a mountain, a mountain (with) high rocks.’ (A15:13)

In (17) the first noun ‘a board’ introduces a referent, but the second noun ‘a ladder’ in the double object construction (‘to make something into something’) denotes a change of description rather than a change of referent:

- (17) *qíməle mtúrşəlla xa-tàxta*,¹ *wíðəlla semàlta*.¹ ‘He constructed a board and made it into a ladder.’ (A17:23)

Similarly the particle is omitted when attention is directed to the description of the class denoted by a noun rather than to a particular referent representing the class, e.g.

- (18) ***báxta*** *xáčča zəbbun-ila*.¹ ‘A woman is rather weak.’ (A10:12)

Further examples where the description or descriptive content is the main concern of the speaker:

- (19) *'āraq—'iθwa masina.¹ masina mturáštewa m-'ūpra.¹* 'As for arak, there was (a pot called a) *masina*. A *masina* was made from clay.' (B5:14)
- (20) *'āxni¹ kàslan¹ šābθa¹ 'ila šawwà-yome¹ 'u-yàrxā¹ 'ile t̄laθi-yome.¹* 'A week for us is seven days and a month is thirty days.' (A17:13)
- (21) *'ina wīrele gáwe diyē 'ārya¹ 'u-plītele tēla.¹* 'A lion entered it and a fox came out (i.e. he entered proudly like a lion but came out stealthily like a fox).' (A17:34)

A noun that is a predicate in a copula clause and ascribes a descriptive property to the subject frequently lacks the particle, e.g.

- (22) *'áwwa-ži zamārele.¹* 'He is a singer.' (A11:4)
- (23) *'ána 'adléle 'ārxa t-áwam láxxa kàslax.¹* 'Tonight I shall be a guest in your home.' (A17:24)
- (24) *'u-xátna l-béθa pēšena.¹* 'I shall become a son-in-law in the house.' (A17:35)

If, however, a noun is qualified by an attributive description in the contexts described above, there is a greater tendency for it to be given the indefinite particle, since by such qualification its individuation is increased, e.g.

- (25) *bəllōrta 'iila.¹ mattāxla qa-yála zōra,¹ mattāxxa wāšla,¹ xa-wāšla rakixa.¹* 'It had a pipe. We set it up for a young child, we set up a joining piece, a soft joining piece.' (B10:77)
- (26) *'āti xa-nāša xarāmāt.¹* 'You are a villainous man.' (A16:11)
- (27) *dāwla 'ile xa-sandūqa¹ rēše pθixele dēre xāṭṭe gáwe.¹* 'The *dawla* is a box the top of which is open and in which they put wheat.' (B6:54)

14.1.3. *Stress Placement*

There is no clear-cut phonological difference between the usage of the particle *xa* as a cardinal numeral and its usage as a marker of indefiniteness. As a general rule, however, the particle is stressed when acting as a cardinal numeral in opposition to another cardinal, e.g.,

- (1) *'iθwa xá-'otax yan-trè.¹* 'There was one room or two.' (B5:199)
- (2) *xalmūwa¹ xā-sīta¹ yan-trè-sīte¹* 'They become one span or two spans thick.' (B5:207)
- (3) *pēšīwa xá-lele trè.¹* 'They stayed for one night or two.' (B5:234)

When functioning as a marker of indefiniteness the stress most commonly falls on the nominal, as can be seen in the examples cited above. Retraction of the stress onto the particle occurs in some cases. This is found mainly in the following contexts:

(i) Temporal or spatial adverbial expressions:

- (4) *xârθa¹ xá-yoma síqa l-gàre.¹* ‘Then, one day, he went up onto the roof.’ (A14:87)
- (5) *’áyya xá-šeta hóla támma láxxa léla mbaqorèllux.¹* ‘They have been here for a year but have not asked for you.’ (A26:78)
- (6) *’áw mášli xá-dukθa t-óya šaxínta y-amrâxxwa gôma.¹* ‘They deposit it in a warm place that we called a *goma*.’ (B5:211)
- (7) *mállá Našradín xá-ga bãyéwa mbašálwa pača.¹* ‘Once mullah Našradin wanted to cook *pača*.’ (A5:1)
- (8) *túwela xá-bena hàðax.¹* ‘They sat for a while like that.’ (A26:17)

(ii) Before nouns that are annexed to a following noun:

- (9) *xá-zawgət xoriyàθa¹* ‘a pair of willow trees’ (A26:90)
- (10) *xá-palgət sà’ət¹* ‘half an hour’ (A10:5)
- (11) *xá-boyət xúwwe¹* ‘a snake’s hole’ (A9:6)
- (12) *xá-borət kèpe¹* ‘a pile of stones’ (A11:5)

The same applies to functionally similar constructions such as (13) and (14), in which the indefinite noun is combined with a following noun in apposition:

- (13) *xá-tena qésa¹* ‘a load of wood’ (A14:9)
- (14) *xá-reša túma¹* ‘a head of garlic’ (B10:19)

(iii) Nouns qualified by the modifier ‘other’:

- (15) *’áθyele xá-naša xèna.¹* ‘Another man came.’ (A12:9)
- (16) *xârθa¹ t-áθe xá-’eða xréna zòra¹* ‘Afterwards comes another small festival.’ (B6:8)

(iv) Before the word *māndi* ‘thing’:

- (17) *hálli xá-māndi t-àxlən.¹* ‘Give me something to eat.’ (A26:57)
- (18) *bãyax xá-māndi gu-tàra qablítula.¹* ‘We want you to pledge something for her at the door.’ (B10:36)

- (19) *ʔat-yáðət xá-məndi bas-dìye?*¹ ‘Do you know something about it?’
 (20) *xá-mdi xwàra*¹ ‘something white’ (A14:28)

14.1.4. *Suffixed Cardinal Indefinite Particle*

The suffixation of the cardinal particle *xa* to the noun is attested in the phrase *xabra-xa* in (1) below. The particle here expresses the internal uniformity of the referent (‘consensus, agreement’) rather than its individuation:

- (1) *ʔáw-w bàxta, Čəlkəze*¹ *ʔo-yàla, wídla xàbra-xa.*¹ ‘He and the woman, that is Čəlkəze and the young man, made an agreement.’ (A12:37)

14.1.5. *Pronominal Use of Indefinite Particle*

The cardinal particle *xa/ða* can be used as an indefinite pronoun independently of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *bányət-əlla ʔótəx tàma,*¹ *qá-t mabəsmə kút-yom xà.*¹ ‘You have built her a room there in order for her to entertain somebody everyday.’ (A4:52)
 (2) *ʔətyele xà?*¹ ‘A certain person came.’ (A7:24)
 (3) *ʔu-ʔəwa ʔawáltət bərrəne,*¹ *xa-ráqa báθər d-ə-xena.*¹ ‘There was the game of “groups”, one person running after the other.’ (B7:6)
 (4) *béna xá-mənnə mərə de-yàlla!*¹ ‘Then one of them said “Go for it!”’ (A44:3)
 (5) *mútyele trə susəwáθa.*¹ *xa-múxləlle məlxə.*¹ *ʔu-xá har-múšətyele miya.*¹ ‘He brought two horses. He fed one salt. One he only gave water to drink.’ (A34:31)

Such indefinite pronouns can be qualified by an adjective, e.g.

- (6) *xa-gòrəle.*¹ ‘He is a great one (a great person).’ (A26:72)
 (7) *də-mxíli xa-xəna.*¹ ‘Strike me another one (another blow)!’ (A52:24)

If the referent is feminine, there is a greater tendency to use the feminine form of the particle *ða* than there is when the particle is used before a feminine noun, e.g.

- (8) *'ina brónat málka θèle¹ 'u-ða mánne díye.¹ 'Behold the son of the king has come and a girl is with him.' (A14:93)*
- (9) *dawqíwa bnáθa b-'íðat gðáðe hátxa,¹ yá'ni ràbe doqíwa,¹ ða-dwíqta 'íð d-a-xèta.¹ 'The girls held each other's hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.' (B12:1)*
- (10) *'áyya Zíne 'íθan trè'e.¹ ða-xàθela¹ 'u-ða-bàxtela.¹ 'There are two of such (women called) Zine. One is his sister and one is his wife.' (A26:61)*
- (11) *šqílalla mán-d-ε-dèrta,¹ núblalla zàdyalla gu-ða-xèta.¹ 'They took it from that enclosure, took it away and threw it into another one.' (A15:12)*
- (12) *muttéθalla təl̥l̥θ xamməryáθa,¹ m-an-xməryáθ tabzìye.¹ muttéθalla rəs-pársət 'èna,¹ ða-smòqta,¹ ða-xwàrta,¹ ða-milànta.¹ 'She laid down three beads, beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring, one red, one white and one blue.' (A25:34)*

A few exceptions are attested, such as (13) and (14), in which the feminine form of the adjective *xeta* is combined with *xa* rather than *ða*:

- (13) *ðà-b-ða šáqla-w¹ mattá xa-xèta.¹ 'She takes them (*guttaθa* f. balls of dough) one by one and puts another in.' (B5:102)*
- (14) *'ap-xa-xèta 'axlála.¹ 'She eats another one (another leg *'aqla* f.).' (A18:21)*

14.2. GENDER

We shall restrict ourselves here to noting the use of the feminine singular form of pronouns and verbal inflection in situations where they do not refer to a distinct referent. These can be categorized as follows:

14.2.1. *Discourse Anaphora*

Feminine singular forms are used to refer anaphorically to the general, propositional content of the surrounding discourse, e.g.

- (1) *'m-'áwəð hátxa,¹ lèla spáy.¹ 'If he does this, it is not good.' (A14:6)*
- (2) *'áyyat miràli 'əllux¹ kùlla wiðále.¹ 'What I have told you—all of this he has done.' (A24:20)*

- (3) *mxéli sépa ʔlle, ʔú-məndi la-wídla.*¹ ‘I struck a sword into him, but that (action) did nothing.’ (A12:36)
- (4) *xamláxwa bìya.*¹ ‘We enjoyed the occasion.’ (B5:33)
- (5) *m-kəs-gàne qəm-mdabárra¹ mxalóse xàye díye.*¹ ‘He fabricated it (what he had just said) to save his life.’ (A39:6)
- (6) *plittéla¹ gu-màtha, kút-xa qtála gđàde.*¹ ‘It (what had happened) got about in the village and everyone fought with one another.’ (A7:14)
- (7) *hátxa la-hàwya.*¹ ‘This cannot be.’ (A21:32)
- (8) *šwiqáli táma-w théli làxxa.*¹ ‘I have left it (the situation of the narrative) there and come here’ (formula marking the end of a narrative). (A26:91)
- (9) *b-àyyat mšúdrəlli?*² ‘Did you send for me because of this?’ (A21:35)
- (10) *módi mqúma ʔllux?*² ʔo-qamáya mirále,¹ ʔo-t-tré mirále.¹ ‘“What has befallen you?” The first one told it (= the event) to him, the second one told it to him.’ (A17:31)

The normally masculine noun *məndi* is construed as feminine singular in (11), where it is singular, and (12), where it is plural, since in such cases it refers anaphorically to the general, propositional content of what precedes in the discourse, rather than to a specific referent:

- (11) *ʔáyya məndi lè-ʔaθya l-manšóye.*¹ ‘This thing is unforgettable.’ (B15:8)
- (12) *rába gáye wítela ʔanna məndiyàne.*¹ ‘Many times such things happened.’ (B5:163)

In (13)–(15) the propositional content of what follows is referred to anaphorically by feminine singular inflection. In (13) the content in question is that of a subordinate clause that is construed as the subject of the preceding copula (*léla šəklánta*). In (14) the feminine singular form *píštela* refers to the proposition ‘the bees are going back and forth’. In (15) the feminine singular copula in the disclaimer *zàwdela mənni* ‘it is too much for me’ refers to the content of the following speech of the speaker:

- (13) *ʔən-bábux ʔu-yámmux gu-bèθela, léla šəklánta t-ásqat l-gàre.*¹ ‘If your father and mother are in the house, it is not pleasant for you to go up onto the roof.’ (D2:7)
- (14) *ʔu-píštela ʔan-dabbòre¹ har-zála-w θàya.*¹ ‘The hornets continued going back and forth.’ (A20:8)

- (15) *mìr-e-mən¹ zàwdɛla mǎnni,¹ 'ána t-amrənnèxu¹ mšáxəlpu dukàne.*¹ ‘My lord, may I humbly suggest you change places (Literally: It is too much for me, let me say to you, change places).’ (A26:65)

Expressions referring to mathematical operations are also treated as feminine singular, e.g.

- (16) *tré-gaye tré wíta 'àrba.*¹ ‘Two times two equals four.’
 (17) *xámša gáye xámša wáyɛla 'əsri-w xàmša.*¹ ‘Five times five is twenty-five.’

Infinitives, which refer to a general activity unbound to a particular point in time, are usually construed as feminine in gender when they function as arguments in a clause, e.g.

- (18) *qráya zàmət-ila.*¹ ‘Reading is difficult.’
 (19) *mdaróye modíla.*¹ ‘What is winnowing?’ (B5:97)

Occasionally the inanimate interrogative pronoun ‘what?’ is treated as feminine when it relates to a situation with propositional content rather than a distinct referent, e.g.

- (20) *mo-t-áθya b-rešèni.*¹ ‘What will come upon us?’

14.2.2. *General Speech Situation*

In direct speech the feminine singular is used in various expressions to refer to the general speech situation, e.g.

- (1) *'áxxa biš-salàmət-ila.*¹ ‘Here it is safer.’ (A30:51)
 (2) *há xèr,¹ mòdila.*¹ ‘Is everything all right? What is it? (= What is the matter?)’ (A17:29)
 (3) *srìxɛle¹ hâwəri!¹ hâwəri!¹ b'éθi qidle!¹* ‘He cried “Woe! Woe! (literally: It is woe) My house has burnt down.”’ (A48:2)
 (4) *xwítla 'əlli.*¹ ‘I am confused (literally: It is mixed up for me).’

14.2.3. *Temporal Expressions*

The feminine singular is used in some temporal adverbial expressions to refer to the general temporal situation in a narrative, e.g.

- (1) *b-lèlela*,¹ *plittela ziltela xziθalle xa-nàša*.¹ '(When) it was night, she went out and found a man.' (A22:36)
- (2) *wítela b-lèle*¹ *maláxa mūrǎšle qa-ràbban*.¹ 'In the night (literally: It became in the night) the angel woke the monk.' (A15:11)
- (3) *pišla b-lèle*,¹ *siqele l-gàre*.¹ 'In the night (literally: It became in the night), he went up onto the roof.' (A25:52)
- (4) *kpinna*¹ *yómə t̄l̄àθela*.¹ 'She went hungry when the third day came.' (A21:16)
- (5) *wítela bar*-²*o-nàša sáwa šályele mtāmòzalla č̄nnakéra díya*,¹ *'áp*-²*aw šályele mhayóre ta-d-o-sàwa*.¹ 'After the old man went down to clean around it (literally: It became after...), he also went down to help the old man.' (A14:77)
- (6) *h̄n̄t-ila t-àθe*¹ 'He will come very soon (literally: It is a little he will come).
- (7) *'u-šaqláwa qúrbə l-²arbi, xams̄i yomáθa*.¹ 'It would take about forty or fifty days.' (B5:12)
- (8) *mádre 'i-zamrúwa-w šatèwa*¹ *hál y-oráwa gu-lèle*.¹ 'They again sang and drank until it was night (literally: until it passed into night).' (B5:18)
- (9) *zilta láxxa tre-t̄l̄à-yarxe*,¹ *'arbà-yarxe*,¹ *máre xa-béna xéta mjarbàнна*.¹ 'Two or three months, four months passed. He said "I'll test them again."' (A48:4)
- (10) *pišla qúrbət xà-yarxa*¹ *'é-ga málka móre tla-bàxte*¹ 'Almost a month went by and then the king said to his wife...' (A4:38)
- (11) *y-oráwa káma yarxe*.¹ 'Several months would pass.' (B5:18)
- (12) *palta-bàhər*¹ *y-odáxwa 'ùpra*.¹ 'When Spring came, we would collect the mud.' (B10:68)

In (9)–(12) the fs. verb forms appear to take the following plural nouns as their grammatical subject, but they should be interpreted as referring to the general temporal situation: '(Time) went by (for) two or three months, four months', etc.

14.2.4. *Object Pronoun*

In a number of expressions a 3fs. object pronoun on a verb has no clear referent. The purpose of this otiose object appears to be to denote the telicity of the verb. In (1), for example, the verb phrase *mtagbàrra* denotes that the man administers something and achieves a result, whereas the form *mtagbər* without the object could be construed as non-telic, denoting

that he administers without necessarily achieving a result. In (2) the verb *qəm-jarála* denotes not only that the cat engaged in the activity of urinating, but also that it completed the activity, fully emptying its bladder. The same applies to the act of defecation in (3). In (4) and (5) the object pronoun conveys the sense of finality in the act of surrender.

- (1) *bíš-yǎðe mtagbàrra.*¹ ‘He knows better how to deal with things.’ (A30:2)
- (2) *qátu kribla,*¹ *qəm-jarála gu-nùra.*¹ ‘The cat was angry and urinated in the fire.’ (A34:8)
- (3) *kút-ile xílalla xa-ràmšī-məndi*¹ *gu-bèθi*¹ *ʔáθe xarèla gu-béθi.*¹ ‘Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.’ (A7:5)
- (4) *lá qəm-mattúla qəm-málka.*¹ ‘He did not surrender to the king.’ (A27:1)
- (5) *m-xáwwe hon-muxərwəlla.*¹ ‘I have wrecked it with the snake’ (i.e. I have wrecked my relationship). (A1:10)

An intransitive verb may be given a complement of a prepositional phrase containing a 3fs. non-referential pronominal suffix. Again the effect is to express telicity and hence greater salience and force, e.g.

- (6) *ʔána zála har-zílən bīya.*¹ ‘I have absolutely gone with it!’ (i.e. I am finished!) (A14:25)

14.2.5. Meteorological Expressions

In some expressions relating to the weather a 3fs. inflection is used without any explicit subject, e.g. *tómməl rítela*¹ ‘Yesterday it rained’, *bṭ-àrya*¹ ‘It will rain’, *ʔáðyo šaxinta*¹ ‘Today it is hot’. In such cases the subject should be understood as the feminine noun *dúnye* ‘world, weather’, which is used in other meteorological expressions such as *dúnye ràya*¹ ‘It is raining’, *dúnye šaxinta*¹ ‘It is hot’, *dúnye xəmmànta*¹ ‘It is hot’. Note also expressions of temperature such as (1)–(3), where the implicit subject again can be interpreted as *dúnye*:

- (1) *qəm-xǎðíla hátxa t-la-qeralèy.*¹ ‘They wrapped them up, like this, so that they would not be cold.’ (A8:12)
- (2) *wítela xáçça b-yóma xəmma.*¹ ‘It became rather hot during the day.’ (A14:68)

- (3) *ta-t-óya šaxínta b-sátwa ʔallèy.*¹ ‘So that it will be warm for them in the winter.’ (B14:9)

14.3. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

14.3.1. Preliminary Remarks

The demonstrative pronouns may qualify a noun or stand independently. When they qualify a noun, they are regularly placed before the noun, e.g. *ʔáwwa gáwya* ‘this man’, *ʔáyya báxta* ‘this woman’, *ʔánna náše* ‘these people’, etc. They may be combined with nouns that have possessive pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ʔáwwa ʔarbi* ‘this sheep of mine’ (A10:3), *ʔáwwa bèθux* ‘this house of yours’ (A11:11), *ʔáw kawšəy* ‘that hair of theirs’ (A8:14), *ʔaw-nāre* ‘that axe of his’ (A14:12), *ʔo-qése diyə* ‘its wood’ (B5:84), *ʔay bráti* ‘that daughter of mine’ (A40:10), *ʔe-bratəni* ‘that daughter of ours’ (A21:25), *ʔáyya róxi* ‘this soul of mine’ (A26:82), *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwəm*¹ ‘Go to these neighbours of ours’ (A5:1).

Independent demonstrative pronouns may stand in any syntactic position in a clause, including subject, predicate, direct object of a verb or complement of a preposition or particle. In the majority of attested cases they are in subject position:

(i) Subject

- (1) *ʔaw-tíwəle xaràya.*¹ ‘He sat last (in the queue).’ (A17:31)
- (2) *xa-bəna,¹ dmixəle ʔáw.*¹ ‘Then he went to sleep.’ (A24:40)
- (3) *ʔay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʔótəx diyə.*¹ ‘She came back and went to sleep in her room.’ (A17:26)
- (4) *kliθəla-ay.*¹ ‘She stood.’ (A31:10)
- (5) *ʔáwwa zílsle b-ʔurxa.*¹ ‘He went on his way.’ (A17:12)
- (6) *w-áyya šurəla¹ ʔlába mən-ʔálaha ta-t-méθa ʔup-əy.*¹ ‘She began to ask God to let her also die.’ (A26:87)
- (7) *hadíya ləla šyaməlla ʔáni.*¹ ‘Now they do not fast.’ (B16:12)
- (8) *səbab¹ ʔáwáha škéle*¹ ‘because that one complained’ (A25:32)

(ii) Predicate

- (9) *ʔitwa náše šuləy ʔáwwele líθən.*²¹ ‘There were people whose job was this, is that not so?’ (B5:135)
- (10) *ʔannəla ʔədāwáθə diyəni.*¹ ‘Our festivals are these.’ (B6:16)

(iii) Direct object

- (11) *'aw-y-oðəxwa.*¹ 'We would do that.' (B10:49)
 (12) *'u-hóla mšuyðánta mən-d-ó-yoma t-íla xziθalle 'áv.*¹ 'and she has been mad from the day that she saw him.' (A4:12)
 (13) *'áwíwa xá-ga xéta deréle gu-míya.*¹ 'They put it again in water.' (B6:44)
 (14) *dáx permánne 'ávíwa?*¹ 'How can I slaughter him?' (A15:9)
 (15) *t-awðáta 'áyya?*¹ 'Will you do this?' (A25:75)
 (16) *'axí muθéli 'ánna.*¹ 'I have only brought these.' (A7:22)
 (17) *pálsəx 'áni* 'Let us fight them.' (A14:52)

(iv) Complement of a preposition or particle

- (18) *b-xa-'úrxa t-'áy!* 'in a way of her own' (A8:48)
 (19) *pálga tla-gàwra! pálga tla-d-áy!* 'half for her husband and half for her' (A10:6)
 (20) *káwa tla-d-áni.*¹ 'Let it be for them.' (A15:18)
 (21) *yawəlla qa-d-áy!* 'He gives it to her.' (A4:22)
 (22) *mút farqùθela, gu-d-áyya dértá 'aw-gu-d-áyàha?*¹ 'What is the difference (whether it is) in this enclosure or that one?' (A15:12)
 (23) *t-áθe xa-'árxa 'ax-d-ávíwa! gu-bèθi.*¹ 'A guest comes like this into my house.' (A26:34)
 (24) *kúlla 'aqára gárəg máxe m-d-áv.*¹ 'The whole farm must spread some of this (on the crops).' (B5:138)
 (25) *'a-d-áy mláyalla külle míya! 'a-d-áv har-məlyá.*¹ 'She fills hers all with water. His was continuously full.' (A17:25)
 (26) *'ána! dárdi léla d-áyya.*¹ *dárdi 'íla t-'á-t gu-panjərye.*¹ 'My suffering is not from this (game), my suffering is from that one at the window.' (A26:66)

The independent demonstrative pronouns function as 3rd person personal pronouns. The distribution of the independent demonstrative pronouns is wider than that of 1st and 2nd person personal pronouns, which can occupy the subject, direct object or predicate positions of clause, but cannot be the complement of prepositions.

14.3.2. *The Function of the Demonstrative Pronouns*

When examining the function of the demonstrative pronouns a distinction should be made between their use to refer to visible objects in the extra-linguistic speech situation and their use to refer to referents within

the discourse. As indicated in §7.4., when used to refer to extra-linguistic objects the pronoun system can be said to be ‘hearer orientated’, in that the deictic centre for all pronouns is the hearer. It consists of three series:

‘speaker deixis’	<i>’áwwa kθáwa</i> ‘this book (near me)’
‘far deixis’	<i>’áwáha kθáwa</i> ‘that book (remote from me and you)’
‘default’	<i>’o-kθawa</i> ‘that book (with you)’

The far deixis form may be intensified by replacing the /a/ with /a’/ in the stressed syllable: *’áwá’ha kθáwa* ‘that book (very remote from me and you).

Examples from the text corpus:

- (1) *qu-šqúlla ’áyya skínta.*¹ ‘Get up and take this knife.’ (A15:8)
- (2) *yába là dámxəx gu-d-áwwa qášra.*¹ *dámxəx l-wáðər.*¹ ‘Let’s not sleep in this palace. Let’s sleep outside.’ (A12:11)
- (3) *y-ásqəx méθəx míya mən-d-áwáha túra.*¹ ‘We shall go up and fetch water from that mountain over there.’ (A39:9)
- (4) *résux mattánne gu-d-yáha káwe¹ t-íla pyáša.*¹ ‘I shall put your head in that opening over there that remains.’ (A25:62)
- (5) *máre kèle béθα díya.*²¹ *’aw-xášu xa-badəkkele.*¹ *məra ’áwá’ha qášra t-it-xzəyalle.*¹ ‘He said “Where is her house?” He thought it was a hut. They said “That villa that you can see over there.”’ (A40:11)
- (6) *mátyele xa-káwtət ’ərwe.*¹ *’ibe tre-tláθα ’álpa rēs-’ərwe.*¹ *qəm-qaréla ’an-šavàne¹* *máre d-ènila ’an-’ərwe.*²¹ ‘He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said “Whose are those sheep (which are in your keeping)?”’ (A32:14)
- (7) *šqílalla qamáye dá-kista dawe.*¹ *máre ’áy tlàləx¹... mjunəgníla hátxa.*¹ *... máre ... ’íman t-àθyət,*¹ *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawənnəx.*¹ ‘He first took out a purse of gold pieces. He said “This is for you”... She shook them like this... He said... “When you come back, I’ll give you another purse like that one (you are holding).”’ (A4:15–16)
- (8) *kúlla ’an-waríðəx qáštənna.*¹ ‘I shall cut all those roots of yours.’ (A25:64)
- (9) *’ay-mòdila.*²¹ ‘What is that (by you)?’ (A21:8)

The structurally least complex form, which is designated here as ‘default’, is used when the item is with the hearer in the deictic centre. Since it is in

the deictic centre, it does not have a deictic function, i.e. it does not point the attention of the hearer to a specific point in the surrounding environment. Rather it simply indicates that the item in question is identifiable somewhere in the accessible situation of the hearer. It would be, in fact, more accurate to translate it simply by the English definite article, which, likewise, is non-ostensive. The ‘speaker deixis’ and ‘far deixis’ forms, on the other hand, have ostensive force and point the attention of the hearer to a specific point in the environment.

Several NENA dialects have only two series of demonstratives. These consist of a speaker deixis form and a default form. e.g. J. Arbel:

Speaker deixis	Default
<i>ʔyya</i>	<i>ʔo</i>

The speaker deixis form always points to a specific point close to the speaker. The default form may be used in a deictic or non-deictic sense. When used in a deictic sense, it expresses ‘far deixis’, pointing to an item that is remote from the speaker and hearer. When used in its non-deictic sense, it does not point the hearer’s attention to any specific point but simply indicates that the referent is identifiable somewhere in the environment (cf. Khan 1999: 208–219). It has this non-deictic sense when it refers to an item that is with the hearer. This two pronoun system consisting of a speaker deixis and default form is more archaic than the three pronoun system that is found in C. Barwar and numerous other NENA dialects. The three pronoun system developed by creating a new form to take over from the default form to express far deixis. As a result, the original default form now only has a non-deictic sense.

When used to refer to items within the discourse rather than to items in the extra-linguistic situation, demonstrative pronouns generally have an anaphoric function, i.e. they form a referential link with some item elsewhere, usually earlier, in the discourse. Of the three series of pronouns, it is the default (*ʔo-kθawa*) and speaker deixis (*ʔawwa kθawa*) forms that are most frequently used with this anaphoric function. The default form, as is the case when used to refer to extra-linguistic items, does not point to any specific place in the discourse, but simply indicates that the referent of the item is accessible somewhere in the discourse environment, typically in the discourse history. The nearest functional equivalent in English is the definite article, which is often the most natural translation. It is used with a nominal, for example, when the referent of the nominal has been explicitly mentioned in the preceding discourse, e.g.

- (10) *ʔiθwa xa-málka gu-ða-màθa.¹ ʔo-málka¹ ʔiθwale t̄rte bnáθa.¹* ‘There was a king in a village. That/the king had two daughters.’ (A25:1)
- (11) *šálat xázat xa-képa l-márzat yàma.¹ dérát ʔiðux xo-d-ò-kepa.¹* ‘Go down and you will find a stone on the shore of the sea. Put your hand under that/the stone.’ (A12:27)
- (12) *b-ʔúrxa t̄fiqele xá-xuwwwe bìye.¹ ʔo-xúwwwe máre¹ hà-naša¹ lèkət zála.¹* ‘On the road a snake met him. The snake said “Hey, man, where are you going?”’ (A1:4–5)
- (13) *ʔaxniwala,¹ p̄sí qāmxa.¹ ʔo-qāmxa¹ meθéwale bèθa.¹* ‘They would grind it and it would become flour. They would bring the flour home.’ (B5:15–16)

It is sometimes used with proper names when these have been mentioned previously, e.g.

- (14) *ʔo-Barzókko zíla dmíxa.¹* ‘Barzəkko went and slept.’ (A12:10)
- (15) *ʔaw-mtunéle ʔaw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin.¹* ‘He told the dream to Xano the Golden Hand.’ (A10:9)

It may also be used to mark a nominal with a referent that has not been explicitly mentioned earlier but is accessible from the preceding discourse by virtue of its typical association with some element in the content of this discourse (associative anaphora). Such uses of the demonstrative can normally only be translated by the English definite article, e.g.

- (16) *ʔina m-báθar maqðàli¹ ʔaw-qəṭma¹ šaqlitule¹ mxamitule.¹* ‘After she burns me, take the ashes and keep them.’ (fire typically produces ashes) (A26:85)
- (17) *qímta zílta kəs-d-aw-šwawəy.¹* ‘She went to their neighbour.’ (people located at home typically have a neighbour) (A10:9)
- (18) *mátyele xa-káwtat ʔarwe,¹ ʔibe tre-!láθa ʔálpa rēs-ʔarwe.¹ qam-qaréla ʔan-šaváne¹ máre...* ‘He came to a flock of sheep, in which there were two or three thousand head of sheep. He called the shepherds and said...’ (A32:14)
- (19) *ʔina... xa-qáysa rába šap̄ira.¹ ... b̄rōn-málka tíwele l-d-a-tàxta.¹* ‘Behold a beautiful palace... The son of the king sat on the throne’. (A14:42–43)

- (20) *ʔáy šwíqtəlwə májma tàma.¹ qátu wirtəla,¹ npílla gu-d-án panjàne¹ mqurədxela.¹* ‘She (the servant) had left a tray there. A cat came in, fell into the glasses and they shattered.’ (A4:53)

On numerous occasions the speaker deixis pronoun is used with the same anaphoric function, viz. when the nominal has been explicitly mentioned in the previous discourse (21–24), with previously mentioned proper names (25), or when the referent of the nominal is accessible by associative anaphora (26):

- (21) *ʔíθwa xa-màlka.¹ ʔáwəwa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.¹* ‘There was a king. This king had a dream.’ (A1:2)
- (22) *ʔíθwa xá bəxta,¹ ʔítwala¹ xa-bróna šəmme díye Kārīm-addin.¹ ... ʔáyya bəxta¹ kút-yum¹ goyàwa,¹ maxláwa ʔla-bróna díya.¹* ‘There was a woman, who had a son called Karimaddin. . . . Everyday the woman would beg to feed her son.’ (A14:4)
- (23) *xa-màlka¹ kút-yum dā-brata gawərwə.¹ mbádla qayəmwə qatəlwala.¹ wəzír¹ xórrə xórrə,¹ bnáθa pɹíqla.¹ kút-yum dā,¹ lìθ.¹ ʔáwəwa wəzír¹ ʔíθwale dā-brata.¹* ‘A king would marry a girl everyday. In the morning he would get up and kill her. The minister searched and searched, but the girls had run out. Every day (he had killed) one and there were no more. The minister had a daughter.’ (A14:1)
- (24) *šúla modíle?² ʔáwəwa yáʔni zəblət haywàne.¹ ... ʔáwəwa šúla dax-mašlɛwale?²* ‘What is manure? It is the muck of animals. . . . How did they take the manure down?’ (B5:134–135)
- (25) *ʔ-amɹənnux dā-xéta šəmma Čuxole.¹ ʔáwəwa Čuxo xáyə gu-xà-maθa.¹* ‘I shall tell you another (story) called Čuxo. This Čuxo lives in a village.’ (A7:1)
- (26) *síqe¹ ʔərxə,¹ síqe¹ gu-kotála,¹ rəš-kotála dəryəlle gu-míya.¹ šəlyele¹ ʔáwəwa ʔažvàna.¹* ‘He went up to the water-mill, he went up to the water duct (of the mill) and placed him on the water duct in the water. The mill caretaker came down.’ (a water-mill is typically administered by a caretaker) (A22:42)

Since the referents in the examples cited above are all internal to the discourse, the speaker does not use the speaker deixis demonstratives to point to an item that is physically close to him. Rather they express a virtual or psychological closeness to the speaker, the purpose of which is often to give prominence to the referent in the staging and perspective with which it is presented. The default demonstrative, on the other hand,

is neutral with regard to perspective and personal engagement. The choice of the perspective with which the speaker wishes to present the referent in a particular point in the discourse is a subjective one. Speaker deixis demonstratives are often used to give prominence to the referents that play a prominent role in the text, as is the case in examples (21)–(26).

In a similar way, anaphoric reference is expressed by independent demonstrative pronouns, with the speaker in most cases choosing either the default demonstrative or the speaker deixis form according to the perspective with which he wishes to present the referent. Default independent pronouns indicate that the referent is identifiable somewhere in the discourse and are unspecified as to perspective or speaker engagement, e.g.

- (27) *ʔaw-ṁəlyále tópe díye spà.*¹ ‘He loaded his gun well.’ (A31:7)
 (28) *ʔay-θéla dmíxla gu-ʔótəx díya.*¹ ‘She came back and went to sleep in her room.’ (A17:26)
 (29) *xárθa ʔáni mətýela tàma¹ l-márzət yàma.*¹ ‘Then they arrived there, by the shore of the sea.’ (A14:37)

Speaker deixis independent pronouns are used to give prominence to a referent in close perspective. They are often used to refer to protagonists in a narrative and other textually prominent referents, e.g.

- (30) *ʔáwəwa plítəle gu-ða-dúnýe xèta,¹ šmša milànta,¹ ʔára milànta.*¹ ‘He opened it and he came out into another world, with a blue sun and a blue land.’ (A14:26)
 (31) *ʔáyya ríqtəla¹ šliθəla¹ hàwənila!*¹ ‘She ran and went down (crying) “Beware!”’ (A24:42)
 (32) *ʔanna píðəla mánne díye,¹ ʔap-šlàma léla dəryəlle.*¹ ‘They passed by him, but did not even greet him.’ (A15:13)

There may be a shift in the type of demonstrative that is used to refer to one particular referent in different sections of the discourse, which reflects changes in perspective. This is illustrated in (33), an extract from a narrative that involves two protagonists, the Leliθa monster and the daughter-in-law of the family. The narrative begins with the arrival of the Leliθa. In this section she is the most salient and most active character and is presented with close perspective by the speaker deixis demonstrative *ʔayya* [1]. In the course of the narrative, however, the daughter-in-law becomes the most salient character, who has the most control over the flow of events. This is reflected by the use of the speaker deixis pronouns *ʔayya* [2] and [4],

whereas *Leliθa* is referred to by default demonstratives, viz. *'ay* [3] and [5], and the attributive demonstrative in *'ε-Leliθa*.

- (33) *hadiya*¹ *'iθwa xa-Leliθa θiθa mən-Ĉāl*¹ *θèla šlèla*¹ *l-²árxət be-Xàmmo*¹ *xa-náša 'iθwale 'árxé šamme díye Xàmmo-wewa*¹ *'iθwale kàlθa, 'iθwale bnòne*¹ *'áyya* [1] *šlèla, dréla šláma 'állèy*¹... *'u-²áyya* [2] *gu-dyàrta*¹ *mòdi wídla*²¹ *qìmla, qəm-²açmàle tára*¹ *'u-b-pálgət béθa wídla nùra*¹... *'u-²ε-Leliθa* *θèla*¹ *'áy* [3] *kúlla dònèla, dóna, màšxa*¹... *'u-²áyya* [4] *har-šaqláwa mən-d-àn šíšé mattàwa 'állà díya hál 'é-gət qəm-qatlàla*¹ *qəm-qatlàla, 'áy* [5] *píšla tàma*¹ 'Now, there was a *Leliθa* who came from *Ĉāl*. She came down to the water-mill of the family of *Xammo*. A man had a water-mill and his name was *Xammo*. He had a daughter-in-law. He had sons. **She** (*Leliθa*) came down and greeted them... What did **she** (the daughter-in-law) do on her return? She closed the door and in the middle of the house she made a fire... **The Leliθa** came. **She** was all (made of) fat, fat, oil... **She** (the daughter-in-law) was constantly taking the iron bars and putting them into her, until she killed her. She killed her, and **she** (*Leliθa*) remained there.' (A19:1–6)

A further example is the extract in (34), in which the protagonist *Xano* is referred to by a speaker deixis demonstrative [2] and subsequently by a default demonstrative [3]. This can be correlated with a difference in discourse prominence. The section beginning with the speaker deixis demonstrative [2] is a foregrounded section that advances the narrative. The following section with the default form [3] supplies elaborative background information, which recapitulates an earlier, previously mentioned event. It is worth noting that the clause with the default pronoun [1], which refers to the king, also conveys repetitive background material, since it comes immediately after a speech of the king in which he reports his dream:

- (34) *'aw*-[1] *mtunéle 'aw-xálma qa-d-ó Xáno Lapzèrin*¹ *'áwwa* [2] *móre b-àlaha*¹ *har-xá-məndi 'iθ b-áyya dúkθa t-ile wira*¹ *'áw* [3] *xzèle 'o-dídwa 'éka wìrre*¹ '**He** (the king) told the dream to *Xano* the Golden Hand. **He** (*Xano*) said (to himself) 'By God, there must be something in this place where it entered'. **He** (*Xano*) had seen where the fly had entered.' (A11:9)

Similarly in (35) the speaker deixis demonstrative [1] is in a clause that initiates a section describing a foreground event. The default deixis demonstrative [2], which refers to the same character, can be interpreted as elaborative information, which supplements the previously described event rather than advancing the narrative:

- (35) *'áwra* [1] *b-léle qiméle.*¹ *gáwra díya mqułábzalle dáyalle gawàya.*¹ *'áw*
[2] *píša b-áy-gota xètéle.*¹ 'He got up in the night. He rolled over her husband and put him in the middle. He came to be on the other side.' (A30:53)

In constructions expressing a contrastive opposition between two items, the two different demonstratives are used to separate distinctly the two items, since they present them with different virtual spatial locations in the staging of the situation. In (37) and (38) the demonstratives express associative anaphora. The 'boys' in (37) are typically associated with a school and the table and its sides in (38) are associated with the act of sitting:

- (36) *'ε-dánā t-ıla říše,*¹ *kút-xa gu-šwíθat gáne,*¹ *'áyya gu-qášrət bába díya,*¹ *'áw*
*gu-čádre díye*¹ 'When they woke up, each in their own bed, she in the palace of her father and he in his tent...' (A4:5)
- (37) *bróna díya gu-mádrása kút-yum y-awéwa mxáya l-aw-yála,*¹ *šqála čánta d-áwra,*¹ *šrāta mändiyáne.*¹ 'Her son everyday in school would beat one child, take the bag of another, tear things.' (A14:5)
- (38) *holá-ʔəθye tíwe,*¹ *báxta tíwta l-áyya-gotət més,*¹ *'u-gáwra tíwa l-áy-gota.*¹ 'They came and sat down, the wife sitting on this side of the table and the husband sitting on the other side.' (A4:57)

The virtual spatial separation is sometimes enhanced by using spatial adverbs, e.g.

- (39) *díwən t-xále díye hóla dwiqta.*¹ *'áyya díwən láxxela*¹ *'aw-gàrele.*¹ 'The meeting room of his uncle is full. The meeting room is here and that is its roof.' (A23:14)

The speaker deixis demonstratives are sometimes used primarily to express close emotional engagement with the referent with an evaluative sense, which may be negative or positive. This is the case in (40)–(42), which are extracts from direct speech. This speech is uttered by the speakers to

themselves in the absence of the referent of the nominal. The demonstratives, therefore, are not anaphoric nor are they used to point the attention of a hearer to an item in the extra-linguistic situation:

- (40) *ʔáyya xmàrta!*¹ ‘That she-ass!’ (A10:10)
 (41) *mo-čára t-óðax tla-d-áyya qátu t-la ʔaxlälèni?*¹ ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?’ (A44:1)
 (42) *b-álaha hóle híwalle rásqa d-áwwa gáwra* ‘By God, he has provided the sustenance of this husband (of mine).’ (A10:7)

Speaker deixis demonstratives are occasionally used with a nominal that introduces a new referent into the discourse, when the speaker has a particular personal interest in the referent. In (43), for example, a speaker deixis demonstrative is used with the word ‘bridge’, which does not yet exist in the extra-linguistic situation, nor has it been mentioned in the preceding discourse. The speaker, however, proposes building such a bridge. In (44) the speaker has a strong personal interest in the pot of gold, which she introduces here for the first time in her speech to her neighbour, although the object itself is not visible in the speech situation. In English such demonstratives are most naturally translated by the indefinite article, though in some contexts a translation with a demonstrative is also possible:

- (43) *xàli! lá ʔawðáxle ʔáwwa gəšra!*¹ *šáwrax réša réša d-ánna mýya?*¹ ‘Uncle, should we not make a bridge for it so that we can cross over this water?’ (A17:3)
 (44) *xá-dukθa hon-xzítθa hátxa dawe,*¹ *ʔáyya qadáltθ dawe.*¹ ‘In a certain place I have found gold coins like this, a/this pot of gold coins.’ (A10:9)

A demonstrative may have an anaphoric function when the referent in question is visible in the speech situation. In (45), for example, the function of the default demonstrative *ʔan-* is to indicate that the arrows which the speaker shows to the hearer are those that have been mentioned previously in the discourse history. It does not point the hearer’s attention to the referent. This is done by the presentative particle *ho*. In (46) the speaker deixis subject pronoun *ʔanna* points to the ring and scarf in the speech situation, but the default demonstrative *ʔani* in the predicate has an anaphoric function binding the reference to the preceding discourse:

- (45) *θéli hó 'an-tlá gerə-qəšta.*¹ 'I've come back and here are the three arrows of a bow (to which reference was made earlier).' (A12:46)
- (46) *'ina 'áyya 'isəqθa 'u-γaləxta d-ənila.*² *hóla 'isəqθa,*¹ *hóla yaləxta.*¹ *máto mda-glánna gəni*¹ *t-əmran 'anna léla 'əni.*¹ 'But whose is this ring and scarf? Here is a ring and here is a scarf. How can I make myself lie and say that these are not those (belonging to the girl I mentioned)?' (A26:12)

The far deixis demonstrative is occasionally used to refer to items that are internal to the discourse. The usual context for this is where two or more members of a set are presented in a contrastive opposition. One member is typically presented with either a speaker deixis or default deixis demonstrative and the other and any further members are given a far deixis demonstrative. The function of the far deixis demonstrative is to separate the members of the set clearly in the virtual space of the discourse, e.g.

- (47) *mattiwala gu-d-é məššara xá, tré, t̩ləθa.*¹ *manéwa hal-əšra.*¹ *'əšra gu-d-əyya,*¹ *'əšra gu-d-**yáha**,*¹ *'əšra gu-d-**yáha** xəta,*¹ *hətxa.*¹ 'They would plant them in the paddy field, one, two, three and count up to ten. Ten in this (row), ten in that one, ten in that other one, and so forth.' (B7:13)
- (48) *gu-məhəll-ži*¹ *kút-yum gənu kθéθa d-əwəwa,*¹ *'é-ga y-azšlwa fəka d-**əwəha**.*¹ 'Every day in the neighbourhood he would steal the chicken of one person, then go (and steal) the fruit of another.' (A14:7)
- (49) *brōn-málka tíwəle l-d-a-təxta.*¹ *'u-xá-wəzər diye rəš-d-əwəwa-kursa*¹ *xa-rəš-d-**əwəha**.*¹ 'The son of the king sat on the throne, one minister (sat) on this chair and one on that one.' (A14:43)
- (50) *zilla dwíqla nəwəba l-**əyə**'ha qunjəlta t-hódəx,*¹ *'əyya gu-d-ε-qunjəlta xəta.*¹ 'They went and kept a guard in that far corner, and one in that other corner.' (A18:3)

Sometimes only one member of the set is explicitly mentioned, the other(s) being implied, e.g.

- (51) *kút-xa t̩la-gáne šuréle dwəqa.*¹ *šúdrət Səttiye*¹ *'əwəwa xəlqa nəlle,*¹ *Fərxo qəm-xazéle šədra. Čixəlo,*¹ *m-**ya-góta xəta,***¹ *qəm-xazéla 'ina xzéle šədra diya,*¹ *krible.*¹ 'Each of them started grasping the other. The button of the blouse of Səttiye was torn off and Fərxo saw her breast.

Čixalo, on the other side, saw them and noticed that he saw her breast, and became angry.’ (A25:29–30)

In (52) the narrator uses a far deixis demonstrative to express the physical distance of one referent from another:

- (52) *móra Fārxo tu-tāmà’ha.*¹ *Fārxo tíwεle rəs-d-wá’ha kèpa.*¹ ‘She (Naze) said “Fārxo sit far over there.” Fārxo sat on that far stone (i.e. far from Naze).’ (A25:17)

In (53) the far deixis independent demonstrative is used contrastively to make it clear that the reference is to somebody other than the person mentioned in the previous clause:

- (53) *Səttiye’ šmila’ baba dīya hóle mütta’ jallàde,*¹ *b-jáldi rəsāt Fārxo.*¹ *səbab’*² *’awáha škèle,*¹ *móre liθba fáyda.*¹ ‘Səttiye heard that her father had appointed executioners, who would cut off the head of Fārxo. This was because he (i.e. Čixalo not Fārxo) had complained. He (the king) said “It is no use” (he should be executed).’ (A25:32)

In principle a noun that has an attributive demonstrative is definite in status, i.e. the speaker assumes that the hearer is able to identify the referent. The only exception is where the speaker uses the speaker deixis form to introduce into the discourse a new referent in which he has a particular interest (43–44). We have seen that anaphoric reference is generally expressed either by the default or speaker deixis demonstratives, the use of the far deixis being marginal. A noun that is definite in status, however, is not obligatorily combined with an anaphoric demonstrative. It can also be left without any demonstrative. We have discussed above the circumstances that motivate the speaker to use different demonstratives for anaphoric reference in discourse. Here we shall examine the motivation to omit a demonstrative on a definite noun that has an anaphoric connection with the preceding discourse. In general the heavier morphology with the explicit anaphoric demonstrative (*’o-kθawa*) is a more powerful anaphoric device that is used when the noun is disjoined to a greater extent from its anaphor. This disjunction is not brought about only by

textual distance but also by boundaries in the discourse structure. Indeed, the heavy morphology can be used as a device to mark boundaries.¹ This is illustrated in the passage (54) below, which describes the preparation of yoghurt butter known as *çita*. The passage can be divided into four sections according to its content. The noun *masta* ‘yoghurt’ is introduced in section (ii). At the onset of section (iii) the second mention of the noun is marked by a demonstrative. The third mention of the noun, however, has no demonstrative, since it occurs in a clause that is closely connected with what precedes and is not separated from the previous mention by a discourse boundary. The fourth mention of the noun at the onset of section (iv), however, has a demonstrative again, since it is separated from the previous mention by a discourse boundary. The same applies to the noun *məšxa* ‘butter’. The second mention has no demonstrative, since it is not separated from the first mention by a discourse boundary. The third mention, however, at the onset of the section (v) has a demonstrative.

- (54) (i) *xəlyə t-heywàne¹ t-ʔərwə ʔn-tawràθa,¹ xəlyə marəxθilē¹ ʔu-šoqile pəša dərəj hərəra diye taqriban ʔərbī.¹ (ii) dəri marəθa biya.¹ ʔi-mxaməla.¹ dəri xa-júlla b-rəša qá-t hár-hawe šaxinta¹ múddət tmányə səʔəte.¹ ʔi-páyəš ʔo-xəlyə¹ páyəš **màsta (1).**¹ (iii) **ʔe-màsta (2)**¹ ʔi-dərila gu-gúða.¹ ... ʔi-dərila gáwe diye¹ ʔu-yi-məyile¹ ... xa-rúba¹ sáʔa,¹ ʔasri daqiqe,¹ pəlgə səʔa.¹ ʔi-šəšila ʔi-šəšila¹ hal-**màsta (3)**¹ ʔi-pəša ʔax-miya.¹ (iv) **məšxət (1)**¹ gu-d-**á-masta (4)**¹ ʔi-jəmi l-gəðəde.¹ ʔi-jəmi l-gəðəde,¹ ʔi-mpaltile.¹ **məšxa (2)**¹ páyəš xəðe.¹ ʔu-dáwwe dərila gu-xa-qušxáne gòrta.¹ (v) **áwwa məšxa (3)**¹ y-amrəxle çita.¹*

‘(i) They boil the milk of animals, of sheep or cows, and let its heat become about forty degrees. (ii) They put rennet in it. They keep it. They put a cloth over it so that it remains warm, for eight hours. The milk then becomes **yoghurt (1)**. (iii) They put **the yoghurt (2)** in a churn... They put it in it and churn it... for quarter of an hour, ten minutes, half an hour, they shake it and shake it until **the yoghurt (3)** becomes like water. (iv) They gather together **the butter (1)** of **the yoghurt (4)**. They gather it together and take it out. **The butter (2)** becomes separated. They put the *dawwe* (yoghurt water) in a large pot. (v) We call **this butter (3)** *çita*.’ (B6:37–40)

¹ The cross-linguistic evidence for fuller coding being used at the boundaries of discourse units is examined by Huang (2000: 309ff).

In certain constructions a demonstrative pronoun is regularly used. The use of the default demonstrative is the norm, for example, with a noun that is the head of a restrictive relative clause. As elsewhere, this demonstrative does not point to any particular place in the discourse but rather indicates simply that the referent is identifiable in the accessible context. The close syntactic dependence of the relative clause on the head forces the search for the identity of the referent to be made in the relative clause rather than the preceding discourse, even if the referent has been mentioned previously, e.g.

- (55) *ʔəθyɛle ʔo-yálat bǎyàwale.*¹ ‘The young man whom she loved came.’ (A12:42)
- (56) *ʔa-pálla t-wawa-rəʃ-qalùŋka¹ wíðtəlla hátxa ʃlìθɛla.*¹ ‘She moved the burning coal that was in the pipe like this and it fell.’ (A11:21)
- (57) *ʔəθyɛle¹ wíðɛle ʔa-dúkθa nišànqa,¹ ʔa-dúkθa t-wéwa ʔo-dídwa wíra tàma.*¹ ‘He came and marked the place, the place where the fly had entered.’ (A11:10)

In some cases the noun has not been referred to in the preceding discourse and the scope of the anaphora can only be internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (58) *hál ʔo-yómət mèθən¹ har-ʔúrxət ʔálaha dóqən b-ìdi.*¹ ‘Until the day I die I shall always keep to God’s way.’ (A15:21)

The head noun may have a non-specific, generic referent. In such cases the the scope of the anaphora is generally internal to the nominal phrase and a translation with an indefinite article is most natural in English, e.g.

- (59) *mən-sab-ʔé-otax t-là-hawe gáwa ʃópa,¹ yáʔni pɛšáwa tàlga hal-qedámta,¹ ʔáp-xa le-mašéwa damáxwa gáwa dīya.*¹ ‘Since a room that did not have a stove in it would become icy by the morning and nobody would be able to sleep in it.’ (B15:26)

The demonstrative pronoun on the head noun of a restrictive relative should still be regarded as anaphoric in function in that it relates the noun to some other item in the discourse, viz. the description in the relative clause. Although the default demonstrative here and elsewhere are often most appropriately translated by the English definite article and, like the English article, does not have ostensive force, it still differs from the English

article in some respects. Crucially the default demonstrative always has an anaphoric function and is not used simply as a marker of definiteness. This is shown by the fact that, unlike the English article, it is not used with a noun whose referent is identifiable by virtue of its descriptive content, independently of context or dependent modifiers, when this noun has no anaphoric connection with the preceding context, e.g. ‘the sun’:

- (60) *ššma haš-lēla mxiθa l-turáne.*¹ ‘The sun has not yet struck the mountains.’ (A26:37)

A relative clause that does not have a head noun must have a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative. Again, the demonstrative is anaphoric, in that it binds its referent to the content of the dependent relative clause. The referent may be specific or, more commonly, non-specific. When it is non-specific, it generally has no anaphoric connection with what precedes and the scope of the anaphora is internal to the nominal phrase, e.g.

- (61) *ʔo-t-ile plixa ʔaw bṭ-áxəl.*¹ ‘He who has worked will eat.’ (A21:15)
 (62) *ʔo-t-mašəwa¹ ʔitwale ʔrwe rabe.*¹ ‘Whoever had the means, had many sheep.’ (B10:54)
 (63) *ʔo-t-ʔitle ʔrwe,¹ ʔo-t-ʔitle tawre¹ y-áwe xzida gèlla.*¹ ‘Somebody who has sheep or somebody who has cattle has harvested grass.’ (B5:108)
 (64) *ʔa-t-la-saléwa kawsa-díya* ‘she whose hair did not come down (when combed)’ (B10:68)
 (65) *ʔan-t-wéwa gu-Lèvi*¹ ‘those who were in the Levies’ (B10:52)

Occasionally a default anaphoric demonstrative is used on a newly introduced item that is described further in subsequent clauses as in (66). In such cases the specifying clauses are not syntactically embedded in a relative construction. The demonstrative nevertheless binds the noun to what follows, in that it introduces the expectancy that what follows will assist in its identification:

- (66) *ʔu-qèta,¹ bár t-ila-dwàqa,¹ qám t-màṭi¹ gǎrəg maxátla darmàna,¹ qá-t ʔan-márre la-ʔáθi ʔilla dýa,¹ mtarəmza,¹ yán tarpáθa dýa xàrwí,¹ xabúšta xàrwa.¹ ‘In summer, after it bears fruit, before (the apples) become ripe, you must apply chemical (insecticide), so that the diseases do not afflict it, (whereby) it wilts or its leaves are harmed and the apple tree is harmed.’ (B5:106)*

An adjective that stands independently of a head noun is generally nominalized by taking a pronominal head. If the resultant phrase is definite, the head is a demonstrative (see §14.7.). The default demonstrative is generally used when the speaker wishes to express anaphora rather than deixis, e.g.

- (67) *ʔiθwa xa-mālka.¹ ʔiθwale¹ t̄lā bnóne.¹...ʔo-gòra¹ máre...* ‘There was a king. He had three sons.... The elder one said...’ (A24:4)
- (68) *θéle xa-náša swariyya,¹ rakáwa.¹ šléle rəš-xa-ʔəna.¹... θéle xá rakáwa xəna,¹ swariyya.¹ z̄ille rəš-ʔəna.¹...ʔo-qamāya¹ ʔámər ʔəh¹ zúzi munš̄li.¹* ‘A horseman, a rider came. He alighted at a spring.... Another rider came, a horseman. He went to the spring.... The first one said “Oh, I have forgotten my money.”’ (A15:1–2)
- (69) *fa-náše kúlla pàlti¹ xa-maryóse ʔo-xréna m̄ya.¹* ‘All the people go out and scatter water on one another.’ (B6:10)

If the adjective is modified by an intensifier or by the comparative particle *biš*, the demonstrative pronoun is combined with the relative particle *D*, e.g.

- (70) *ʔo-t biš-daḡiqa.¹* ‘the one that (is) thinner’ (B10:49)

The independent demonstrative head may be placed before a genitive phrase consisting of the particle *D* and a dependent noun, e.g.

- (71) *p̄áwuš m-éni m̄nnèle.² ʔo-t rəzza.¹* ‘What type of hay is it? That of rice.’ (B5:113)
- (72) *ʔina mástət ʔr̄we rába biš-basimtéla biš-pr̄štela m̄n-d-a-t-tàwre.¹* ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)

The pronominal heads of headless relative, genitive or nominalized adjectives are occasionally expressed by a speaker deixis demonstrative. This may have either intra-linguistic reference (73) or extra-linguistic reference (74–75):

- (73) *n̄ublalle kəs-xá m-ánna t̄-ódi tásmə sàwle.¹* ‘He took it to one of those people who make shoelaces.’ (A11:12)

- (74) *ga-béna 'ánna kúlla t-íla zála léla mšáya b-an-'árbi bnàθa?*¹ 'Well, cannot all these people who are going (to fight) prevail against the forty girls?' (A12:58)
- (75) *'áyya smóqta 'íla dāmmi¹ 'u-'áyya milánta 'íla ròxi¹ 'u-'áyya xwárta 'íla nāšmi¹* 'This red one (bead) is my blood. This blue one is my spirit. This white one is my soul.' (A25:35)

A demonstrative is the norm after the particle *har* in constructions with the sense of 'the same', e.g.

- (76) *šaqlíle-har-'o-lāxma¹* 'They take the same bread.' (B6:49)
- (77) *tárwəθna mubrèla¹ hār 'o-yóma¹* 'The two of them gave birth on the same day.' (A25:4)
- (78) *húwεle xábra tla-wāzūr¹ har-b-ò-léle¹* 'He gave word to the minister on the same night.' (A4:34)
- (79) *díya¹ 'ahwalótte šuxləpla¹ ləla-'ax-qāmθa¹ 'ína šəra¹ har-'o-šəra¹ har-o-'iqàra¹* 'Now circumstances have changed. It is not like formerly, but the festival is the same festival, the same respect (is shown).' (B5:72)

In (80) and (81) the demonstrative expressing 'the same' is anaphorically bound to a dependent noun in an annexation construction. The particle *har* is used only in (80):

- (80) *'ap-'áni har-'ó-mdi-t xabūšela¹* 'They are the same thing as apples.' (B5:218)
- (81) *'ap-'ána b-ay-'úrxa d-ànnən 'əθya¹* 'I have come on the same way as these people.' (A8:58)

14.3.3. *Stress Position in Stress Groups*

When an attributive demonstrative is combined with a noun in a single stress group, the stress may fall on the demonstrative or on the noun (§6.5.). The normal position of the stress is on the noun. When it is placed on the demonstrative, it generally increases the anaphoric force of the demonstrative. This is particularly clear when the demonstrative takes a nuclear stress in expressions such as *har-ò-yoma¹* 'on that very same day' (B5:48). The nuclear stress is put on the demonstrative also in cases where the previous mention of the referent occurred a long way back in the discourse history. Example (1) comes after a lengthy section of

discourse at a scene away from the spring. In this clause the reference to the spring is reinvoked:

- (1) *ʔu-dirɛle ʃólɛle rəʃ-d-ɛ-ʔəna.*¹ ‘He went back down to that spring.’ (A26:32)

This may be contrasted with (2), which occurs earlier in the discourse when the scene is still set at the spring and the referent of ‘the spring’ is more accessible:

- (2) *ʔanna bnáðe díye rəʃ-d-ɛ-ʔəna-wawa.*¹ ‘His daughters were by that spring.’ (A26:25)

In cases such as (3) and (4) the anaphoric connection is powerfully asserted since the speaker judges that some clarification of reference is necessary:

- (3) *qímɛle zílɛle¹ múθya xákma gòlde,¹ sírəlla b-gàne.¹ wíðəlla gān-díye ʔax-dəbba,¹ ʔə-naʃa.¹* ‘He went and brought some skins and tied them on himself. He made himself like a bear, that man.’ (B18:5)
- (4) *ʔina yómət ʔəðə ʃlìwa¹ təlɹássər b-ʔəçça¹ ʔé-ʃetət wírra¹ qúrbət tré-ʔalpe ʔu-xamš-ammà-naʃe¹ ʔitwa hðire¹ ʔə-yoma.¹* ‘On the day of the Festival of the Cross, the thirteenth of September last year, about two thousand five hundred people were present, on that day.’ (B15:93)

Stress is sometimes put on the demonstrative of a noun that is modified by a syntactically dependent relative clause, which has the effect of binding the head more closely with its modifier. This is often found when the head noun is low in semantic content, especially *ʔə-məndit* ‘the thing that’ or temporal expressions such as *ʔə-yómət* ‘the day that’, *ʔé-ʃetət* ‘the year that’, e.g.

- (5) *ʔə-məndit ʔàna xíllí¹* ‘the thing that I ate’ (A2:8)
- (6) *ʔə-yómət xəzɹya dúnye ráye tèle¹ záwnət ləbewa.¹* ‘The day he saw that it was raining foxes, it was the time of tricks.’ (A1:24)
- (7) *ʔé-ʃetət məθí¹* ‘the year they were to die’ (A4:57)

Referential binding is also the purpose of the stress on the demonstrative in constructions such as (8) and (9). These are correlative type constructions, in which the speaker wishes to signal the tight dependency of the second member with what precedes by means of the stressed demonstrative:

- (8) *ʔékela t́era díya θíθa tíwta báθar d-è-maθa.*¹ ‘Where her bird had come—she settled behind that village (= She settled behind the village where her bird had come)’ (A24:30)
- (9) *lā-páltət,*¹ *hal-t-amr̀annux pl̀t̀gena*¹ *ʔè-ga páltət.*¹ ‘Do not come out, until when I say to you “Come out!”, at that time you should come out’ (A14:67)

14.3.4. *Discourse Anaphora*

An independent demonstrative pronoun may refer to the propositional content of the surrounding discourse rather than to a referent. In such cases of discourse anaphora the demonstrative is often a feminine speaker deixis form, e.g.

- (1) *ʔap-ʔáyya qbiláli.*¹ ‘I accept also this.’ (A15:17)
- (2) *ʔáyya k̀illa b-l̀léla.*¹ ‘All this is at night.’ (A25:67)

Alternatively an attributive demonstrative may be combined with a noun that refers to the propositional content of what precedes, e.g.

- (3) *fa-l-d-áw t̀uxsa,*¹ *ʔáxni ʔó-yoma y-óðexi ʔáp-ʔaxni musàrde.*¹ ‘In this manner we perform (the festival of) *musarde* on that day.’ (B6:11)

14.3.5. *Combination of a Demonstrative Pronoun with the Indefinite Particle*

A default attributive demonstrative may be combined with the indefinite cardinal particle *xa*. The forms are as follows:

ms.	<i>ʔó-xa ~ ʔo-xáha</i>
fs.	<i>ʔá-g̀ða ~ ʔa-g̀ðáha</i>
pl.	<i>ʔán-xa ~ ʔan-xáha</i>

Examples: *ʔó-xa náša,* *ʔo-xáha náša* ‘the man’, *ʔá-g̀ða baxta,* *ʔa-g̀ðáha báxta* ‘the woman’, *ʔán-xa náše,* *ʔan-xáha náše* ‘the people’.

As can be seen, the feminine form of the cardinal numeral preserves its original consonant (*g̀ða < *xða < *h̀dā*), whereas this is elided in other contexts (*ða*). Note also that the cardinal *xa* is used also with plural nouns, which is not the case in other contexts. The *-aha* ending in the alternative forms presumably arose by analogy with that of the far deixis pronouns.

The usual function of this construction is to indicate that the referent of the noun is accessible in the memory of the hearer rather than in the current discourse history. The indefinite particle by itself indicates to the hearer that the referent is newly introduced and not accessible. Its combination with the anaphoric demonstrative is used as a device to signal that it is newly presented in the current discourse but nevertheless recoverable from some discourse or experience that took place on some other occasion in the past. It is, therefore, less easily accessible than referents that have a connection with the preceding discourse. Examples:

- (1) *θέλε 'o-xa-náša t-in mirəllux tómməl t-əθe 'ədyo.*²¹ 'Has that man come who I said to you yesterday would come today?'
- (2) *θέλε 'o-xa-náša t-ít xəzyəlle təmməl.*²¹ 'Has the man whom you saw yesterday come?'
- (3) *txárət 'o-xa-náša t-wéwa láxxa qam-səbθa.*²¹ 'Do you remember the man who was here a week ago?'
- (4) *txárət 'a-ğða-báxta kóre t-wáwa gu-màθa.*²¹ 'Do you remember the blind woman who was in the village?'
- (5) *txárət 'án-xa xonəwáθa kóre t-wéwa gu-màθa.*²¹ 'Do you remember the blind brothers who were in the village?'

Examples from the text corpus:

- (6) *txárət 'an-xa-tré t-mutəpqiwalən b-ğðəðe.*²¹ 'Do you remember the couple that we brought together?' (A4:45)
- (7) *'ána 'o-xə qáša t-in 'əθya gu-Tiyàre,¹ qam-dogátli xošátli gu-gòma.*¹ 'I am the priest who (you remember) came to Tiyare, whom you seized and confined in the basement stable.' (B17:15)
- (8) *'u-hádəx 'iθwa 'án-xa sobáθət kəslən,¹ buxeriyəwa.*¹ 'The stoves (you remember) in our community were thus, they were smoke ducts.' (A4:60)
- (9) *'o-xá-məndi 'ile xəzwa 'əθyalli¹ léle xəlma.*¹ 'The thing (that I remember seeing) is a vision that came to me, it is not a dream.' (A8:7)

In (10) the referent of the noun 'washing-board' is, in fact, mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. The demonstrative + indefinite particle construction, however, makes an anaphoric connection with an earlier conversation in the memory of the interlocutor rather than with the mention in the current discourse. Similarly in (11) 'the blind wolf' is mentioned in the preceding question of the woman. The demonstrative

+ indefinite particle construction in the response of the husband, however, makes an anaphoric connection with the story about the wolf that the woman remembers rather than with the mention of the wolf in her current question:

- (10) *qəm-qatlıle b-xaṭoryàθa,¹ 'an-xá xaṭoryáθa t-inwa mārəllux¹ mási jülle bíya.¹* 'They killed him with washing-boards, the washing-boards which I was telling you they used to wash clothes with.' (B19:9)
- (11) *xá-yoma mbuqərıra mára mòdi m-áyya qəşşət díye 'o-dəwa kòra.² mərə¹ 'ərəwə¹ 'o-xá-dəwa kòra dmìxa gu-túra.¹ kút-yum xá-'ərəwə y-arəqwa y-ásəq qám... d-o-dəwa,¹ 'aw y-axəltwale.¹* 'One day she asked saying "What is this story about the blind wolf?" He said "Our sheep—the blind wolf (you remember me talking about) is sleeping in the mountains. Every day one of our sheep would run up to that wolf and he would eat it."' (A10:5)

14.4. ANNEXATION CONSTRUCTIONS

As described in §10.16., when one noun is annexed to another by means of the particle *D* (§4.4.), the first noun in the phrase is a head noun and the second is a dependent modifier. The modifier noun is, in principle, restrictive in function. Various types of semantic relationship exist between the head and the modifier, including:

- (i) Item—possessor, e.g. *şawlət málka¹* 'the shoe of the king' (A17:28), *'árxət be-Xəmmo¹* 'the water-mill of the family of Xammo' (A19:1).
- (ii) Part—whole, e.g. *yománət yàrxá¹* 'the days of the week' (A17:15), *kotálət 'ərxe¹* 'the channel of the water-mill' (A22:45).
- (iii) Vessel—contents, e.g. *xa-kawázət mīya¹* 'a pot of water' (A21:10), *ða-qənnət dəbbòre¹* 'a nest of hornets' (A20:6).
- (iv) Item—affiliation, e.g. *'əğət Č'āl* 'the lord of Č'āl' (A19:2), *málkət Məğrəb¹* 'the king of Morocco' (A28:37), *'ánna náşət məθa¹* 'these people of the village' (A48:2), *brónət málka* 'the son of the king' (A32:21).
- (v) Item—material, e.g. *xa-tásət dəwa¹* 'a goblet of gold' (A15:11), *şışət prəzla* 'bars of iron' (A19:4).
- (vi) Time—event, e.g. *dánət kawùθra* 'lunch-time' (A22:22).
- (vii) Item—attribute, e.g. *xále díye t-ħaqqùθa¹* 'his real uncle' (A23:28).

- (viii) Item—identification, e.g. *ʾáθrət Bārwar* ‘the land of Barwar’ (B4:1), *máθət ʾĒn-Nune* ‘the village of ʾĒn-Nune’ (B1:9).
- (ix) Evaluation—item, e.g. *qatòleʿ t-mušəlmànəʿ* ‘murderers of Muslims, murderous Muslims’ (B2:2)
- (x) Action—participant, e.g. *qyámtət màranʿ* ‘the resurrection of our Lord’ (B5:55), *xyáptət xətnaʿ* ‘the washing of the groom’ (B15:74).

The annexation particle is generally suffixed to the head noun. As described in §10.16., this is sometimes contracted, e.g. *ʾənə mīya* ‘the spring of water’ (A11:17), *šəp-rəšux* ‘the place of your head’ (A24:51). On some occasions, on the other hand, the particle is prefixed to the dependent noun, e.g. *dámma t-təla* ‘the blood of a fox’ (A32:21). For the sake of the following discussion, the two constructions may be represented by the two variant phrases *kθawət qaša* and *kθawa t-qaša* ‘the book of the priest’.

Annexation is recursive, in that a series of more than two nouns may be connected together in annexation, e.g. *tárrət béθət xa-nəšaʿ* ‘the door of the house of a man’ (A15:7), *púmmət líntət nepùxtaʿ* ‘the mouth of the jar of syrup’ (A23:21). Such recursive constructions may exhibit a combination of both the *kθawət qaša* and the *kθawa t-qaša* constructions, e.g. *brátət málka t-Màgrəbʿ* ‘the daughter of the king of Morocco’ (A28:17).

The head of an annexation construction may consist of two or more nouns. These may be conjoined together with the particle *w*, in which case the annexation particle is attached to the last noun only, e.g. *bába-w yámmət yálaʿ* ‘the father and the mother of the boy’ (A15:9). An alternative construction that is attested is one in which the nouns are coordinated without the *w* conjunction and both take the *D* annexation particle, e.g. *ʾáqlət ʾíðə d-áy-baxta* ‘the legs of, the hands of that woman’ (A10:10).

When an adjective or non-attributive modifier qualifies a definite head noun, this is placed after the head noun, before the dependent annexed noun, if it is non-contrastive, e.g.

- (1) *le-y-basámli ʾo-béθa zórrət yəmmi.*¹ ‘I do not like the small house of my mother.’

Examples from the text corpus: *ʾε-káwe díye zórrə šəpaʿ* ‘this small window of the stove’ (B15:25), *ʾúmra ʾatíqa t-Màr-Sawaʿ* ‘the ancient church of Saint Sawa’ (B3:19), *ʾúmra xáθət Mar-Sàwaʿ* ‘the new church of Saint Sawa’ (B3:23), *l-a-páθa xétət nərəʿ* ‘on the other side of the river’ (A14:50), *ʾlā šarbatáne xéne t-qəseʿ* ‘three other wooden canes’ (A24:53).

If the adjective is restrictive and contrastive, two constructions are commonly used. The adjective may remain next to the head noun and take the nuclear stress. If, for example, my mother has two houses, one small and one big, I could say:

- (2) *le-y-basámli 'o-béθa zòrət yámmi,¹ bás basámli 'o-gòra¹* ‘I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like the *big* one.’

Example from the text corpus: *m-d-ay-góta xètə šaqíθa¹* ‘from the other side of the channel’ (A9:4).

Alternatively the contrastive attribute is placed after the dependent noun in a nominalized appositive phrase consisting of the adjective with a demonstrative head (*'o-zora* ‘the small one’, *'o-gora* ‘the big one’)

- (3) *le-y-basámli bέθət yámmi 'o-zòra,¹ bás basámli bέθa díya 'o-gòra.¹* ‘I do not like the *small* house of my mother, but I like her *big* house.’

When the head noun is indefinite, the adjective is placed either after the head noun or after the dependent noun, according to the degree of prominence the speaker wishes to give the adjective, e.g.

- (4) *díya xzéli xa-bóya górat dábba.¹* ‘I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.’
 (5) *díya xzéli xa-bóyat dábba gòra.¹* ‘I have just now seen a big hole of a bear.’

In (5) the adjective has greater prominence than in (4). This could be paraphrased by a non-restrictive relative clause in English: ‘a hole of a bear, which was big’. Additional prominence is given to the postposed adjective by putting it in a separate intonation group:

- (6) *díya xzéli xa-bóyat dábba¹ gòra.¹* ‘I have just now seen a hole of a bear, which was big.’

The structural difference between the *kθawət qaša* construction and the *kθawa t-qaša* construction reflects different degrees of prosodic bonding between the nouns. The first noun in the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is prosodically more independent than the first noun in the *kθawət qaša* construction. This is reflected by the fact that an intonation group boundary would not normally fall immediately after a head noun in a *kθawət*

qaša construction, but this is possible in the case of one in a *kθawa t-qaša* construction, e.g. *rìxa¹ t-xa-kàllàs¹* ‘the scent of carrion’ (C8:5), *tálləθ bnáθa xène¹ t-Bākürku¹* ‘three other girls, of Bākürku’ (A26:24).

If the head noun has a possessive suffix, the annexation particle is obligatorily attached to the following dependent noun, e.g. *julléy t-yáwne* ‘their clothes of doves’ (A14:80), *sawáwáθən t-qámθa* ‘our ancestors of former times’ (B3:21), *kísti t-tútun* ‘my bag of tobacco’ (A11:9). The same applies to head nouns modified with a following quantifier, in that the annexation particle is not attached to the quantifier but to the dependent noun, e.g.

- (7) *mjámí náše kúlla t-màθa.*¹ ‘All the people of the village gather together.’ (B5:110)

The *kθawa t-qaša* construction is a ‘heavier’ form of coding than the more compact *kθawət qaša* construction. This heavy coding is sometimes used to give particular salience to a newly introduced referent that plays an important role in the discourse, e.g.

- (8) *ʔíθwa xa-málka t-Yàman.*¹ ‘There was a king of Yemen.’ (A14:36)
 (9) *xazéla xá parizàda,*¹ *xá šapirta,*¹ *brátət málka t-Màgrəb.*¹ ‘They saw a princess, a beautiful one, the daughter of the king of Morocco.’ (A28:17)
 (10) *ʔúmra ʔatíqa t-Mār-Sawa,*¹ *ʔáwwa píšele bányə qúrbə qam-šawwə-əmma xámšī tmany-əmmə-šənnə.*¹ ‘The old church of Saint Sawa was built about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago.’ (B3:19)

When these referents are mentioned subsequently in the discourse, they are typically present with the lighter coding of the *kθawət qaša* construction, e.g.

- (11) *ʔu-ʔəp-yaha bráta xéta t-íla brátət málkət Məgrəb¹ ʔəp-ʔəy qəm-šaqəlla Bəjəm,*¹ *qəm-məθəla.*¹ ‘The other girl, who was the daughter of the king of Morocco, Bəjəm took her also and brought her back.’ (A28:37)

The heavy coding of the *kθawa t-qaša* construction may be used to give prominence to the clause as a whole. This is the case in (12), where the speaker gives added force to his assertion by uttering it in three separate intonation groups, the boundary of one of them falls between the components of the annexation construction:

- (12) *le-šâwqan¹ máttu bàsra¹ t-ʔǝzza ʔe-Núne gu-pùmmē.¹* ‘I shall not let him put the meat of the nanny-goat Nune in his mouth.’ (C7:6)

In (13) the heavy coding of the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is used in a temporal expression to mark a clear episodic boundary in the narrative:

- (13) *wítela b-lèle,¹ dána t-dmàxa,¹ xílela m̀ndi.¹ wítela dána t-dmàxa,¹ xamm̀ərθa,¹ xamm̀ərθa š̀ənθa,¹ š̀qilt̀alla,¹ mutt̀éθ̀alla rəs-š̀adrət xmáθa díya.¹* ‘At night, the time of sleep, they ate something. At the time of sleep, she (Leliθa) took a bead, a bead of sleep, and put it on the chest of her mother-in-law.’ (A19:3)

The looser prosodic connection between the two components in the *kθawa t-qaša* construction is sometimes used as a device to give prominence to the dependent noun rather than to the phrase as a whole. This applies to cases where the speaker wishes to give prominence to a non-restrictive dependent noun that supplies new, supplementary information about a referent that has been previously introduced. In many cases the prominence is enhanced by presenting the dependent noun with the annexation particle in a separate intonation group, e.g.

- (14) *t̀ǝll̀əθ bnáθa x̀ene¹ t-Bāk̀urku¹* ‘three other girls, (who were those) of Bāk̀urku’ (A26:24)
- (15) *sab-š̀qillux xa-xab̀uš̀ta¹ m-gu-d-àwwa¹ màna¹ t-málka-w mal̀kθa.¹* ‘Since you took an apple from this plate, which belongs to the king and queen.’ (B15:71)
- (16) *qímela z̀ile x̀ǝzye ʔina d̀ūs¹ xa-képa h̀atxa¹ ʔu-ða-yàdde gáwe díye,¹ t-pr̀əzla.¹* ‘They went and saw that it was true, there was a stone like this, with a handle in it, which (was) of iron.’ (A14:13)

On some occasions the dependent noun is separated from the head noun by intervening material. In such cases the looser *kθawa t-qaša* construction is always used, e.g.

- (17) *ʔáwwa xa-niš̀anqele¹ t-ʔáθra d-è-ga.¹* ‘This is a symbolic act of the country at that time.’ (B5:153)
- (18) *zmaryáθa basímewa t-ʔáθra tàma.¹* ‘The songs of the land there were beautiful.’ (B5:11)
- (19) *ʔina hurrás ʔíθwa t-málka t-ila mútte tàma.¹* ‘But there were guards of the king who were posted there.’ (A14:92)

- (20) *kúlla piše qalibe hátxa t-gùpta.*¹ ‘They would all turn into cheese moulds.’ (B16:25)
- (21) *’ε-kosíθa múšlalla gu-’éne díye t-Čuxo.*¹ ‘He lowered the hat of Čuxo over his eyes.’ (A7:19)

Note that in (21) the definite noun *kosíθa* ‘hat’ has a demonstrative pronoun. This has the correlative function of binding the noun to the annexation particle *D* in the phrase *t-Čuxo*. It invites the hearer to seek the means of identifying the referent of the noun ‘hat’ in the surrounding discourse. Since it has not been mentioned previously, the source of identification is the subsequent genitive phrase.

When one or more nouns are presented as alternative dependent nouns on one head, the alternative nouns may be listed with the annexation without repeating the head, e.g.

- (22) *šáxtat haywàne,*¹ *t-tàwre,*¹ *koðànta,*¹ *t-’arwe*¹ ‘the muck of animals, of oxen, a mule, of sheep’ (B5:105)

The head noun of an annexation construction may be replaced by a pronoun in the form of a default demonstrative, e.g.

- (23) *’íθwa tré málke,*¹ *xonāwàθa.*¹ *xá gu-Bābəl-wewa,*¹ *xá gu-Nínwe.*¹ *’o-t-Bābəl muxánna mən-xóne díye gu-Nínwe.*¹ ‘There were once two kings, brothers. One was in Babylon and one in Nineveh. The one in Babylon missed his brother in Nineveh.’ (A13:1)
- (24) *’o-t-Nínwe máre...* ‘The one (= the king) of Nineveh said...’ (A13:14)
- (25) *lá-méθət m-an-t-qanàne.*¹ ‘Don’t bring those with horns.’ (A7:24)
- (26) *’ína mástət ’arwe rába biš-basimtéla biš-príštela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*¹ ‘But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.’ (B5:173)

Occasionally a demonstrative from the speaker deixis series is used, e.g.

- (27) *’ánna-t ’arxe har-γ-oðíwa nùra gu-béθa.*¹ ‘People who had mills would always make a fire in the house.’ (A19:4)

The pronominalized annexation phrase may be used as a non-restrictive appositive to a preceding noun, e.g.

- (28) *xóne díye 'o-t-Nínwe¹ máre...* ‘His brother from Nineveh said...’ (A13:3)
- (29) *márele xóne díye xá-ga xéta 'o-t-Bàbəl¹* ‘His brother from Babylon once more says...’ (A13:7)
- (30) *y-oðáxwa nahíra,¹ tàxin,¹ 'a-t-ššme.¹* ‘We used to make lamp oil, *tahini*, which is from sesame.’ (B10:82)

This construction is also used as a restrictive appositive when it is in contrastive opposition with another such appositive, e.g.

- (31) *béθa 'o-t-xáli gòrele¹ bas-béθa 'o-t-mámi zòrele.¹* ‘The house of my maternal uncle is big but the house of my paternal uncle is small.’
- (32) *yále 'an-t-xáli gòrele¹ bás-yále 'an-t-mámi zòrela.¹* ‘The children of my maternal uncle are big but the children of paternal uncle are small.’

The dependent component of an annexation construction may be used with the annexation particle alone, without a head noun, when it constitutes the predicate of a clause, e.g.

- (33) *mára 'an-'áwwe d-ènila?² mára t-'Ájdən tēla.¹* ‘They said “Whose are those sheep?” They said “(They are the sheep) of Ajdən the fox.”’ (A32:16)
- (34) *trè 'enáθa 'úlən.¹ 'áyya y-amráxwa t-šáttət tàxela¹ 'áyya t-réšət máθa diyən-íla.¹* ‘We have two springs. One we call the one of the lower district, the other the one of the upper district of our village.’ (B10:61)
- (35) *gáre y-awéwa yá'ni t-'úpura, tina.¹* ‘A roof was of earth, mud.’ (B5:145)
- (36) *léwət d-áwwa 'əθra.¹* ‘You are not of this country.’ (A25:82)
- (37) *dárdi léla d-áyya.¹ dárdi 'íla t-'á-t gu-panjārīye.¹* ‘My suffering is not from this (game). My suffering is from that woman who is at the window.’ (A26:66)
- (38) *záwna wíyēle t-šláma.¹* ‘The time has become one of peace.’ (A1:26)

The copula may be omitted, as in (39–41). In such constructions the disconnection of the dependent component from the preceding noun that is expressed by the position of the annexation particle is used as a signal of predicative relationship, e.g.

- (39) *búrra t-xmíra*.¹ ‘The *burra* pot is for yeast.’ (B10:76)
 (40) *qariyáθa y-áwi hátxa*.¹ *’anna t-míya*.¹ ‘Gourds are like this. They are for water.’ (B10:75)
 (41) *sátwa tálga mārkan*¹ *’áwwa t-dùša*,¹ *’áwwa t-màšxa*,¹ *’áwwa t-jàjak*,¹ *’áwwa t-gùpta*.¹ ‘In the winter (we had containers known as a) *markən*, one was for honey, one was for butter, one was for *jajək*, one was for cheese.’ (B8:11)

When a nominal expressing a quantified measurement is combined with a nominal denoting what is quantified, the two are juxtaposed in an appositional relationship without being linked with an annexation particle, e.g. *xá-reša tìma*¹ ‘a head of garlic’ (B10:19), *xá-tena qésa* ‘one load of wood’ (A14:9), *xa-kílo dāwe* ‘a kilo of gold pieces’ (A14:94), *xa-záwga ’ène* ‘a pair of eyes’ (D2:62); *xá-qapla qése*¹ ‘a bundle of wood’ (A30:6), *’arbi dráye pàrča*¹ ‘forty yards of material’ (A28:10). Note also the expression *xa-darya* ‘a deal of, many’, e.g. *xa-dárya nāše* ‘many people’ (B5:135). This corresponds to the syntax of quantifiers and cardinal numerals, which likewise are not connected to the noun by an annexation particle (*raba qesa* ‘much wood’, *xa-qesa* ‘one piece of wood’). The contrast between the use of annexation in *xa-káwtat ’arwe*¹ ‘a flock of sheep’ (A32:14) and the lack of it in *xa-bárra ’arwe bāθre*¹ ‘with a horde of sheep behind him’ (A7:21) reflects the fact that in the latter the first noun has the function of a quantifying modifier whereas in the former it is the head of the nominal phrase. The two elements of the phrase in such quantifying constructions may be split by intervening material, e.g. *xá-tena wéwa dáwa*¹ ‘It was one load of gold’ (A7:11).

In some cases apposition rather than annexation is used also in phrases expressing containers and their contents, e.g. *xa-qadálta dāwe*¹ ‘a pot of gold’ (A10:7), *jarréta lāxma zedāye*¹ ‘a bag of pitta breads’ (A30:5), *xa-marāgla gōra*¹ *xālya*¹ ‘a big pan of milk’ (A28:10).

14.5. PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

14.5.1. *Distribution of Short and Long Forms of Suffixes*

Some of the pronominal suffixes on nouns and prepositions exist in variant forms, which differ in phonetic length. This applies to the 1pl. suffix and 3pl. suffixes, which exist in short and long forms:

	Short form	Long form
1pl.	-ən	-eni
3pl.	-a, -e	-aʝ, -eʝ, -eʝ

The long form of the 1pl. suffix is not prosodically conditioned since it occurs both in pause at the end of an intonation group and also within the body of an intonation group. The motivation is rather semantic. The heavier morphology of the suffix is used as a device for endowing it with a degree of prominence to express a 1pl. reference that is exclusive of the hearer, i.e. 'ours but not yours'. The prominence is, therefore, contrastive in nature. This contrast is seen clearly in examples such as (1) and (2), in which the head noun is presented in opposition to another noun with a 2nd person suffix:

- (1) *ʔáxni šabθèni¹ šawwà yomána¹ ʔu-yarxéni t̪laθi yómele.¹... ʔáxtu šabθéxu ʔila ʔštā-yome¹ ʔu-yarxéxu ʔile ʔsri-w-ʔǝǝà-yome.¹* 'Our week is seven days and our month is thirty days... Your week is six days and your month is twenty-nine days.' (A17:14)
- (2) *y-amríwa ʔáxni bǝyax¹ t̪albáxxa bratèxu¹ qa-d-ó bronèni.¹* 'We want to ask (for the hand of) your daughter for our son.' (B5:1)

Elsewhere the exclusive long -eni suffix is typically used by speakers when they refer to aspects of the life and customs of their community to hearers who do not belong to this community, e.g.

- (3) *ʔu-y-azìwa¹ šaqlíwa,¹ mən-kùl béθa¹ šaqlíwa rəzza,¹ šaqlíwa qàlya,¹ šaqlíwa ləxma,¹ mən-kùlla béθə maθéni.¹* 'Then they went and took from every house rice, they took meat fat, they took bread, from every house in our village.' (B7:1)
- (4) *hal-ʔašrta ʔáw háwe šulèni.¹* 'Until evening this is our job.' (B6:11)
- (5) *ʔáxni beθèni¹ har-ḥina-wewa.¹* 'Our houses were only made of mud.' (B10:57)
- (6) *qaplèni mattáxxa l-gáre.¹* 'We put our bundles (armfuls of bedding) on the roof.' (B10:60)
- (7) *dukáne liθən rába dásta qamèni.¹* 'There are not many places with open fields that are available for us (in Barwar).' (B11:31)

When the 1pl. reference is inclusive of the hearer, the short form is used, e.g.

- (8) *ʔay-xá-yoma har-t-γǎða¹ t-íle míθa brònən.* ¹...*péša ʔáy ʔàxxa,¹ b-šópət brònən.*¹
 ‘She will surely know one day that our son is dead. . . . Let her stay here in the place of our son.’ (A4:39)
- (9) *lá xazáxle brònən.* ¹‘We shall not see our son.’ (A25:11)
- (10) *maqðǎxle bέθən.* ¹‘Let’s burn our house.’ (A26:51)
- (11) *qu-sé kəs-d-anna-šwàwən.* ¹‘Get up and go to these neighbours of ours.’ (A5:1)

The short form is, however, also used in contexts where the reference of the 1pl. suffix is exclusive, e.g.

- (12) *ʔaxni léle šùlən.* ¹*har-sa-xúpla ʔáti b-gànx!*¹ ‘It is not our job. Go and wash her yourself!’ (A27:25)
- (13) *máxyaxalla máθən kúlla l-míla-w l-kóma m-báθre diyē.* ¹‘We have covered all our village with blue and black after he left.’ (A4:32)

The short form should, therefore, be regarded as the unmarked form that can be used for both exclusive and inclusive reference, whereas the long form is the marked form, which expresses only exclusive reference.

The long form of the 3pl. suffix, which consists of a diphthong, is the most frequently used form of the suffix. It is found in all prosodic positions, e.g.

- (14) *ʔu-šwiqála mđíta-w dǎrɣa ta-ʔaθrèy.* ¹‘They left the town and returned to their land.’ (A4:27)
- (15) *tá-t šaqłíle nəšmèy* ¹‘so that they could take away their soul’ (A4:59)
- (16) *bálki ʔadətéy hǎtxela.* ¹‘Perhaps their custom is that.’ (A4:36)
- (17) *bratéy gwirtela.* ¹‘Their daughter is married.’ (A30:29)

The occasional retraction of the stress from the long form of the suffix to the penultimate syllable appears, however, to be prosodically motivated since it tends to occur within the interior of intonation groups and not at their boundary, e.g.

- (18) *ʔap-xmárey šqílalla¹ dawérey tridǎlla.* ¹‘They also took their asses and drove away their mules.’ (A7:15)

The use of the short form of the 3pl. pronominal suffix, in which the diphthong is contracted to the monophthong *-ε* or *-a*, is pragmatically motivated. It tends to be restricted to contexts where the suffix is predictable and has low information value, especially when it is coreferential with the subject of the clause. This is no doubt due to the fact that in these contexts the suffix is less likely to be confused with the basic nominal inflectional ending *-a*, e.g.

- (19) *prímalla sosiyàða*,¹ *dáryalla réše díye*.¹ ‘They had cut their locks and laid them on him.’ (A31:10)
 (20) *xákma teníwa xàsa*¹ *masqíwale bðdra*.¹ ‘Some carried it on their back and brought it up to the threshing floor.’ (B5:81)
 (21) *xayúða qəm-mšaxalpíla*.¹ ‘They changed their livelihood.’ (B5:75)
 (22) ²*u-xákma mxulšàla gána*.¹ ‘Some saved themselves.’ (B6:18)

The contracted form of the suffix is frequently used also on numerals, where no confusion with the nominal inflectional ending is possible, e.g. *tərwəθna* ‘the two of them’ (A25:2), *trəθna* ‘the two of them’ (A25:6), *tláθna* ‘the three of them’ (A24:3), *šáwəwaθna* ‘the seven of them’ (A23:15). Occurrences of the long form on numerals are also found, e.g. *tráθney* ‘the two of them’ (A26:89), *tláθnèy* ‘the three of them’ (A28:37).

14.5.2. Suffixes on the Independent Genitive Particle

The pronominal suffixes of a noun may be suffixed directly to it or by the mediation of the independent genitive particle *díy-*. The genitive particle is placed after the noun in an annexation relationship, the initial *d-* being in origin the annexation particle:

3rd pers.	ms.	<i>béθa díye ~ bεθε díye</i>	‘his house’
	fs.	<i>béθa díya</i>	‘her house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyéy</i>	‘their house’
2nd pers.	ms.	<i>béθa díyux</i>	‘your (ms.) house’
	fs.	<i>béθa díyax</i>	‘your (fs.) house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyéxu</i>	‘your (pl.) house’
1st pers.	s.	<i>béθa díyi</i>	‘my house’
	pl.	<i>béθa díyən ~ bεθα díyéni</i>	‘our house’

Note that when the 3ms. form of the genitive particle is combined with a noun, the 3ms. suffix (-e) may optionally be attached also to the noun, which, in fact, is the more frequent construction.

The annexation between the head noun and the particle may undergo various degrees of contraction. The final inflectional vowel of the noun is sometimes reduced to the central vowel /ə/, e.g. *ʔaráθə díye* ‘his lands’ (B5:73), *m-zorúθə díyən* ‘from our childhood’ (B3:10), *taxrúnyə díyən* ‘(according to) our memory’ (B3:10). On several occasions the inflectional ending of the head noun is completely elided, e.g. *brōn-díye* ‘his son’ (A14:36), *brōn-díya* ‘her son’ (A14:5), *bēθ-díye* ‘his house’ (B5:18), *šúl díya* ‘its job’ (B5:90), *ʔáθər díyən* ‘our country’ (A14:91), *nās-díyən* ‘our people’ (B15:9), *taqān-díye* ‘its branches’ (B5:206), *xəzmān-díye* ‘his relatives’ (B5:60).

The distribution of the independent genitive particle and the motivation for its use differs according to the suffix. When the pronominal suffix is 3ms. or 3fs., the genitive particle construction is the norm. This is no doubt a device to disambiguate the pronominal suffixes -e (3ms.) and -a (3fs.) from the simple nominal inflectional endings. Examples: *qále díye* ‘his voice’ (A25:43), *kosíθa díya* ‘her hat’ (A25:83), *júlle díye* ‘his clothes’ (A25:33). When two nouns are conjoined in a tightly-knit phrase, one genitive particle may serve for the phrase as a whole, e.g. *bábe yámme díye* ‘his mother and father’ (A25:11).

The genitive particle is occasionally omitted after 3ms. and 3fs. suffixes. This occurs in principle where the interpretation of the suffix is highly predictable from the context and it has low information value. A typical context for this omission is where the suffixes are attached to words referring to body parts or implements and they refer unambiguously to the subject of the clause or a topical referent in the discourse, e.g.

- (1) *máxyalla ʔide hátxa gu-nartómə sùsa.*¹ ‘He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.’ (A12:65)
- (2) *ʔawəð ʔide xo-d-ò képa.*¹ ‘He put his hand under the stone.’ (A12:30)
- (3) *šléla dámme rəš-pàθe.*¹ ‘Blood flowed down onto his face.’ (A24:40)
- (4) *ʔawwa náša lóbbe pqile.*¹ ‘This man—his heard burst.’ (A31:2)
- (5) *ʔéne pθixtela.*¹ ‘His eye is open.’ (A31:6)
- (6) *šqíltalla kosíθa díya hátxa m-rəša.*¹ ‘She took off her hat from her head.’ (A25:82)
- (7) *ʔawwa máxyele sépe l-qđálə d-o-súsa.*¹ ‘He drove his sword into the neck of the horse.’ (A12:61)
- (8) *ʔo-yála zóra žàre¹ šqila ʔaw-nàre mánne díye.*¹ ‘The poor young boy took that axe of his with him.’ (A14:12)

When the reference of the suffix on a direct object is different from that of the subject, there is a greater tendency for the ‘heavier’ construction with the genitive particle to be used, e.g.

- (9) *ʔina ʔarya ʔide diye qam-axəlla.*¹ ‘The lion ate his hand.’ (A11:1)

The particle is sometimes omitted before other types of inanimate inalienable possessions, e.g.

- (10) *de-qima mtúnyəlla qəşşatte kúlla ʔla-d-o-səwa.*¹ ‘He told all his story to the old man.’ (A14:76)
 (11) *mtagbárwala gʔān-díye xayùθe.*¹ ‘He would support his life himself.’ (B5:74)

Animate inalienable possessions such as family relations in general take the genitive particle, e.g. *bábe diye* ‘his father’ (A32:31), *yámme diye* ‘his mother’ (A14:5), *xóne diye* ‘his brother’ (A25:1), *xále diye* ‘his uncle’ (A25:45), *bába diya* ‘her father’ (A14:1), *bróna diya* ‘her son’ (A14:4).

The genitive particle is sometimes omitted after a 3rd person singular suffix when the nominal phrase as a whole has reduced information value due to its status in the discourse. This is exemplified in (12). Here ‘his dream’ in the initial announcement ‘Anybody who knows... what he saw in his dream...’ has the genitive particle (*xəlme diye*), but later in the discourse, where this announcement is repeated and does not convey new information, the narrator uses the ‘lighter’ form without the particle to express the same (*xəlme*):

- (12) *ʔawwa málka xzéle xa-xəlma.*¹ ... *kút yǎðe... mòdile xəzya b-xəlme diye*¹ *b-yawəlle ʔmma dáwe.*¹ ... *ʔo-xúwwe mərə*¹ *hə-naša*¹ *ləkət zála.*² *mərə b-álaha hon-zála kəs-málka.*¹ *málka hóle xəzya xa-xəlma.*¹ *mərə*¹ *kút-yǎðe mòdile xəzya b-xəlme* *w-amərre*¹ *bəd-šəqəl ʔálpa dáwe.*¹ ‘This king had a dream.... Anybody who knows... what he saw in his dream, he will give him a hundred gold coins.... The snake said “Hey, man, where are you going?” He said “By God, I am going to the king. The king has had a dream and says that anybody who knows what he saw in his dream and tells him will have a thousand gold pieces.”’ (A1:2–5)

Conversely, when a noun with a suffix is repeated in a clause that expresses climax (13) or one that reiterates a fact to express its importance (14–15),

the genitive particle sometimes occurs in the second, more prominent, clause but not in the first:

- (13) *qam-maxéla 'áqla biš-xelàna, qam-parèla 'áqla diya.*¹ 'He struck her leg harder and burst her leg.' (A33:12)
- (14) *'ó Kārīm, 'bábe mìtle. 'bábe diye mìtle.*¹ 'Now, the father of Karim died. His father died.' (A14:4)
- (15) *dwiqàlle, nšiqàlle, múttàlle šópe. 'múttàlle šópe diye.*¹ 'He held him, kissed him and put him in his place. He put him in his place.' (A25:51)

The genitive particle with pronouns other than the 3ms. and 3fs. have a different distribution.

The particle is often used when the head noun is an unadapted loanword, e.g. *bálam diyéy* 'their boat' (A14:39), *hàðð diyi* 'my luck' (A1:4), *quwāt-diyān* 'our forces' (A14:53), *qàššət diyux* 'your story' (A14:33). They are also generally used after a proper name, e.g. *Fárxo diyèxu* 'your Farxo' (A25:21), *be-Hédo diyèni* 'our family of Hèdo' (B8:1).

On common nouns with nominal inflectional endings, however, the suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person and 3pl. tend to be attached directly without the mediation of the genitive particle. Some cases are, nevertheless, found where the genitive particle is used with these suffixes. This mostly occurs when the speaker wishes to give some kind of prominence to the suffix. In this group of suffixes it is the 1pl. suffix that is expressed by the genitive particle with the greatest frequency. In most cases where the particle is used for the 1pl. suffix, the speaker is referring to a referent that belongs to his community but not to that of the hearer, i.e. the 1pl. suffix is 'exclusive'. The exclusive interpretation arises from the prominence that the heavy coding of the construction gives to the suffix, which is contrastive in nature ('ours not yours'). This can be compared to the exclusive 1pl. function of the long suffix *-eni* described above (§14.5.1.). The construction with the genitive particle is frequently used with the nouns denoting the location of the speaker's community, such as *maða* 'village' and *'aðra* 'country', its people, institutions or aspects of its life, e.g.

- (16) *'iðwalən šawwá 'abòne¹ gu-máða diyān.*¹ 'We had seven bishops in our village.' (B2:6)
- (17) *klá klá làxxa!ⁿ 'áwwa 'aðəθ diyān-ile.*¹ 'Stop, stop here! This is our land.' (A14:91)

- (18) *ʔu-gnūwəlla ʔrweʔ ʔu-mupīðəlla b-hūdūdʔ yáʔni ʔáθra d-áy-gotət diyèni.*¹ ‘They stole the small cattle and took them over the border, that is (the border of) the country on our side.’ (B5:161)
- (19) *har-mədre-táma xzélən nāš-diyən.*¹ ‘Again we saw our relatives.’ (B15:9)
- (20) *ʔáxni ʔax-t-ix bányəlle ʔúmra diyən gu-ʔĒn-Nūne*¹ ‘When we built our church in ʔĒn-Nune...’ (B6:31)
- (21) *ʔáti díya píšlux máłka diyən,*¹ *máłkət maymūne.*¹ ‘You have now become our king, the king of the monkeys.’ (A14:45)
- (22) *sab-áxni xluláne diyənʔ hammáše y-odəxxwalaʔ čeriyəwəθa.*¹ ‘because we always used to hold our weddings in Autumn.’ (B5:18)
- (23) *ʔu-rába pšītṭewa xayúθa diyən gu-maθwəθa.*¹ ‘Our life in the villages was very simple.’ (B15:12)

In some cases the genitive particle has the long form of the 1pl. suffix, e.g.

- (24) *ʔənnəla ʔəðəwəθə diyéni.*¹ ‘These are our festivals.’ (B6:16)
- (25) *náše diyèniʔ ʔi-šəmi tḷá yománe.*¹ ‘Our people fast for three days.’ (B6:21)

The 1pl. suffix is given additional prominence in (26) by expressing it as an independent phrase with a demonstrative head (*ʔo-diyən* ‘our one’) and placing this in apposition to the noun:

- (26) *máx gášrə ʔəwə d-o-diyənʔ* ‘like the bridge over our Zab’ (A30:51)

The genitive particle with a 1s. suffix is rarely attested in the text corpus. In (27) it is clearly a contrastive focus:

- (27) *ʔu-qále díye rába basiməwa.*¹ *mút qála diyi?*² ‘His voice is very beautiful. What is *my* voice (in comparison)?’ (A25:43–44)

In some cases the speaker appears to be giving prominence to the intrinsically exclusive nature of the 1s. reference, e.g.

- (28) *báyən xáðrən gu-ʔupra diyi xazənne.*¹ ‘I (the king) want to go around my own land to see it.’ (A14:47)
- (29) *muməθewən,*¹ *kómət ʔúrət dúnye ʔáθa báθri le-y-azánaʔ tḷa-hič-ʔurza.*¹ *bas-ʔən ʔáθya xá-baxta nabláli qa-kut-t-báyə,*¹ *yən-qa-xóna díya,*¹ *ʔána bt-azána.*¹

*móra ’àwwele qawla-díyi.*¹ “I have taken an oath that however many men in the world may come after me I shall not go to any man. But, if a woman comes to take me to anyone she wants, or to her brother, I shall go.” She said “This is my word (i.e. which I made to myself, not to anybody else).” (A8:78–79)

Likewise 2nd person suffixes are rarely expressed by the genitive particle. The cases that are attested in the text corpus can be interpreted as having the purpose of giving the suffix some kind of prominence. In (30)–(32) the exclusivity of the 2nd person reference is given distinctness. In (30) and (31) this is the exclusivity of a family or community. In (32) it connotes the sense of uniqueness to the head noun:

- (30) *xəzmáyúθa ’íla manáy ’ən-xá náša díyux¹ yan-xá bráta díyux hot-híwəlla qa-ðà-maθa,¹ píše xəzme.¹ ’ən-’áti¹ máθálan xa-xəzmux¹ ’ən xa-nāš-díyux¹ ’ən xa-gwíra m-ðá-maθa xéta ’óθye kəslux,¹ ’ánna y-amríla xəzme yá’ni.*¹
 ‘The meaning of family relationship is (as follows). If you have given somebody of your family or a daughter of yours to a certain village (in marriage), (the two families) become relatives. If a relative of yours, a person of your family or somebody married (into your family) comes to you, they call these people family relatives.’ (B5:232)
- (31) *ku-brónat bəṛ-naša ’áθe l-d-áy jəzúra qamàye,¹ ’áwwa t-áwe málka díyèxu.¹*
 ‘Whichever human being comes to the island first, he will be your king.’ (A14:46)
- (32) *liθ bəṛ-náša hátxa b-aw-pəšla díyux.¹ m-hàdəx qəm-yáðənnux.¹* ‘There is nobody with that figure of yours (i.e. it is unique to you). That is how I knew you.’ (A8:41)

In (33) the prominence gives added force to the assertion of a pragmatic relation that is contrary to expectation:

- (33) *’áwwa rəší¹ t-áθe xá-yoma pràma¹ bəd-’iθáθa díyux.¹ ’áti pərmátle rəší.¹* ‘This head of mine will one day be cut off by your own hands. *Yôu* will cut off my head.’ (A14: 35)

The genitive particle may be used independently of a head noun. If it functions as an ascriptive predicate that assigns a property to the subject of the clause, it requires no pronominal head, e.g.

- (34) *ʾanna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma diyuxila*¹ *ʾanna ʾálpa-w xamšá-mma diyila*.¹
 ‘These one thousand five-hundred are yours and these one thousand five-hundred are mine.’ (A1:20)
- (35) *ʾáp ʾanna-jülle t-ilà-llux*¹ *ʾu-ʾáyya xmárta diyila*.¹ ‘Also the clothes that are on you and this donkey are mine.’ (A6:12)
- (36) *ʾáwwa béθa diyaxile bráti*?¹ ‘Is this house yours, my daughter?’ (A40:13)
- (37) *baxyóna léle diyux*.¹ ‘Crying is not for you.’ (A38:7)

In other contexts the genitive particle without a head noun requires a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative pronoun. This pronoun is anaphoric and functions like the anaphoric pronoun at the head of a relative clause (see §14.3.2.), in that it binds the reference to the description in the following modifier phrase, e.g.

- (38) *ʾan-diyən tíwla tàma*.¹ ‘Those (people) of ours settled there.’ (B8:5)
- (39) *ʾanna diyən*¹ *wídla tàgbir*.¹ ‘These (people) of ours made a plan.’ (B19:5)
- (40) *rába xá-mdi prišela júllux gu-d-anna diyéni*.¹ ‘Your clothes are something special compared to ours.’ (A35:10)
- (41) *b-álaha*¹ *ʾána har-ʾa-diyi zála xišta*.¹ ‘By God, that (fate) of mine has gone (= I’m doomed).’ (A14:29)

We should include in this section the idiomatic phrases relating to family relations exemplified in (42)–(44):

- (42) *bábe díye ʾu-d-áni ʾəθyela*.¹ ‘His father and his father’s family came.’ (A4:55)
- (43) *txírre béθət bábe ʾu-d-áni*.¹ ‘He remembered the house of his father and his family.’ (A14:87)
- (44) *ʾé-ga b-léle tíwəx kəs-xáli d-áni*.¹ ‘That night we sat with my uncle and his family.’ (B15:57)

Since the phrase *ʾu-d-áni* in this construction does not have a pronominal head, it must be construed as a modifier of the head noun *bábe* (*díye*) ‘his father’, co-ordinated with the suffix modifier of the noun ‘his’, rather than a head coordinated with the head ‘his father’. The meaning, therefore, is ‘the father of him and of them’, i.e. his father and the family of his father. The head noun may take other suffixes, e.g. *babi ʾu-d-áni* ‘my father and my father’s family’.

14.6. REFLEXIVE AND RECIPROCAL PRONOUNS

When a pronoun is reflexive, i.e. it is coreferential with the subject of the clause, it is generally expressed by attaching a pronominal suffix to the noun *gana*. This is a noun of Kurdish origin meaning ‘soul, life, body’. It still retains its original meaning in some contexts, e.g.

- (1) *ʔm-lá-ʔawðət b-xábra dīyi¹ gánux šaqłənna.¹* ‘If you do not do as I tell you, I shall take away your life.’ (A15:20)
- (2) *y-aθéwa m-bár hàdax¹ xámša ʔəštà ganáθa.¹* ‘Afterwards, five or six people would come.’ (B5:77)
- (3) *ʔina xa-senìye¹ dáwa xaše-díye xá-xuwwə zòra,¹ réšət nàša¹ ʔu-gánət xùwwə¹* ‘He saw a gold tray on which there was a small snake with the head of a man and the body of a snake.’ (A14:31)

It is used as a respectful address, e.g.

- (4) *ha-gàni,¹ lèkət zála?¹* ‘Hey, my dear, where are you going?’ (A15:6)
- (5) *háyyo ya-gáni t-amrànnux.¹* ‘Come, my dear, let me tell you something.’ (A22:36)

It is used with the function of a reflexive pronoun in the following contexts:

(i) Direct object

- (6) *zdíθəlla gána dīya¹ kəle-dīye.¹* ‘She threw herself down beside him.’ (A37:18)
- (7) *ʔáp-ʔaw qəm-qatəlle gān-dīye,¹ zadéle gān-dīye tàma.¹* ‘He also killed himself and threw himself there.’ (A38:15)
- (8) *mtugbərəli gáni.¹* ‘I have looked after myself.’ (A1:11)
- (9) *mrazgət gánux.¹* ‘Prepare yourself.’ (A6:4)
- (10) *gáwri θéle mʔáši gánux!¹* ‘My husband has come, hide yourself!’ (A22:29)
- (11) *xúš šqúl gánux¹ si-l-bèθa.¹* ‘Go, take yourself off, go home.’ (A23:39)

(ii) Complement of a preposition

- (12) *wídla ʔixála ʔáy b-gàna¹ ʔu-b-pəlxána b-gána zála-w θáya gu-bèθa.¹* ‘She made the food by herself and did the chores by herself, going to and fro in the house and she ran the house.’ (A21:40)
- (13) *ʔáwwa ʔərbi¹ m-gáne dýe θéle rígle l-túra.¹* ‘This sheep of mine has come and run to the mountain of its own accord.’ (A10:3)
- (14) *bašláxla b-gànan.¹* ‘Let’s cook them by ourselves.’ (A2:2)
- (15) *ma-lat-ðáya b-gánax qàrθεla.²¹* ‘Don’t you know yourself that it is cold?’ (A20:1)
- (16) *ʔay-gu-gána mtuxmàmma.¹* ‘She thought to herself.’ (A21:19)
- (17) *la qémán jàldé¹ ta-t-ódən pəlxàna¹ tla-gáni¹ ta-t-àxlən.²¹* ‘Should I not get up early to work for myself, so that I can eat?’ (A21:19)
- (18) *m-kəs-gáne qəm-mdabərri¹ mxalóse xàye dýe.¹* ‘He made this up by himself (literally: from himself) to save his life.’ (A39:6)

(iii) Complement of a noun in annexation

- (19) *maxbánət gáne-wewa.¹* ‘He was a lover of himself (= selfish).’ (A3:1)
- (20) *ʔε-dána t-ila ríše,¹ kút-xa gu-šwíθət gáne¹...* ‘When they woke up, each one in his own bed...’ (A4:5)
- (21) *šqille dābánjə gáne dýe.¹* ‘He took his pistol.’ (A27:2)

When the pronominal suffix is 1pl., the effect of using the reflexive pronoun is to express exclusivity (‘ours not yours’):

- (22) *gu-ʔáθrət gʻànan¹ rəbəxwa xáðye p.šixe.¹* ‘In our own land we were very happy and cheerful.’ (B16:6)
- (23) *ʔíθwalən ʔurxáθət gʻànan.¹* ‘We used to have our own (customary) ways.’ (B5:1)

(iv) Apposition

- (24) *ʔíli gáni šéra hon-wíðalle¹* ‘I have myself a poem that I composed.’ (B1:14)

In some of these syntactic positions a reflexive pronoun that is coreferential with the subject may also be expressed by a pronominal suffix or demonstrative pronoun. This applies to reflexive pronouns that express the beneficiary of the action, which may be expressed by L-suffixes or prepositional phrases without *gan-*, e.g.

- (25) *qémən šaqlónni xákma m̀ndi m̀nni b-ʔiði.*¹ ‘I shall get up and take for myself a few things, with me in my hand.’ (A23:5)
- (26) *bǎyánni ʔ́mma bnàθa.*¹ ‘I want for myself a hundred girls.’ (A25:74)
- (27) *si-bn̄lux dúkθat tré-gəldət t̀wre.*¹ ‘Go and build for yourself in a place (the size of) two ox skins.’ (A11:11)
- (28) *dwíqle ʔ́skar ʔ́lle díye.*¹ ‘He recruited an army for himself.’ (A11:15)
- (29) *y-áθe m̀zabánwa ʔla-d-àw-u yómme díye.*¹ ‘Then he would come back and sell them for himself and his mother.’ (A14:10)
- (30) *ʔla-d-áy dráyela xàčča ʔla-d-àw r̀ba.*¹ ‘For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.’ (A17:25)

Also reflexive possessive pronouns are frequently expressed by pronominal suffixes, e.g.

- (31) *ʔay-lwíštəlla júlla díya.*¹ ‘She put on her clothes.’ (A14:91)
- (32) *m̀xyəlla ʔ́ðe hátxa gu-narʔómə s̀sa.*¹ ‘He put his hand like this on the snout of the horse.’ (A12:65)

An L-suffix expressing a direct object is used with a reflexive sense when the preceding clause has a *gan-* phrase in direct object position, e.g.

- (33) *xá-para ʔawádla gáne ʔax-qàšta,*¹ *maxéla bēn-Səttiye l-Fārxo.*¹ ‘One lamb made itself like a bow and pushed itself between Səttiye and Fārxo’ (A25:29)

The phrase *b-gan-* + suffix ‘by oneself’ denotes the agency of an action. If the sense of ‘by oneself’ is locative isolation rather than agency, the particle of isolation *xoð-* is used. This is optionally preceded by the prepositions *l-* or *b-*, e.g.

- (34) *líθ ʔáp-xa gu-bèθa?*¹ *m̀ra l̀ har-ʔána,*¹ *xòðiwən.*¹ ‘He said “There is nobody in the house?” She said “No, only me. I am alone.”’ (A22:32)
- (35) *p̀šela ʔ́ har-ʔáni-tre l-xoðéy.*¹ ‘Only those two remained by themselves.’ (A20:9)
- (36) *xá-naša l-xóðe lítle la-bába la-yámme la-ʔáp-xa,*¹ *ʔáw y-amrile ʔ́ lítle náše.*¹ ‘A man by himself, who does not have a father, a mother or anybody, they say that he has no relatives.’ (A17:17)

- (37) *ʔárwɛ b-xòðɛ, ʔina tawráθa ʔu-táwre ʔáni kút-xa b-xòðɛ.*¹ ‘Sheep were by themselves, cows and oxen, they were all by themselves.’ (B10:55)

Occasionally the pronoun of isolation is combined with the cardinal numeral *xa*, e.g.

- (38) *ʔáw xa-l-xòðɛ díyɛ tāmàha.*¹ ‘He is all alone there.’ (A27:5)

The reciprocal pronoun *ǵðàðɛ* is used in the following syntactic contexts:

(i) Direct object

- (39) *bróni ʔu-brátux xázyela ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘My son and your daughter saw each other.’ (A4:26)
 (40) *muxábla ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘They loved (i.e. fell in love with) each other.’ (A4:4)
 (41) *ʔu-ʔáθyela xpíqɛ ǵðàðɛ, nśáqa ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘They came and hugged each other, kissing each other.’ (A4:55)

(ii) Complement of a preposition

- (42) *mśawθítu m-ǵðàðɛ, ta-t-ťúra ja-jálde pàraq.*¹ ‘You should speak with one another, so that the mountain would finish quickly.’ (A17:19)
 (43) *ʔu-xállən kállən m-ǵðàðɛ*¹ ‘and we all ate together’ (A21:39)
 (44) *xáyi m-ǵðàðɛ ʔláθi śanne-u¹ méθi m-ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘They will live together thirty years and die together.’ (A4:46)
 (45) *xá-bena ʔan-tre-maláxe t-wéwa ʔáθyɛ biya, t-wéwa mutápqalla b-ǵðàðɛ, ʔéla pyáða táma tàmá.*¹ ‘Then, those two angels who had brought her, who had caused them to meet each other, came passing by.’ (A4:44)
 (46) *ʔu-ʔúllən ʔáśtá-maθwaθa qúrba l-ǵðàðɛla.*¹ ‘We have six villages that are near to one another.’ (B1:3)
 (47) *píśla nepúxta ʔu-práqe gu-ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘The syrup and the millet seed were mixed together.’ (A23:21)
 (48) *śiqən¹ mjámòyalla qése, dráya rás-ǵðàðɛ.*¹ ‘I went up and collected the wood and piled them up.’ (A23:34)

Another means of expressing the reciprocity of an action is to use constructions expressing the two individual participants with the forms *xa/ða... xena/xeta* ‘one... the other’, e.g.

- (49) *tára c̄mtela baréy.¹ xùyele.¹ xa-mxàyele l-o-xéna.¹ xa-mxàyele l-o-xéna.¹* ‘She had closed the door after them and it was dark. One was beating the other, one was beating the other.’ (A22:35)
- (50) *ʔu-ʔíθwa ʔawáltat berràne,¹ xa-ráqa báθar d-ò-xena.¹* ‘There was the game of “groups”, (in which) one person runs after the other.’ (B7:6)
- (51) *dawqúwa bnáθa b-ʔíðat ḡðáðe hàtxa,¹ yáʔni ràbe doqúwa,¹ ða-dwíqta ʔíðo d-a-xéta.¹* ‘The girls held each other’s hand like this. Many held (hands), one holding the hand of the other.’ (B12:1)
- (52) *y-amr̄áxxe mxáya b̄ʔe.¹ yáʔni šmáta b̄ʔe xa-d-o-xéna.¹* ‘We call this “striking eggs”, that is breaking the eggs of one another (literally: breaking eggs, one (breaking that) of the other).’ (B5:58)
- (53) *xa-maryóse ʔo-xréna m̄ya.¹ maryástat míya xa-l-d-o-xréna mòdila.²* ‘All the people go out and scatter water on each other. What is (the significance of) scattering water over each other?’ (B6:10)
- (54) *ʔáni píšela màrà¹ ða-ʔla-ða-xéta¹* ‘They started saying to one another . . .’ (A12:60)

14.7. ADJECTIVES AND APPOSITIVES

Adjectives that modify a noun are generally placed after it. The attributive function of adjectives is reflected not only by their syntactic function of a modifier of a head noun but also by their inflection, in that attributive adjectives, unlike referential nouns, do not normally express gender differences in their plural form, e.g.

<i>ʔurza sniqa</i>	‘a needy man’
<i>baxta sniqta</i>	‘a needy woman’
<i>ʔurze sniqe</i>	‘needy men’
<i>baxtaθa sniqe</i>	‘needy women’

Most adjectives, furthermore, are not used referentially in the same way as nouns. The head noun can be omitted, but an adjective without a head noun must normally take a pronominal head in the form of an indefinite pronoun, when it is referentially indefinite, and in the form of demonstrative pronoun when anaphorically definite, e.g.

<i>xa-sniqa</i>	‘a needy one (ms.)’
<i>ʔo-sniqa</i>	‘the needy one (ms.)’
<i>ða-sniqta</i>	‘a needy one (fs.)’

^ʔ <i>ε-sniqta</i>	‘the needy one (fs.)’
<i>xakma sniqe</i>	‘some needy ones’ (pl.)
^ʔ <i>an-sniqe</i>	‘the needy ones’ (pl.)

These pronominal heads are closely related to relative clause heads and, indeed, the constructions can be regarded as contracted relative clauses (^ʔ*o-sniqa* < ^ʔ*o-t-ile sniqa* ‘the one who is needy’). If the adjective is extended by an intensifier or by the comparative particle *biš*, the relative particle is sometimes used in the phrase, e.g.

- (1) ^ʔ*o-t biš-daqiqa* ‘The one that (is) thinner’ (B10:49)

Adjectives nominalized with a demonstrative head are often definite by associative anaphora, typically when they express a member of a previously mentioned or implied set, e.g.

- (2) *tłáθna bnóne díye zılela¹ gu-dünye,¹ tǎyela¹ ʔal-d-ò¹ darmána ta-t-xázi qa-ʔénat... babèy.¹ zılela mátye gu-đá mđita.¹ ʔo-gòra¹ mǎre ʔána pésǎn láxxa gu-d-áyya mđita.¹* ‘The three sons of his went on their way in the world, searching in order to find the remedy for the eyes of their father. They travelled and arrived in a certain town. The eldest one said “I shall remain here in this town.”’ (A24:3–4)
- (3) *zòre-wεwa ʔanna xonǎwáθi.¹ ʔa-góřta ʔǎnǎwa.¹* ‘These brothers of mine were young. The edler one (of the children) was me.’ (B8:13)
- (4) *ʔé-ga xázǎt yále zòre¹ ráqa báθǎr d-ǎn mǎndyáne¹... ʔáp ʔan-gòre¹ mjǎmùwa.¹* ‘Then you would see small children running after those things... Also the older people would gather them.’ (B15:69)
- (5) *ʔanna kúlla xıpla¹ ʔan-zòre-w ʔan-rǎbe-w¹* ‘They all washed, young and old.’ (B10:69)

As discussed in §14.3.2., when the default demonstrative is attached to a noun, although often translated most idiomatically with the English definite article, it is always anaphoric in function and is not used with a noun that is definite by virtue of the descriptive content of the noun alone without any anaphoric connection with the surrounding discourse. For example, a noun referring to a generic class without any anaphoric connection to what precedes would be definite, since the class it refers to is assumed to be known to the hearer, but would not be combined with a demonstrative, e.g.

- (6) *ʔarya héywan maxjalàna y-áwe.*¹ ‘The lion is a terrifying animal.’

An adjective with a default demonstrative head, on the other hand, may refer to a non-anaphoric generic class. In such cases English most idiomatically uses the indefinite article, e.g.

- (7) *ʔo-góra gǎrag lá-maxe ʔo-zòra.*¹ ‘A big (person) should not hit a small (person).’
 (8) *ʔan-góre gǎrag lá-maxi ʔan-zòre.*¹ ‘Big (people) should not hit small (people).’
 (9) *ʔo-kóra xa-záwga ʔène báye.*¹ ‘A blind man wants a pair of eyes.’ (D2: 62)

The explanation appears to be that an expression such as *ʔo-góra* ‘the big’ is a reduced form of the relative phrase *ʔo-t-ile góra* ‘he who is big’, in which the demonstrative is anaphoric within the phrase, in that it binds the referent of the pronoun to the description in the embedded relative clause. The construction, therefore, assigns the property to the head, like a predicative adjective, rather than presenting it as a component of the description of the head. This analysis is supported by the fact that resultative participles of atelic intransitive verbs may be combined with a demonstrative, e.g. *ʔo-zmíra zmárta xàwri!* ‘The one who has sung the song is my friend’. Such participles cannot be used as attributive modifiers of nouns but can only be used predicatively (§15.4.1.1.). A phrase such as *ʔo-zmíra*, therefore, must be analysed as a reduced relative phrase in which the participle is predicative (*ʔo-t-ile zmíra*).

Generic phrases are definite since they refer to an entire class, inclusive of all its referents, which the hearer is assumed to be able to identify from its description alone. A demonstrative cannot have ‘intra-phrasal’ anaphora when a noun head is qualified by an adjective, e.g. *ʔo-naša góra* ‘the big man’, which must be anaphorically linked to the preceding discourse. Intra-phrasal anaphora is only possible in constructions with a genitive/relative particle *D*, or reduced forms of these constructions. This particle can be regarded as the anaphor of the demonstrative. It follows that the adjective in a phrase such as *ʔo-naša góra* cannot be regarded as being a reduced embedded relative ‘the man who is big’, whereas this analysis is applicable to the adjective in a phrase such as *ʔo-góra*, which can be regarded as a reduced form of *ʔo-t-ile góra* ‘He_i who_i is big’.

Likewise a demonstrative can have intra-phrasal anaphoric reference in annexation constructions, which contain the particle *D*. Again, the anaphor of the demonstrative must be this particle. Examples: *m-an-t-qanàne!* ‘some

of those with horns' (A7:24), *gu-d-ó garrə zòre*¹ 'in the pool of young ones (< *garrət zore*)' (B15:32), *gu-d-o-gárra dīya*¹ 'in their pool' (B15:32). The referents of none of these are mentioned in the preceding discourse.

An indefinite nominalized adjective that has the indefinite cardinal particle *xa/ða* as its head generally has a specific referent, e.g.

- (10) *muttéθalla təl̥l̥θ xəmməryáθa*,¹ *m-an-xməryáθa tabzīye*.¹ *muttéθalla rəš-pársət*
ʔəna,¹ *ða-smòqta*,¹ *ða-xwàrta*,¹ *ða-milànta*.¹ 'She laid down three beads,
 beads of a rosary. She put them on the stone slab of the spring,
 a red one, a white one and a blue one.' (A25:34)

In some circumstances it can be used when the phrase has a non-specific referent, provided that it is extracted from a known, limited set. In a context such as (11), for example, the phrase *ða-smòqta* 'a red one' can have either a specific ('one particular red one') or non-specific ('any of the red ones') interpretation:

- (11) A: *gu-sálla ʔiθ bəʔe xwáre ʔu-bəʔe smòqe*.¹ B: *ʔána šáqlən ða-smòqta*.¹ 'A: In
 the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take a red
 one'

The indefinite cardinal particle tends to be omitted, however, when the existence of the set that it belongs to is unknown. A construction such as that in (12), for example, would be used when the speaker has no evidence that any big apples exist:

- (12) *la-hállī ʔo-xabúša zòra*,¹ *ʔána báyyən gòra*.¹ 'Don't give me that small
 apple, I want a big one.'

Similarly the cardinal particle is omitted in negative constructions when the existence of the class is denied, e.g.

- (13) *gòra liθ*.¹ 'There is no big one.'
 (14) *ʔiθwa-w liθwa*¹ *bíš m-álaha gòra*¹ *liθwa gòra*.¹ 'There was and there was
 not, there was no great one greater than God.' (A8:2)

Nominalized plural adjectives typically take the indefinite pronoun *xakma* as their head when they refer to a specific group of referents extracted from a set, e.g.

- (15) A: *gu-sállá 'íθ b'é'e xwáre 'u-b'é'e smòqe.*¹ B: *'ána šáqlan xakma-smòqe.*¹ 'A: In the basket there are white eggs and red eggs. B: I shall take some red ones.'

When the speaker is not referring to a delimited specific group, but to a non-specific open-ended group, the indefinite pronominal head tends to be omitted. This applies to contexts such as the following:

- (16) *'u-čidεle zóre-u gòre.*¹ 'He invited young and old.' (A7:3)
 (17) *xoš-sxí gu-d-ó garrə zòre.*¹ 'Go and swim in the pool for young ones.' (B15:32)
 (18) *'íθən... biš-šapìre mánni-w*¹ 'There are some more handsome than me.' (A26:79)

It is found in proverbial contexts referring to generic classes, e.g.

- (19) *b-núrət raš'ye y-áqđi məškəne.*¹ 'By the fire of wicked people the poor burn.' (D2:73)

Likewise the head is omitted in negative constructions where the existence of any members of a set are denied, e.g.

- (20) *'ən-líθ biš-zlíme mánən, har-t-àzəx.*¹ 'If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)

It is important to note that these constructions with headless adjectives are found also with non-telic resultative participles, which cannot function as adjective attributes but only as predicates, e.g.

- (21) *pálxi plixe, y-áxli nixe.*¹ 'Those who have worked hard work but those who are inactive eat.' (D2:33)

It follows, therefore, that also these headless adjectives are not true nominalized adjectives but must be regarded as predicates of reduced relative clauses without an explicitly expressed head ('those who are big', 'those who have worked', etc.).

When a plural adjective relating to a group of feminine gender has a numeral as its head, the feminine form of the numeral may be used although gender distinction is neutralized in the adjective inflection, e.g.

- (22) *bálki mabárya tǎrtè-xene*.¹ ‘Perhaps it will give birth to two others.’
(A5:8)

There are some items that act as attributes of nouns but distinguish between genders in their plural inflection. This applies to gentile expressions ending in *-aya*, e.g.

<i>ʔurza suraya</i>	‘a Christian man’
<i>baxta surεθa</i>	‘a Christian woman’
<i>ʔurze suraye</i>	‘Christian men’
<i>baxtaθa surayaθa</i>	‘Christian women’

Furthermore, such gentile expressions can be used as referential head nouns in a wider range of contexts than other adjectives, with a distribution that is equivalent to that of other nouns. Notably, they can be used as indefinite nouns with a specific referent, anaphorically definite and generically definite nouns without obligatorily being combined with the indefinite particle or a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *suraya* ‘a/the Christian’. They have a greater independence than other adjectives and have a lesser need for a head:

Specific indefinite	Anaphoric definite	Generic definite
<i>xa-sniqa</i>	<i>ʔo-sniqa</i>	<i>ʔo-sniqa</i>
<i>(xa-)suraya</i>	<i>(ʔo-)suraya</i>	<i>suraya</i>

On distributional grounds, therefore, it would be more appropriate to interpret the gentile forms in attributive position as nominal appositives rather than adjectives. Their status as nouns is reflected by greater independence and a noun-like feminine plural ending. The noun-like nature of gentile forms is also identifiable in their semantic content, in that they have stability over time, denoting, in principle, the permanent constellation of properties of a class rather than contingent qualities. A distinction, therefore, can be made in terminology between ‘quality-denoting’ terms such as *sniqa* and ‘class-denoting’ terms such as *suraya*. Both ‘quality-denoting’ and ‘class-denoting’ terms can function as attributes, but their morpho-syntactic behaviour is different.

The feminine plural ending is regularly used with attributes ending in *-aya* when they are gentile. Further examples:

<i>baxtaθa huðayaθa</i>	‘Jewish women’
<i>baxtaθa durnayaθa</i>	‘women from Dure’
<i>baxtaθa ’en-nunayaθa</i>	‘women from ’En-Nune’
<i>baxtaθa naxrayaθa</i>	‘foreign women’

The feminine plural ending is used also in the attributes *šulxaya* ‘naked’ and *xaya* (f. *xεθa* recently given birth), which end in *-aya* but is not gentilic, e.g.

<i>baxtaθa šulxayaθa</i>	‘naked women’
<i>baxtaθa xayaθa</i>	‘women who have recently given birth’

This pattern of agreement in these lexical items has presumably arisen by analogy with gentilics. It has not, however, been extended to all non-gentilic adjectives ending in *-aya*, as shown by the following, all of which take the ending *-e* when they are attributes of feminine plural nouns:

<i>baxtaθa xεpyaye</i>	‘barefooted women’
<i>baxtaθa komaye</i>	‘black women’
<i>baxtaθa qamaye</i>	‘the first women’
<i>tawriyaθa rešaye</i>	‘the highest quality cows’

When nominals denoting professions such as *zamara* ‘singer’ and *raqaða* ‘dancer’ are used as attributes, they regularly agree with feminine plural nouns and should be regarded as class-denoting appositives rather than adjectival modifiers:

<i>baxtaθa zamarayaθa</i>	‘singer women’
<i>baxtaθa raqaðyaθa</i>	‘dancer women’

The nominal *xamθa* ‘beautiful woman’ also agrees with feminine plural nouns when it is used as an attribute:

<i>baxtaθa xamaθa</i>	‘beautiful women’
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The attribute of a noun is sometimes expressed by appositives consisting of other types of nouns, e.g. *súsa šéna* ‘a tame horse’, *’úrza gáwra* ‘a brave man’ (A29:27), *xabúšta ’ixála* ‘an apple tree bearing edible fruit’ (B5:104).

Speakers occasionally use the feminine plural ending on adjectives ending in *-ana*, but in all cases an alternative with the *-e* ending is available.

This applies to adjectives with the ending *-ana* that belong to the active participle patterns and also other forms, e.g.

<i>baxtaθa ʾaxlanyaθa ~ ʾaxlane</i>	‘gluttonous women’
<i>baxtaθa palxanyaθa ~ palxane</i>	‘hard-working women’
<i>tawriyaθa maxjəlanyaθa ~ maxjəlane</i>	‘frightening cows’
<i>baxtaθa hawnanyaθa ~ hawnane</i>	‘clever women’

In general, there is a degree of subjectiveness in the use of the feminine plural on non-gentilic adjectives. The motivation for giving the adjective the noun-type inflection *-aθa* may be to make the adjective more independent from its head for the sake of endowing it with greater prominence. Perhaps this is the reason why *-aθa* is normally used on the adjective *šulxaya* ‘naked’ in phrases such as *baxtaθa šulxayaθa* ‘naked women’, where it expresses a perceptually salient property! The feminine ending is sporadically found on non-gentilic adjectives that are in predicative position, e.g.

(23) *rmyàθa hawetúwa!* ‘May you (fpl.) be cursed ones!’ (A26:27)

In such cases, again, the use of the feminine ending endows the adjective with the status of a noun (‘cursed ones’). The effect is to present them as having the permanent time-stability typical of nouns. In (23) this strategy is used to give particular force to the curse.

Another way in which attributive adjectives are given prominence is to combine them with a default demonstrative, e.g. *xoni ʾo-gora* ‘my big brother’, *xathi ʾa-zurta* ‘my little sister’. As remarked above, the demonstrative supplies a head for the adjective. A construction such as *xoni ʾo-gora*, therefore, consists of two heads and the phrase *ʾo-gora* should be considered to have the status of a noun in apposition rather than an adjectival modifier. By giving the attribute this syntactic independence the speaker endows it with added prominence. The construction is used both when the attribute is restrictive and also when it is non-restrictive.

The construction is used with a restrictive attribute when the attribute contrasts between members of a known set designated by the noun, e.g.

(24) *ʾiθwa xa-màlka! ʾiθwale ʾarbi bnòne. **brón-diye ʾo-zòra!** ʾitwale ʾarbi šánne. ... xóna ʾo-góra máre čú-məndi lax-xəzye.* ‘There was a king. He had forty sons. His little son was forty years old. ... The elder brother said...’ (A12:1/17)

In such contrastive contexts this construction is used also with gentile attributes, which, as we have seen, are best considered appositives even without the demonstrative, e.g.

- (25) *ʔiθ tré-yale lāxxa,¹ xa-suràya¹ ʔu-xa-huðàya.¹ yála ʔo-suràya diyènile.¹* ‘There are two children here, one Christian and one Jewish. The Christian child is ours’.

We can include here a similar type of construction that is used to express the name of animals, whereby the name is combined with a default demonstrative and this phrase is placed as an appositive after a noun expressing the class of animal it belongs to, e.g.

- (26) *báyən pèrmátli ʔázza ʔε-Nùne.¹* ‘I want you to slaughter for me the nanny-goat Nune.’ (C7:3)
- (27) *ta-mòdi¹ ʔílla ʔáy ʔázza ʔε-Nùne?¹ šqúl ða-xèta.¹* ‘Why (do you want) only that nanny-goat Nune? Take another one.’ (C7:6)

The name *Nune* in phrases such as *ʔázza ʔε-Nune* is treated like an attributive adjective and is given a head in the form of a default demonstrative. As in a phrase such as *xona ʔo-gora*, the attributive appositive *ʔε-Nune* picks out one member from a set, namely the flock of ‘nanny-goats’. Further examples: *tawri ʔo-Xammo* ‘my ox called Xammo’, *tawrti ʔa-Gazale* ‘my cow called Gazale’.

The attributive appositive that is combined with a demonstrative may also be non-restrictive. In such cases the identity of the noun is presupposed to be known independently of further description. The attribute, therefore, has greater prominence relative to the noun since it is the more informative part of the phrase. This inherent informativeness may in itself be sufficient motivation to give syntactic prominence to the attribute by using the appositive construction. In some cases, however, an additional motivation for giving syntactic prominence to the non-restrictive attribute by the appositive construction is to contrast it with the attribute of some other item in a set of entities. In (28), for example, the phrase *ʔa-qšìθa* ‘thick’ is non-restrictive since the dish known as *gərðo* is always thick, but it contrasts with the attribute ‘watery’ of the related dish known as *bušála* ‘stew’:

- (28) *y-òðáxwa gərðo,¹ bušála.¹ ʔay-gərðo ʔa-qšìθa,¹ ta-duxràne,¹ ʔina bušála t-ʔòðáxwala tìlàn,¹ xánčì miyànta,¹ la-ràba.¹* ‘We would make *gərðo* and

stew. The thick *gərðo* is for church memorial festivals. But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was somewhat watery, though not too much.’ (B10:17)

The sense here may be captured rather more closely by translating with an English non-restrictive relative clause: ‘The *gərðo*, which is thick, is for church memorial festivals’.

The construction is used to express non-restrictive attributes also after proper names, which by their nature are presupposed to have an identifiable referent, e.g.

- (29) *Náze ʔε-gòrta¹ móre Fàrxo,¹ máttu xa-képa lāxxa.¹* ‘Naze, the elder one,—Farxo said (to her) “Place a stone here.”’ (A25:16)
- (30) *ʔé-ga xáθi hàgya,¹—Jénni ʔε-gòrta¹—ʔámra...* ‘Then my sister tells me—Jenny, the older one—she says...’ (B15:39)

The syntactic status of the attributive phrases as appositives, which are heads parallel with the noun rather than dependent on it, is reflected by the fact that the particle *D* is attached to such appositives when the noun is governed by a noun in annexation or a preposition. The appositive is treated like an independent head that is directly governed by the governing noun or preposition. When the whole phrase is governed by a noun in annexation the particle *D* is used before both the initial noun and the appositive, e.g.

- (31) *ʔn-xátta pçille,¹ gnáyat táwra d-o-gòra.¹* ‘If the line (drawn by the plough) is crooked, it is the fault of the big ox.’ (D2:19)
- (32) *taxrúθa ðiyi¹ ʔu-t-xóni d-o-gòra.¹* ‘They memory of myself and of my elder brother.’ (B8:10)
- (33) *bəsrat ʔazzi d-ε-Nune* ‘the flesh of my goat (called) Nune’ (C7:13)
- (34) *guði t-ʔazzi d-ε-poše* ‘my churn of my goat (called) White Spotted’ (C5:3)

When the whole phrase is governed by a preposition, the particle is sometimes placed only on the demonstrative of the appositive, since some prepositions in principle are only followed by the particle before nominal phrases beginning with a demonstrative. In (35)–(38) the attribute is restrictive and in (39)–(41) it is non-restrictive:

- (35) *yamma d-an-hambišàye¹ márela tla-brôn d-o-zòra¹* ‘The mother of the giants said to the young son...’ (A12:7)
- (36) *’ó-xona zóra ’ámər tla-xonáwátha d-an-xène¹* ‘The young brother said to the other brothers...’ (A12:23)
- (37) *báθər ’éða gòra¹ y-áθe ’arbì-yome¹ báθər ’éða d-o-gòra¹ ’ìθena¹ ’éðət sulàqa.¹* ‘After the Great Festival, forty days after the Great Festival, the festival of Ascension occurs.’ (B6:5)
- (38) *xo-tútha d-o-çúwa hox-xyàpalle Šəmmo.¹* ‘We wash Šəmmo under the smooth mulberry tree.’ (B8:27)
- (39) *mára ’áp-’ana dáqrən ’ax-déwa d-o-kòra.¹* ‘He said “I am worth as much as that wolf, which is blind.”’ (A10:5)
- (40) *húwalle bála l-gáppa d-o-láya ’u-qàryele¹* ‘He directed his attention to the cave, which was above, and cried...’ (A8:57)
- (41) *’u-túwele xá-ga xéta xās-súse díye d-o-kòma.¹* ‘He sat once again on the back of his horse, which was black.’ (A8:52)

The construction may be used as an appositive after 1st and 2nd person pronouns, e.g.

- (42) *’ati ’o-zóra lá ’azèti.¹* ‘You, the younger one, don’t go.’ (A30:2)

An attributive appositive introduced by a demonstrative may be placed in a different intonation group from that of the preceding noun, e.g.

- (43) *hon-zàla¹ yàwanna¹ mattóyanna ks-’áyya xàθi¹ ’ε-gòrta.¹* ‘I went and delivered them to this sister of mine, the elder one.’ (B15:89)

The prominence of such attributive appositives arises not only from the fact that as appositives they have more syntactic independence than modifiers, but also from the fact that they assign the noun to a property like a predicative adjective. As remarked earlier, they can, indeed, be regarded as reduced relative clauses: *xáθi ’ε-gòrta* ‘my sister, the one (who is) big’. An adjective that assigns in this way is naturally more informative and prominent than one that is presented as part of the description of the noun. Occasionally an appositive attribute has an explicit embedded relative clause. Such constructions are usually non-restrictive, e.g.

- (44) *m-yəmmīn šmītalla ’áyya,¹ m-bnōn-mámi ’an-t-wéwa gòre.¹* ‘I heard this from my mother, from my cousins, who were older.’ (B8:5)

- (45) *béna 'íθ linyáθa, ' líne, ' linyáθa 'an-t-íla 'áxðar.*¹ 'There were pots, pots, pots, which are green.' (B10:75)

An alternative strategy for expressing a non-restrictive attribute is to repeat the noun in apposition together with an added adjective, e.g.

- (46) *w-áyya tullákθa, ' tullákθa zórta mánnox, ' k'álba zóra mónnox t-àwe.*¹ 'This hound, small hound, small dog, will be with you.' (A30:4)

An adjective that qualifies an indefinite noun is occasionally separated from the noun by an intonation group boundary, e.g.

- (47) *'áy 'ítla xa-bàrke' gòrta hátxa.*¹ 'She has a pool, which is large like this.' (A25:56)
- (48) *wírele gu-xà-'otax xéta' gòrta.*¹ 'He entered another room, which was big.' (A14:30)
- (49) *hóle xa-kullixa' xa-bèθa' zóra táma hátxa.*¹ 'There was a hut, a house, which was small, (standing) there like this.' (A8:40)
- (50) *xzéli xa-xàlma' rába mazdiyàna.*¹ 'I had a dream, which was very frightening.' (A11:6)

In such cases the indefinite noun is introducing a specific referent, i.e. one particular referent of the class of referents designated by the description of the noun. The adjective, therefore, is non-restrictive, since the noun already has a unique referent, i.e. it supplies further description of the referent that has been introduced. The placement of the adjective in a separate intonation group gives it an enhanced degree of prominence. This arises from the fact that it assigns the noun to a property like a predicative adjective. Such an adjective in a separate intonation group is, therefore, similar in function to a non-restrictive relative clause and can, indeed, be regarded as a reduced relative structure: *xa-bàrke' gòrta* 'a pool (one that is) large'. Indeed, it is usually appropriate to translate it with an English non-restrictive relative, as can be seen in the foregoing examples. This would be equivalent to a definite phrase such as *bàrke 'a-gòrta*, where the reduced relative construction has an explicit head: 'the pool the one (that is) big'.

An alternative strategy is to repeat the noun placed as an appositive after the first noun together with an added adjective, e.g.

- (51) *qimɬela,¹ šqíla xa-neríya,¹ neríya gòra.¹* ‘She took a male goat, a large goat.’ (A28:26)

The appositive status of the attribute is sometimes demonstrated by its combination with the indefinite particle *xa*, e.g.

- (52) *’ína ’áθyɛle xa-γàla,¹ xa-’ašòta.¹* ‘But a tiresome youth came (literally: a youth, a tiresome one).’ (A17:7)

After a generic noun of mass an adjective with the status of a non-restrictive relative clause may be presented in a separate intonation group. Although the generic noun is definite in status, the adjective does not have a demonstrative head, e.g.

- (53) *páyaxwa ’ax-xàlwa,¹ bríza hádax.¹* ‘It would become *xalwa*, which was dry, like this.’ (B7:22)

Some adjectival modifiers may be placed before the head noun. When in this position they are non-restrictive attributes. They are generally evaluative, expressing a subjective assessment of a known referent by the speaker, e.g.

- (54) *’áw məkéna nàšele.¹* ‘He is a poor person.’
 (55) *’áw spáy nàšele.¹* ‘He is a good person.’
 (56) *’áw xárba nàšele.¹* ‘He is a bad person.’
 (57) *’áw táza mbašlànɛle.¹* ‘He is a good cook.’

The subjective evaluative sense is sometimes ironic in nature, as is typically the case with the adjective *hawána* ‘clever’ in constructions such as (58):

- (58) *’áw hawána nàšele.¹* ‘He is a clever person.’

The non-restrictive evaluative attribute of a nominal phrase that constitutes an ascriptive predicate of the clause is often given prominence by placing the nuclear stress on it. Since it is a subjective evaluation, it is inherently gradable and so susceptible of being intensified by strategies such as nuclear stress placement, e.g.

- (59) *’áw spáy nàšele.¹* ‘He is a good person.’
 (60) *’ána gǎrɛg hawánwa spáy zúze šqíla.¹* ‘I should have got a good sum of money.’ (B1:19)

- (61) *xòš-zuzax wîðe*.¹ ‘We have made good money.’ (A14:18)

Such adjectives can also be placed after the noun. This is used to make more objective, factual statements, restricting the reference to a subset of the class denoted by the head noun, e.g.

- (62) *’áw náša hawnànele*.¹ ‘He is an intelligent man.’
 (63) *’áw náša spây-ile*.¹ ‘He is a good man.’
 (64) *’áw mbašlána tâzele*.¹ ‘He is a good cook.’

The two different functions of the adjective *spay* are seen in the following two examples from the text corpus. In (65) the speaker knows the person and gives a non-restrictive personal evaluation. In (66) the noun is referentially indefinite and the adjective is restrictive and so descriptive rather than evaluative:

- (65) *bábux spây-našele*.¹ *xâwran-ile*.¹ ‘Your father is a good man. He is our friend.’ (A14:61)
 (66) *hállî xa-súsa spây*.¹ ‘Give me a good horse.’ (A12:62)

The Kurdish loan-word *xoš* ‘good’ can only be used as an evaluative adjective before the noun, e.g.

- (67) *’áw xoš-nàšele*.¹ ‘He is a good man.’
 (68) *’áyya b-álaha xòš-məndîla*.¹ ‘This, by God, is a good thing.’ (A14:9)

When the nominal phrase is definite, a fronted non-restrictive attribute is often expressed by a nominalized phrase consisting of a demonstrative head and an adjective, which is combined with the following noun in an annexation construction. Such non-restrictive attributes are also generally evaluative, e.g.

- (69) *’o-məskénət xónî mťéwale təmməl*.¹ ‘My poor brother arrived yesterday.’
 (70) *’o-šəðánət xónî mťéwale təmməl*.¹ ‘My mad brother arrived yesterday.’

The construction is used with the non-restrictive attribute *nixa* ‘deceased’ when referring to dead family members, e.g. *’o-nixət babi* ‘my late father’.

A restrictive appositive, which picks out one member of a set, is not normally fronted in this way before a singular noun. It can only be annexed to a plural noun referring to all members of the set, e.g.

(71) *'o-gorət xonāwaθa* ‘the elder of the brothers’

Exceptions to this are attested with the ordinal adjectives *qamaya* ‘first’ and *xaraya* ‘last’, e.g.

(72) *w-āti θélax, 'a-qamèθa báxta θélax.* ‘Now, you have come. You are the first woman to come (literally: You have come, the first woman).’ (A8:79)

(73) *'asri 'otáxe' hòla' čime. 'áni paθxàtla. 'an-ŋ-ila pθixe' 'ačmàtla. 'mátət 'ε-xaréθət 'òtəx.* ‘Twenty rooms are closed. You should open these. Close the ones that are open. You will reach the last room.’ (A24:16)

The plural adjectives *priše* ‘various, different’ and *rabe* ‘great, abundant’ may be placed before or after the head noun. Their semantic range is more restrictive when they come before the noun, in that in this position they can only have a quantifying sense:

<i>priše mändiyane</i>	‘various things’
<i>mändiyane priše</i>	‘different/various things’
<i>rabe mändiyane</i>	‘many things’
<i>mändiyane rabe</i>	‘great/many things’

An adjective may be combined with further material that is dependent on it. This may take the form of a prepositional phrase, e.g. *gòre b-šinne* ‘old in years’ (B15:62). In some cases the adjective is combined with the dependent item in a nominal annexation construction, e.g.

(74) *'áyya dúkθe díye... qíθtət kèpe.* ‘This place on him was wounded by the stones.’ (B9:25)

Such constructions often exhibit tightly-knit asyndetic annexation, e.g. *kōm-paθa* ‘black-faced, disgraceful’, *xwār-paθa* ‘white-faced, innocent’, *xwār daqna* ‘white bearded = senior’, *pθix 'ena* ‘open-eyed’ (in the expression *miθa pθix 'ene* ‘dead with his eyes open’), *priŋ-dína* ‘destroyed of religion =

irreligious' (A30:28), *pr̄t-baba* 'destroyed of father = bastard' (C7:11), *xr̄w-diyára* 'destroyed of houses = accursed scoundrel' (A30:24).

Note the constructions *'arbat xware* 'white sheep' and *'arbat kome* 'black sheep (goats)'. Here a noun is annexed to a plural adjective. The noun may be singular or plural in number, e.g. *xa 'arbat xware* 'a white sheep', *raba 'arbat xware* 'many white sheep'. These phrases express the affiliation of the sheep to a generic class that share the property of being 'white' or 'black' respectively, rather than expressing a property that is peculiar to one particular sheep or group of sheep. A similar construction is *xattat romaye* 'roman wheat, maize', properly 'wheat of (the class of) roman (wheat)'.

An adjective stands without a head when it occurs in an ascriptive predicate with the verb 'to be', which assigns a property to the subject of the predication, or in a predicate containing copula-like verbs such as *pyš* 'to become, remain', e.g.

- (75) *gilánda rába gòyle*.¹ 'A scythe is very big.' (B5:143)
 (76) *y-áwa hátxa zòre*.¹ 'They are small like this.' (B6:52)
 (77) *maštèwala¹ qá-t xáčča pèšáwa rakixta*.¹ 'They would irrigate it so that it would become rather soft.' (B5:76)

As indicated in (§11.6.), some words of Aramaic stock that function like adjectives remain uninflected for gender and number. In some cases the explanation for this is that they are in origin adverbial expressions whose use has been extended to attributive positions. This applies, for example, to the words *qurba* 'near' and *rəḥqa* 'far', which are used as invariable attributes modifying nouns, e.g.

<i>bəṯa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'a nearby/distant house'
<i>maṯa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'a nearby/distant village'
<i>maṯwaṯa qurba/rəḥqa</i>	'nearby/distant villages'

These words are nouns that are used in other contexts in adverbial phrases, modifying verbs. They may be accompanied by a preposition (78–79) or used without one (80–81)

- (78) *xá-bena xzèle m-rəḥqa xá-mdi xwàra*.¹ 'He suddenly saw from afar something white.' (A14:28)
 (79) *mətyela l-qurbət bəṯa*.¹ *mətyela l-qurbət qásrat málka*.¹ 'They came near to home. They came near to the palace of the king.' (A24:24)
 (80) *mṯiṯela qurbət qàsra*.¹ 'He came close to the palace.' (A27:31)

- (81) *qímtela šqíltela xa-bròna¹ ’u-nobàltàlle¹ ta-ṭ-axlâle.¹ muttêṭalle rəḥqa¹ mən-màṭa.¹* ‘She got up and took a son (of hers) and took him for her to eat. She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)

They occur in the predicate of clauses containing the verb ‘to be’, where they were originally locative predicates, but evidently came to be re-interpreted as attributes, e.g.

- (82) *rəḥqele qásra.¹* ‘The palace is in the distance [locative]’ > ‘The palace is far [attribute].’ (A24:48)
- (83) *kúlla nâše díye t-wéwa qúrba.¹* ‘All his relatives who were in the vicinity [locative]’ > ‘All his relatives who were near [attribute].’ (B8:38)

Due to their being re-interpreted as attributes in predicative position, they could then be used as attributives of nouns in a nominal phrase, e.g. *qasra rəḥqa* ‘a distant palace’, *bəṭa qurba* ‘a near-by house’, etc.

An attributive adjective is sometimes separated from its head noun by intervening material. The purpose of this is generally to give the adjective prominence by placing it in the default position of the nuclear stress at the end of the intonation group, e.g.

- (84) *ṭāṭíye y-òðáxwa gòre.¹* ‘We made big rugs.’ (B10:79)
- (85) *bálkət qámṭa ’íṭwa nune gáwa díya gòre.¹* ‘Perhaps formerly there were large fish in it.’ (B3:11)
- (86) *b-álaha hóle xa-púrya láxxa zòra.¹* ‘By God there is a small light here.’ (A14:25)
- (87) *’ina dá qoṭíya hátxa zòra.¹* ‘Behold a box, small like this.’ (A12:51)
- (88) *píṣele mājbur¹ hā-ṭ-ile¹ ríxa ’áṭya mánne díye spísa.¹* ‘He remained like that, of necessity, until a rotten smell came from him.’ (A27:43)
- (89) *’u-xá káxxwa gu-be-’éne díye kòma¹* ‘with a black star on its forehead’ (A8:62)
- (90) *’anna zmaryàṭax¹ m-ékət líptalla hátxa basime?¹* ‘Where did you learn those songs of yours, which are so beautiful?’ (A35:8)

When the adjective is given contrastive focal prominence, it is sometimes placed at the front of the clause, e.g.

- (91) *’áy xwàra¹ mṭalbále sùsa.¹* ‘She requests a *white* horse (whereas her brother requested a black one).’ (A8:62)

In some contexts an adjective without a head should be interpreted as the predicate of a reduced adverbial clause. This applies to cases such as the following:

- (92) *yámmi zòrta mítla.*¹ ‘My mother died (when she was) young.’ (B8:14)
- (93) *dəqnáy gǎréwale bríza m-àxxa.*¹ ‘He would shave their beard (while it was) dry from here.’ (A11:14)
- (94) *šléla xaššàne l-béθa.*¹ ‘They went down to their home (while they were) sad.’ (A14:20)
- (95) *ʔu-qímεle málka¹ xəðya¹ gu-gàne-w¹* ‘The king left, (while he was) cheerful in spirits.’ (A21:30)
- (96) *ʔáy hár mšeyðone¹ šwára ndáya gu-d-án ʔotáxe šluxèθa.*¹ ‘She (the princess) is continually acting madly, leaping and jumping around (while she was) naked in the rooms.’ (A4:17)
- (97) *kodánta b-ìðiyawa¹ šulxèθa.*¹ ‘The mule was in my hand, (while it was) bare-backed.’ (B5:130)
- (98) *dráya képe ʔaxni sxàya¹ šluxayàθa.*¹ ‘He threw stones when we were swimming (while we were) nude.’ (A25:20)
- (99) *qəm-qabàlle šláme tíwa l-ʔàra.*¹ ‘He received his greetings (while he was) seated on the ground.’ (A26:47)
- (100) *Səttiye tu-láxxa xarèθa.*¹ ‘Səttiye, sit here (while being) the last (i.e. in the last place).’ (A25:16)
- (101) *xánči t-amrónna qalùlta¹ qa-t-pàrqa.*¹ ‘I’ll tell it (the story) to you quickly (= it being quick) so that it will finish.’ (A4:5)

Resultative participles of verbs with atelic actionality in some contexts appear to be attributes of a noun. Participles from such verbs cannot in principle have this attributive adjective function (see §15.4.1.1.). In examples such as (102)–(104), therefore, they must be regarded as the predicate of reduced relative clauses:

- (102) *ʔána¹ ʔiwənwə jásūs ʔθya tàma.*¹ ‘I was a spy, (who had) come there’. (B17:16)
- (103) *ʔíθwa xa-Lelíθa θíθa mən-Čǎl.*¹ ‘There was a Leliθa, (who had) come from Čǎl.’ (A19:1)
- (104) *ʔu-ʔən-íθən náše ʔθye m-maθwáθa xène¹* ‘If there are people (who have) come from other villages...’ (B5:60)

Such resultative participles may be used in nominalized phrases such as (105), which, as has been shown, should be regarded as predicates of reduced relative clauses:

- (105) *kúlla ʔəθye ʔilley šarâte t-amríla qa-málka.*¹ ‘All (those who have) come have cases to tell the king.’ (A17:31)

Resultative participles of verbs that take a double direct object (§15.13.7.) take the second object as their direct complement without any linking preposition, e.g.

- (106) *dáwən-t málka hóle mlíθa náše ràbe.*¹ ‘The audience chamber of the king is full of many people.’ (A17:31)
- (107) *ʔm-háwe pláta mən-ʔərxe říša qàmxa, l á hāmənət ʔalle.*¹ ‘If he is coming out of the water-mill covered in flour, do not trust him.’ (D2:61)
- (108) *ʔaqára hóle dwíqa səllər.*¹ ‘The farm land is packed hard with frost.’

A noun may be modified by a following prepositional phrase. This is most frequently a locative or partitive expression, e.g.

- (109) *ʔu-náše gu-mđíta kúlle mēθula.*¹ ‘Bring all the people in the town.’ (A8:32)
- (110) *máθət Dúre¹ gu-Bárwər Bála¹ m-záwəna qamáya ʔíθwala¹ ʔarbà ʔunráne.*¹ ‘The village of Dure in Barwari Bala from ancient times had four churches.’ (B2:1)
- (111) *xzítəlle bába dīya¹ ʔu-ʔup-wázř mənne.*¹ ‘She saw her father and also the vizier with him.’ (A21:26)
- (112) *ʔəθyax xa-néra benəθm.*¹ ‘We came to a river between us (and the town).’ (A17:9)
- (113) *dīya ʔəlla xá-mdi dāwa báyí, ya-šlīwa, ya-šəbbərθa, ʔisəqθa mən-d-án yaqùre, m-an-tāze.*¹ ‘Now they only want something made of gold, a cross, bracelet, a heavy, fine quality ring.’ (B10:40)

Such prepositional phrases may be combined with an adjective in the modifying phrase, e.g.

- (114) *mrázəgli xa-súsa xwàra,*¹ *ʔaqláθe díye kòme,*¹ *ʔu-xá káxwa gu-b-éne díye kòma.*¹ ‘Prepare a white horse for me, with black legs and a black star in its forehead.’ (A8:62)
- (115) *mabyóne túra gu-čól ramànele.*¹ ‘It seems it is a high mountain in the countryside.’ (A8:70)

The prepositional phrase modifier may be connected to the head noun by the relative *D* particle, e.g.

- (116) *hát kléle zàga*¹ *t-rəš-čàdra.*¹ ‘until the bell that was over the tent stopped.’ (A25:41)

A prepositional phrase may modify a demonstrative or personal pronoun, e.g.

- (117) *ʔu-ʔani l-xáse díye mrúpyalla gu-díwən-t xále.*¹ ‘He threw those things on his back into the meeting room of his uncle.’ (A23:14)
- (118) *ʔáxni gu-ʔáθrət Bārwar*¹ ‘we in the land of Barwar’ (B7:1)
- (119) *ʔáxni gu-maθwàθa*¹ ‘we in the villages’ (B5:52)

After a demonstrative head the relative particle is used when the prepositional phrase is a restrictive modifier, e.g.

- (120) *ʔu-kút-xa ʔo-t-qáme díye qaṭəlle.*¹ ‘Everybody should kill the one in front of him.’ (B19:6)
- (121) *ʔá-t gu-ʔaqàra*¹ ‘the one (sowing place) in the farm land’ (B5:95)
- (122) *ʔa-t-bàθra*¹ ‘the one after her’ (A25:17)
- (123) *ʔá-t gu-panjāriye*¹ ‘the one at the window’ (A26:66)

14.8. COMPARATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Constructions denoting various types of comparison are expressed using the particles *biš* and *zawda/zoda*.

14.8.1. *biš*

This particle, a rare variant of which is *buš*, is an intensifier expressing a higher degree in comparative constructions. It is used in the following contexts:

14.8.1.1. *With Adjectives*

If the item with which the comparison is made is mentioned, this is introduced by the preposition *mən*, e.g.

- (1) *'ina mástət 'əwə rába biš-basimtéla biš-prístela mən-d-a-t-tàwre.*¹ 'But the yoghurt of sheep is much better and more choice than that of cattle.' (B5:173)
- (2) *xázəx 'ən-'iθ náše biš-zlíme mánnən,*¹ *dəřəx.*¹ *'ən-lìθ biš-zlíme mánnən,*¹ *har-t-àzəx.*¹ 'If we find that there are people more wronged than us, we shall return. If there are none more wronged than us, we shall continue on our way.' (A13:9)
- (3) *'o-xéna biš-basiméle.*¹ 'The other is more tasty.' (B15:55)
- (4) *'aşrta məθéwala ða-dúkθa biš-qurba t-y-awéwa mīya táma.*¹ 'In the evening they would bring them to a closer place where there was water.' (B5:160)

In (5) the particle is combined with the evaluative adjective *xoš*, which is placed before the head noun (§14.7.):

- (5) *'iθm... biš-xoš-gùre.*¹ 'There are better men.' (A26:79)

On some occasions the particle is separated from the adjective, as in (6)–(8):

- (6) *qá-t béθa bìš t-awéwa qúwya*¹ 'so that the house would be stronger' (B15:16)
- (7) *'iθwa liθwa*¹ *biš-m-álaha góra čú-mdi liθwa.*¹ 'There was, there was not, there was nothing greater than God.' (A30:1)
- (8) *'áxni béθət be-bábi 'atíqa-wewa.*¹ *'ina ramánəwa biš-mən-qáyrət kùl-naše.*¹ 'The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of everybody.' (B10:51)

The particle may be repeated to express intensity, e.g.

- (9) *zílta zílta dax-t-ìwa*¹ ... *mátu Gozáli xona-díya zíla*¹ *hár biš-biš-xelántəwəwa m-àw*¹ 'She went, she went, as Gozali her brother had gone, though she was even faster than him.' (A8:63)

The particle also expresses the superlative degree, e.g.

- (10) *múr ʔəni-mənnən¹ biš-šapirtela.* 'Say which of us (three) is most beautiful.' (A25:17)

This can be made explicit by adding a phrase such as 'than all', e.g.

- (11) *ʔáy biš-xámθela m-kùlla.* 'She is more beautiful than all (= the most beautiful of all).' (A25:26)
 (12) *ʔáw biš-spáy-ile m-kùlla.* 'He is better than all of them (= the best of all).'
 (13) *ʔáw biš-xərbēle m-kùlla.* 'He is worse than all of them (= the worst of all).'

The superlative may also be expressed by a definite nominalized adjective, e.g.

- (14) *Səttiye ʔe-gòrta-wawa¹ ʔu-Nàze¹ gawèθa¹ ʔu-Žine ʔe-zòrtat kùlla.* 'Səttiye was the oldest one, Naze the middle one and Zine the youngest.' (A26:20)

This qualifies a nominal by being placed before it in annexation, e.g.

- (15) *ʔo-bašórət béθa ʔúwa trè ʔotáxe.* 'The smallest house was two rooms.' (B15:20)

The phrase *biš-spáy* 'better, best' is used as an evaluative tag placed after a preceding sentence, e.g.

- (16) *qu-qálbəx béθa biš-spáy.* 'Come let's return home—(that is) better.' (A30:55)
 (17) *dámxəx rəš-d-ò-gəšra.* *dámxəx réše biš-spáy.* 'Let's sleep on that bridge. Let's sleep on it—(that is) better.' (A30:51)

The preceding sentence may be introduced by the subordinating complementizer *D*, e.g.

- (18) *t-lá-hawənwə mbúqrəlləxu biš-spáy.* 'It would have been better if I had not asked you (literally: that I had not asked you is better).' (A26:27)

The particle *biš* is occasionally used alone in the sense of 'better', e.g.

- (19) *biš m-áyya dúkθa ʔəka xázəx.*¹ ‘Where could we find (something) better than this place.’ (A12:4)

14.8.1.2. *With Adverbs*

- (1) *qəm-maxéla ʔáqla biš-xelàna.*¹ ‘He struck her leg harder.’ (A33:12)
 (2) *dráyele biš-hódəx mánna díya xáčča xàmra.*¹ ‘He put some wine further up from them.’ (A12:49)
 (3) *y-oráwa xa-dána biš-hódəx.*¹ ‘Further time passed (literally: A time passed further on).’ (B5:6)

14.8.1.3. *With Verbs*

When combined with verbs the particle may express a comparative degree of intensity, e.g.

- (1) *xáčča biš-sləla.*¹ ‘She became a little more calm.’ (A4:17)
 (2) *ʔay-hádəx biš-bəyya.*¹ ‘She wants this more (= She prefers this).’ (A8:75)
 (3) *biš madqərre mən-d-ó déwa t-axəlwa ʔərbe díye.*¹ ‘He (God) valued him more than the wolf that ate his sheep.’ (A10:13)
 (4) *deréwa xáčča tìna, biš-dawùqwa.*¹ ‘They put down a little straw, so that it became more compact.’ (B5:146)

A particle placed before a verb may intensify the whole verbal predicate, including not only the verb but also gradable modifiers, e.g.

- (5) *biš yáwi túnta ràbθa.*¹ ‘They will yield more abundant fruit.’ (B5:103)
 (6) *derálla sùla líθm qá-t šéta b-šéta biš-mqārəna tàza.*¹ ‘You put manure on it, you see, in order that from year to year it grows better.’ (B5:105)

In negative clauses the particle may act as an intensifier of a negator giving the sense ‘not at all’. It is placed either before or after the negator, e.g.

- (7) *y-amríwa ʔáw biš la-mzànzəʔ yáwəl téma pàyəšwa.*¹ ‘They said that it does not lose its taste at all. It keeps its taste.’ (B10:76)
 (8) *ʔáp-xa lá-biš-ile-mšaya mqarów-əlla díya.*¹ ‘Nobody was able to go near her at all.’ (A4:6)
 (9) *b-qə̀ta biš liθ-mə̀ràθa, ʔu-biš liθ-tàlga.*¹ ‘In summer there are no rains at all and there is no snow at all.’

14.8.2. *zawda*, *zoda*

This particle is used as a comparative quantifier. It is usually, but not obligatorily, combined with the intensifier *biš*, the /š/ of which usually assimilates to the word, resulting in forms such as *biz-zawda* or *bi-zawda*.

The particle may be placed after a noun or before it. When placed after the noun, it sometimes expresses an increase in quantity by the amount expressed by the noun, i.e. ‘an additional *x*’, e.g.

- (1) *y-oráwa...xákma dána...xá-sa’at biz-zòda,¹ qayàmwá.¹* ‘Then, after some time had passed, one hour more, the resurrection would be celebrated (literally: he would arise).’ (B5:54)
- (2) *báyàn ’álaha t-yawólli mándi zàwda.¹* ‘I want God to give me something more.’ (A3:1)
- (3) *’ána báyàn ’álaha t-yawólli kùl-màndi bi-záwda.¹* ‘I want God to give me more of everything.’ (A3:3)

To express an excess of something (‘too much...’) constructions such as (4) are used:

- (4) *qam-hawátli zúze záwda mən-làzəm.¹* ‘You have given me more money than necessary (= too much money).’

The particle may also have a looser relationship with the preceding noun and have the sense of ‘or more’ in estimates of quantity. When used in this way, it is sometimes put in a separate intonation group from that of the noun, e.g.

- (5) *y-oráwa šaqláwa dàna¹ rába gàyé¹ ’àštà yarxé¹ xamšà yarxé¹ biz-zàwda.¹* ‘It would take time. Often it would take five or six months, or more.’ (B5:3)
- (6) *šaqáwa máθálan xamši kilo’é bi-zòda.¹* ‘They would take, for example, fifty kilos or more.’ (B5:125)

The phrase (*biz*)-*zawda mən* is used before a nominal expressing a quantity in the sense of ‘more than...’, e.g.

- (7) *’u-bréle díya b-xšáwəm biz-záwda mən-’əččá-mma ’álpa nàše.¹* ‘By now there have been born, I think, more than nine-hundred thousand people.’ (B2:10)

- (8) *záwda m-əmmà-kilo'e¹ yúgra d-ε-gúrze diye-wawa.*¹ ‘The weight of that club of his was more than one hundred kilos.’ (A29:14)
- (9) *záwda mən-ʔarbá-mma šənnele.*¹ ‘It is more than four hundred years old.’ (B6:31)

The particle may be used independently of a noun either as the argument of a verb or as an ascriptive predicate, e.g.

- (10) *hállule biš-zawda mən-kúlla náše.*¹ ‘Give him more (food) than (you give) anybody else.’ (B17:16)
- (11) *yáđíwa mo-qádra deréwa¹ t-lá-hawewa biz-záwda¹ yáʔni t-la xarúwewa.*¹ ‘They knew how much to put on, so that it was not too much and it spoiled.’ (B5:191)
- (12) *zàwdəla mánni.*¹ ‘It is too much for me (to tell).’ (A26:65)

The particle may function as an adverb, e.g.

- (13) *lá maspəráxləx bi-záwda.*¹ ‘We shall not make you wait any more.’ (A4:42)
- (14) *xáyíwa biz-záwda.*¹ ‘They survived longer.’ (B5:190)
- (15) *mára b-qáryən ʔu-həš-biš záwda.*¹ ‘I shall call still more.’ (A8:72)

The particle is combined with the noun *sama* ‘portion’ in the phrase *sama zoda* to express the majority of a set of items, e.g.

- (16) *xákma har-damxíwa l-šəra¹ ʔina sáma zóda ʔiyéwala qarəwət.*¹ ‘Some would even sleep on the floor (of the roof). Most people, however, had a bed.’ (B5:204)
- (17) *ʔina sáma zóda¹ y-ođíwa ʔəraq.*¹ ‘Most people, however, would make arak.’ (B5:213)

The phrase may also be used adverbially in the sense of ‘mostly, most frequently’, e.g.

- (18) *yáʔni zəpíwa tálga¹ ... ʔima-t-y-aθéwa tálga¹ sáma zóda b-yárxət trəssər¹ yárxət xà.*¹ ‘They would push off the snow...when it snowed, mainly in December and January.’ (B5:196)

14.8.3. *Equality of Degree*

Equality of degree ('as big as you' etc.) is expressed in phrases with the preposition *'ax/max* 'like', e.g.

- (1) *'an-háwε 'əsrà t̥iyáre xéne¹ 'axwáθux hawnáne,¹ la-maťétuwa l-àwwa l̥xma,¹ 'u-'attítuwa láxxa p̥ešítuwa hátxa snìqe.¹ 'If ten other men from T̥iyare were as intelligent as you, you would not have reached this (necessity to beg for) bread and you would not be sitting here and become so poor.' (B17:16)*

14.9. NON-ATTRIBUTIVE MODIFIERS

14.9.1. *kut* 'each, every'

This particle is used before a singular indefinite noun and has a distributive sense ('each of the items of the set named by the noun'). It appears to be derived historically from the phrase **kul-xa-t* < **kull-ħaḏ-d* 'each one of'. It is normally combined with the noun in the same stress group, e.g. *kut-yàrxax¹* 'each month' (A24:5), *kut-téna* 'each load' (B5:181), *kut-másta* 'each hair' (A27:10). The final consonant is often pronounced voiced when in contact with a following voiced consonant. The transcription, however, has been normalized and the letter is always written /t/. If the noun consists of at least two syllables, the stress is generally placed on the noun. The stress is retracted onto the quantifier particle in some cases where the noun has sufficient syllables to take it. This occurs mainly with phrases containing nouns that are qualified by a relative clause and so are themselves of attenuated information status, e.g. *kút-dukθat kále sùsi¹* 'each place that my horse stops' (A26:27).

The quantifier particle is not combined with the indefinite particle *xa* before a noun. It may, however, be combined with *xa* when this is used pronominally, e.g.

- (1) *kút-xa y-azólwa bēθ-d̥iye.¹* 'Every person went to his home.' (B5:18)
 (2) *kút-xa xá-māndi y-áwe mbùšla.¹* 'Everybody has cooked something.' (B5:48).

This phrase is used as an appositive to pronominal reference of all persons, e.g.

- (3) *zonáxwa kút-xa xà.*¹ ‘We would each buy one.’ (B10:76)

It may also be used in a distributive sense before quantifiers or numerals that designate groups of entities, e.g. *kút kəma-šanne*¹ ‘every few years’ (B10:59), *kút xamšássər yomàne*¹ ‘every fifteen days’ (B10:73).

The particle may act as the head of a relative clause, which is evidence for the identification of the final consonant with the annexation/relative particle *D*, e.g.

- (4) *kut-məθéli xábra bəd-bròni,*¹ *ʔən-míθa ʔən-šàxi,*¹ *pálgət dáwi de-t-yánne ʔalle diye.*¹ ‘Whoever brings me word about my son, whether he is dead or alive, I’ll give him half of my gold.’ (A14:92)
- (5) *kút mēθela*¹ *t-yánne zúze raba.*¹ ‘Whoever brings her, I shall give him a lot of money.’ (A27:18)
- (6) *kút y-azákwá záyənwa gótə d-o-xəna.*¹ ‘Everybody who went (there) stood next to another one.’ (A8:31)

14.9.2. *kul*, *kulla*

The historically absolute form of this quantifier particle *kul* is always placed before a noun and never after it. In most cases it is used with a singular indefinite noun with the sense of ‘every’, i.e. the entire set of items named by the noun, e.g. *kúl-naša* ‘every person’ (B6:35), *kúl-məndi* ‘everything’ (B10:64), *kúl béθa* ‘every house’ (B7:1), *kúl-xalta* ‘every (type) of food’ (B15:64).

A short form *ku-* is used, which, due to its usage, is best interpreted as an abbreviation of *kul* rather than *kut*, e.g. *kú-məndit báyyət* ‘everything you want’ (A25:14), *ku-béθa* ‘every house’ (B7:7).

The particle *kul* may be combined with the indefinite particle *xa* before the noun, e.g. *kúl-xa náša* ‘every person’ (B6:9), *kúl-xa məndi* ‘everything’ (B7:15), *kúl-xa suràya* ‘every Christian’ (B6:1).

The quantifier *kul* is used with a plural noun when it is a generic expression that is intended to denote all items in the class named by the noun, e.g.

- (1) *ʔáxni bəθət be-bábi ʔatíqa-wewa.*¹ *ʔína ramánəwa biš-mən-qásrət kúl-naše.*¹ ‘The house of the family of my father was old, but it was higher than the villas of anybody (anywhere).’ (B10:51)

- (2) *'u-har-d-ε-dána štéθα prìθεwa-w¹ kul-náše tre-ḷḷá-yomane šatíwa.*¹ 'At that time drink was abundant. Everybody (as a general principle) would drink and eat for two or three days.' (B15:64)

The form *kulla*, with the *-a* inflectional ending, is used with singular or plural nouns. It is placed either before or after the noun.

(i) Before a singular definite noun *kulla* has the sense of 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *kùlla máθα* 'the whole village' (B6:14), *kùlla tunìθα* 'the whole story' (A29:12), *kùlla Bèrwær* 'the whole of Barwar' (B10:100), *kùlla dúnve* 'the whole world' (B6:1), *kùlla záwni* 'all of my time' (A4:43). In some isolated cases the particle is annexed to the noun by means of the *D* particle, e.g. *kùllat yóma* 'all of the day' (A14:15). When the noun is masculine, the quantifier sometimes has an anticipatory 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *kùlle tàlga* 'all of the snow' (A25:43), *kùlle 'o-nerýa*¹ 'all of that goat' (A31:5), *kùlle 'ó-nura* 'all of the fire' (A31:8), *kùlle yóma* 'the whole of the day' (B7:4).

In a few cases the form *kulla* is used with a following indefinite noun to express the sense of 'every', e.g. *kùlla-mændi* 'everything' (A2:8), *kùlla nàša* 'everybody' (A8:3), *kùlla béθα maθéni*¹ 'every house of our village' (B7:1). The absolute form *kul-* is more usual in this function.

(ii) When *kulla* is placed after a singular noun, the noun is always definite and the meaning of the quantifier is 'the whole of, all (of)', e.g. *'o-béθα kùlla* 'the whole of that family' (B5:21), *qàsšatte kùlla* 'the whole of his story' (A14:76), *téni kùlla* 'all of my load' (A7:11). After a masculine noun, the quantifier sometimes has a co-referential 3ms. pronominal suffix *-e*, e.g. *'o-rázza kùlle* 'all of that rice' (B5:89), *qéta kùlle* 'all of the summer', (B5:107), *'ixála kùlle* 'all of the food' (B6:5), *'aw-qásra kùlle* 'all of the palace' (A25:53). It may be placed after an independent demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *'aw-kùlla* 'all of that' (B10:91). The postposed quantifier may be separated from the noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *máxe 'o-másxa l-gðáðe kùlle.*¹ 'All the butter gathers together.' (B7:24).

(iii) When *kulla* is placed before a plural noun, the noun is always definite and the particle has the sense of 'all', e.g. *kùlla 'askəwáθi* 'all my armies' (A29:43), *kùlla bεθwáθα díyn* 'all our houses' (B15:17), *kùlla náše* 'all the people' (B10:88). In such constructions the noun is a definite referential expression and not generic. It refers to a specific group of items in the class named by the noun, which can be identified in the context. The particle may be placed before a demonstrative pronoun, e.g. *kùlla-'ani* 'all

of them' (A13:9). It is sometimes linked to the pronoun by the annexation particle, e.g. *kùlla d-àнна* 'all of these' (A8:55).

(iv) When *kùlla* is placed after a plural noun, the noun is always a definite referential expression rather than generic, e.g. *náše kùlla* 'all the people' (B6:10), *maymíne kùlla* 'all the monkeys' (A14:56), *míye díye kùlla* 'all its water' (B6:42). It may be placed after an independent demonstrative or personal pronoun, e.g. *'áni kùlla* 'all of them' (B7:17), *'áxtu kùllexu* 'all of you' (A8:85). The postposed quantifier may be separated from the noun or pronoun by intervening material, e.g.

- (4) *'ánna xaqlàθa¹ z'árwala kùlla.¹* 'They would plough all these fields.' (B7:10)
 (5) *'ánna píšla gu-lábbé díye kùlla.¹* 'All these (words) weighed on his heart.' (A38:13).

(v) The particle may also be used independently of a noun. It may be used pronominally to refer to a specific referent that is identifiable in the context. This referent may be masculine singular (6), feminine singular (7) or plural (8):

- (6) *zadáwale kùlla m-gàre.¹* 'They throw all of it (= the snow *talga* m.) from the room' (B5:195)
 (7) *kùlla šáxna.¹* 'All of it (= the yoghurt *masta* f.) warms up.' (B5:65)
 (8) *kùlla m'téla tàma.¹* 'They all arrived there.' (B2:8)

It should be pointed out, however, that the 3fs. suffix and the short form of the 3pl. suffix are homophonous with the nominal inflectional ending *-a* and so the form *kùlla* could also be interpreted as having one of these suffixes. The particle is used also with the 3ms. suffix and the unambiguous long form of the 3pl. suffix, e.g.

- (9) *kùlle lwiša smòqa.¹* 'All of him was dressed in red.' (A12:19)
 (10) *kùlley¹ ta-t-máta míya 'állèy.¹* 'so that the water would reach all of them.' (B6:11)

It is also used with 1st and 2nd person suffixes, e.g.

- (11) *kùlli b-xá-gaya p'éšən kèpa.¹* 'All of me will become stone at once.' (A8:75)

- (12) *b-tanúra küllən yafáxwa.*¹ ‘We all used to bake with an oven.’ (B10:95)
 (13) *kúllux péšət kəpa.*¹ ‘The whole of you (ms.) will become stone.’ (A8:48)
 (14) *kúlləxu dmüxu.*¹ ‘All of you go to sleep.’ (A14:56).

14.9.3. raba

This functions as a quantifier of intensity that modifies nouns, adjectives and verbs. When it has this function it is not inflected. It may also function as an adjective, in which case it is inflected for gender and number with the usual adjectival endings.

14.9.3.1. *Quantifier of a Noun*

It is placed either before or after the noun:

(i) Before the noun: *rába tálga* ‘much snow’ (B10:47), *rába slám-əlləx* ‘much peace to you’ (A22:31), *ràba dána* ‘a long time’ (A28:2), *ràba ʔéba* ‘a lot of shame’ (B4:9), *rába xyàtta*¹ ‘much sewing’ (B10:45), *ʔan-yomátheta t-awéwa raba séra*¹ ‘the days when there was a lot of moonlight’ (B11:3), *rába mándi temàna* ‘a lot of valuable stuff’ (A7:9), *rába náše* ‘many people’ (B5:66), *rába mändiyáne* ‘many things’ (A48:1), *rába gəye* ‘many times’ (B5:70). The particle may be separated from the following noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (1) *qámθa raba y-áθe tálga.*¹ ‘In the old days a lot of snow would fall.’ (B6:147)
 (2) *raba ʔiθwa zálta-w θéθa maθwàθa.*¹ ‘There was a lot of coming and going among the villages.’ (B5:234).

(ii) After the noun: *tálga raba* ‘much snow’ (B5:108), *šúla raba* ‘a lot of work’ (B5:19), *ʔupra raba*¹ ‘a lot of land’ (A26:24), *mándi raba*¹ ‘a lot’ (A26:63), *šuláne raba*¹ ‘many jobs’ (B11:17), *zúze raba*¹ ‘a lot of money’ (A27:18), *náše raba*¹ ‘a lot of people’ (B5:69). The particle may be separated from the noun by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *xályə ʔi-mjámáxwa raba.*¹ ‘We would collect a lot of milk.’ (B10:21)
 (4) *y-áθi náše m-wádər raba.*¹ ‘Many people come from outside.’ (B5:69)
 (5) *ʔu-náše y-áwa raba ʔəye m-maθwàθa.*¹ ‘Many people have come from the villages.’ (B5:70)
 (6) *líθwa mändiyáne t-zoníwa raba.*¹ ‘There were not many things that they bought.’ (B5:73)

14.9.3.2. *Inflected Adjective*

When the form modifies a noun, it is sometimes treated syntactically as an adjective and inflected for gender and number. The adjective has the sense of ‘big (size)’ or ‘abundant, numerous (quantity)’, e.g.

- (1) *ʔəyēle xa-máymun ràba.*¹ ‘A big monkey came.’ (A14:45)
- (2) *píšla máθa ràbθa.*¹ ‘It has become a big village.’ (B10:94)
- (3) *ʔášrət ràbθa-wawa ʔazíre Bóta.*¹ ‘Jazire Bota was a large community.’ (A26:59)
- (4) *bíš yáwi túnta ràbθa.*¹ ‘They will give more abundant produce.’ (B5:103)
- (5) *ʔíθwa qásre ràbe.*¹ ‘There were big villas.’ (B10:52)
- (6) *ʔíwa bíye xmatáθa ràbe.*¹ ‘It had many needles in it.’ (B10:49)

When it denotes quantity, it may also be placed before the noun, e.g.

- (7) *rábe mǎndiyáne šmili.*¹ ‘I have heard many things.’ (A38:13)
- (8) *rábe gúre y-awðiwala.*¹ ‘Many men (were needed to) make it.’ (B10:79)

14.9.3.3. *Predicative*

The word may be used predicatively either as an uninflected quantifier or as an inflected adjective.

(i) Uninflected Quantifier:

- (1) *ʔáští-šanne ràbela.*¹ ‘Sixty years are a lot.’ (A4:48)
- (2) *šáwwa xmáre ràbela.*¹ ‘Seven asses are a lot.’ (A23:13)
- (3) *mtagbárta díya bíš-ràbela.*¹ ‘Its maintenance is more (= It requires more maintenance).’ (B5:105)

(ii) Inflected adjective:

- (4) *bár t-iyáwa ràbθa*¹ ‘after it became abundant’ (B5:168)
- (5) *heywáne ràbe-wawa.*¹ ‘The animals were numerous.’ (A27:36)
- (6) *ma-t-wéwa ràbe.*¹ ‘so numerous were they.’ (B6:10)
- (7) *ʔítwala mašína t-wéwa ràbe.*¹ ‘Those who were many (had large families) had a machine.’ (B10:59)

14.9.3.4. *Independent Quantifier*

On some occasions the word functions as a quantifier independently of a head noun. If it refers to a large quantity of something expressed by a noun of mass, it has the form *raba*, e.g.

- (1) *ḥla-d-áy dráyela xàččá*¹ *ḥla-d-áw ràba*.¹ 'For herself she pours out a little and for him a lot.' (A17:25)

If it refers to many items in a set, the plural inflected form *rabe* is generally used, e.g.

- (2) *léđúwa ràbe*¹ *Fárxo màṭole*.¹ 'Many people did not know what Farxo was like.' (A25:78)
 (3) *ràbe doqúwa*.¹ 'Many held (hands).' (B12:1)
 (4) *t-lá-šala ràbe b-xa-bèna*.¹ 'so that many (wheat grains) do not come down at once.' (B6:56)

14.9.3.5. *Intensifier of an adjective*

It is placed either before or after the adjective.

(i) Before the adjective:

- (1) *xa-yála ràba šapìra*¹ 'a very handsome youth' (A25:58)
 (2) *ràba šapìrtewat*.¹ 'You are very beautiful.' (A25:18)
 (3) *ràba hawnànele*.¹ 'He is very clever.' (A17:21)

The particle is also used with active participle forms:

- (4) *ràba zamàra-wewa*.¹ 'He was a great singer.' (A25:43)
 (5) *ràba raqáđetu šəmyən*.¹ 'I have heard you are good dancers.' (A51:19)

The nuclear stress is placed on the particle to give it greater prominence:

- (6) *xzéle xa-qásra ràba góra*.¹ 'He saw a very large palace.' (A14:28)
 (7) *tārət 'úmra ràba zóra-wewa*.¹ 'The door of the church was very small.'
 (B2:5)

In copula clauses the copula is sometimes placed on the particle in these circumstances:

- (8) *ràbaxwa xəđye pšixe*.¹ 'We were very merry and joyful.' (B16:6)

On sporadic occasions the particle is separated from the adjective by intervening material:

- (9) *ràba ’ütley xayúθa basímta bəd-àyya.*¹ ‘They have a very fine life in this.’ (B5:106)

(ii) After the adjective:

- (10) *’ó-leša páyāš raqíqa ràba.*¹ ‘The dough becomes very fine.’ (B6:46)
 (11) *basíma ràba* ‘(May you be) very well (= Thank you very much).’

Although the default position of the nuclear stress is at the end of the intonation group, it is sometimes retracted and placed on the adjective rather than on the intensifying particle:

- (12) *z’ádyalle gu-xa-dúkθa ’amùqta ràba.*¹ ‘He threw him in a very deep place.’ (A22:40)
 (13) *sab-’áxtu hótu kḕxe ràba.*¹ ‘because you are very tired.’ (A14:56)

14.9.3.6. *Instensifier of a Verb*

It is placed either before or after the verb. In both constructions the nuclear stress is placed either on the intensifier or on the verb.

(i) Intensifier before the verb:

- (1) *’áti ràba bǎyánnux.*¹ ‘I love you a lot.’ (A22:19)
 (2) *ràba xǎéle b-d-a-bràta.*¹ ‘He was very happy with the girl.’ (A14:96)
 (3) *ràba zalámwa.*¹ ‘He acted very unjustly.’ (A27:1)
 (4) *gǎrǎg ràba ’áxlát xám.*¹ ‘You must be very careful.’ (B5:105)

The intensifier may be modified by the comparative particle *biš*:

- (5) *l-garǎwàθa biš-ràba mǎtalíwala.*¹ ‘They played it most often on the roofs.’ (B11:29)

(ii) Intensifier after the verb:

- (6) *xáyam ràba.*¹ ‘It becomes very hot.’ (B6:48)
 (7) *trísla ràba.*¹ ‘She became very fat.’ (A21:1)
 (8) *paxlátli ràba.*¹ ‘Forgive me greatly (= I’m very sorry).’ (A1:11)

14.9.4. *başora*

This is used with the sense of ‘small in quantity’. It may be placed after a noun as a modifier or be put in an ascriptive predicate. It inflects for gender and number like adjectives, e.g.

- (1) *'ap-dəndəkkə baʃərə.*¹ 'Just a small piece.' (A18:27)
- (2) *zrúta rába baʃórta 'iθəna.*¹ 'There is very little cultivation.' (B5:75)
- (3) *b-kúlla yóma zór maʃúwa¹ xázdi¹ xá-mdi rába baʃóra.*¹ 'In the whole day they can barely harvest something very little.' (B5:144)
- (4) *'é-ga zúze baʃərəwa.*¹ 'At that time money was scarce.' (B5:5)

It may be used independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (5) *baʃóra mənñè¹ 'i-pəʃúwa yáni t-la maʃúwa 'ékele bəθè.*¹ 'A few of them remained without arriving at their house.' (B15:44)

In some contexts it expresses the 'minimum quantity', e.g.

- (6) *'o-baʃórət bəθa 'úwa t-trè 'otáxe.*¹ 'The minimum amount (of rooms) of a house was two rooms.' (B15:20)

The expression *biš baʃora*, with the comparative particle, expresses the sense of 'less' or 'least':

- (7) *hállí zúze biš-baʃərə.*¹ 'Give me less money.'
- (8) *hállí biš-baʃóra.*¹ 'Give me less.'
- (9) *qəm-hawəñne biš-baʃóra mən-kullè.*¹ 'I gave him less than all of them (= I gave him the least).'
- (10) *taqriban 'o-biš-baʃóra 'ənəñwa ʃqíla.*¹ 'It was I who received almost the least.' (B1:19)

The word is used adverbially in the form *baʃore* with a final *-e*, e.g.

- (11) *rába baʃore xazəñne.*¹ 'I rarely see him.'
- (12) *'ina biš-kəsléni xámra lè-y-ođúwa rába.*¹ *yáni xənčí,*¹ *baʃore.*¹ 'In general in our community they did not make wine much, only rarely.' (B5:213)

14.9.5. *kəm*

This particle, of Kurdish origin, is used in the sense of a 'few' members of a set of items. It may modify a following noun, e.g. *kəm naše* 'a few people', *kəm baxtáθa* 'a few women' (B10:22), or stand independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (1) *xa-kēm y-ódi hátxa.*¹ ‘A few do this.’

When in an ascriptive predicate position, it has the sense of ‘small in quantity, scarce’, e.g.

- (2) *gǎlla kēm hawéwa.*¹ ‘Grass was scarce.’

When combined with the comparative particle *biš*, it expresses the sense of ‘less than’, e.g.

- (3) *bálki biš-kēm mən-ʔáštà-mma šǎnnela.*¹ ‘Perhaps it is less than six-hundred years old.’ (B6:31)

14.9.6. *katte*

This word is used independently in the sense of an ‘odd number’. It is occasionally used as a quantifier denoting paucity, e.g. *katte dukane* ‘the odd place, a few places’.

14.9.7. *xáčča*

This is a quantifier with the sense of ‘a little quantity of’ or ‘a few’. It is placed before singular nouns of mass or plural count nouns: *xáčča tūna* ‘a little straw’ (B5:146), *xáčča tina* ‘a little clay’ (B5:190), *xáčča šula* ‘a little business’ (A16:4), *xáčča šarníye* ‘a few sweets’ (B5:40), *xáčča qése* ‘a few pieces of wood’ (A48:3). When denoting ‘a few items’ from a set, it is followed by the preposition *mən* ‘from’: *xáčča mən-d-án-našət bèθa* ‘a few of the people of the house’ (B5:51).

The quantifier can be used independently of a head noun as a referential expression:

- (1) *!la-d-áy dráyela xáčča.*¹ ‘She serves a small amount for herself.’ (A17:25)

It may be used predicatively:

- (2) *bar-náše xáčča wéla.*¹ ‘after people became few.’ (B5:197)

The word may function as a quantifying modifier of an adjective that expresses a gradable property. In most cases it is placed before the adjective:

- (3) *xáčča zàmət iyáwa.*¹ ‘It was a little difficult.’ (B5:3)
 (4) *xáčča màrya xónəx.*¹ ‘Your brother is rather ill.’ (A32:27)
 (5) *béθe díye xáčča rə̀hqa-wewa mən-máθa.*¹ ‘His house was rather distant from the village.’ (A48:1)

It may function as an adverb, being placed either before or after the verb:

- (6) *xáčča plišela.*¹ ‘They fought a little.’ (B5:163)
 (7) *tu-maníxəx xáčča.*¹ ‘Sit let us rest a little.’ (A26:17).

14.9.8. xənčí

This is a quantifier that overlaps in meaning with *xáčča*. It has the sense of ‘a little quantity of’ or ‘a few’ and is placed before singular nouns of mass or plural count nouns, e.g.

- (1) *šále xənčí ’upra gu-réšət k’ə̀lo.*¹ ‘A little earth falls on the head of the bride.’ (B8:34)
 (2) *xənčí qámxa m-àxxa,*¹ *xənčí m-àxxa.*¹ ‘(We put) a little flour here and a little here.’ (B10:89)
 (3) *xənčí halúke țarre*¹ ‘a few fresh plums’ (B8:19)

The particle may be used independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (4) *qá-t ’əp-xənčí mətewalèy.*¹ ‘so that they would gain a little.’ (B5:135).

It may be used predicatively, e.g.

- (5) *sab-xənčí y-áwe xəlyə.*¹ ‘because milk was scarce.’ (B10:22)
 (6) *’m-wéwa xənčí*¹ ‘If they were few...’ (B10:6)

It may modify an adjective, e.g.

- (7) *’ina bušála t-’odšxwala țlələn,*¹ *xənčí miyànta.*¹ ‘But the stew, which we made for ourselves, was a little watery.’ (B10:17).

It frequently functions as an adverb, e.g.

- (8) *šaxámwa xànčǐ*.¹ ‘It heated up a little.’ (B5:154)
 (9) *hal-qayərwa xànčǐ*.¹ ‘until it cooled a little.’ (B5:164)
 (10) *xànčǐ šoqáxwale gu-margəlla*.¹ ‘We left it a little in the pan.’ (B10:10)

A rare variant form of the particle is *xanča*, e.g.

- (11) *šála xánča xànča*.¹ ‘They go down little by little.’ (B6:56)

14.9.9. *kəma*

This is a quantifier that is used as follows.

14.9.9.1. *Interrogative Quantifier*

When used interrogatively it has the sense of ‘how many’ or ‘how much’. It may be combined with a head noun, which is either a plural count noun or a singular noun of mass, e.g.

- (1) *ʔina kəmə-gaye zillux ʔu-šqillux ʔyya*.²¹ ‘How many times have you gone and taken it?’ (B15:90)
 (2) *ʔawəwa ʔaskariya diye ʔlə-kəma dánəla*.²¹ ‘For what time is this army of his for?’ (A17:22)

It is sporadically separated from its head by intervening material, e.g.

- (3) *qá-t yǎdǐwa kút-xa məššəre kəma b-šále miya gáwa diya*.¹ ‘so that everybody would know much water would go into his paddy field.’ (B5:77)

The particle may be used independently of a head noun as an argument of the clause, e.g.

- (4) *kəmə t-yátli*.²¹ ‘How much will you give me?’ (A24:5)
 (5) *kəmə t-àxlət*.²¹ ‘How much will you eat?’ (B5:33)

It may also function as an ascriptive predicate, e.g.

- (6) *sáət kəmèla*.²¹ ‘The time is how much? (= What time is it?)’ (A26:27)
 (7) *báyyən t-xazənne ʔupra diyi kəmèla*.¹ ‘I want to see how big my land is.’ (A14:47)

On some occasions it is used adverbially, especially in expressions relating to cost, e.g.

- (8) *kəmə zənátle?*¹ 'For how much will you buy him?' (A24:23)
 (9) *xzi-kəmə t-ázəl 'áwwa táwra.*¹ 'See how much this ox will go for.'
 (A22:1)

Variants of these expressions have *b-* before the particle, e.g. *b-kəmə zənátle?*²

14.9.9.2. *Indicative Quantifier*

When used indicatively it has the sense of 'some, several' and is always combined with a head noun, either a plural count noun or a singular noun of mass, e.g.

- (1) *y-oráwa kəma yàrxə.*¹ 'Several months passed.' (B5:18)
 (2) *kút-kəma yomátha mbarəxšūwale.*¹ 'Every few days they would stir it.'
 (B4:212)
 (3) *bróne díye tliqa kəma-dána.*¹ 'His son was lost for some time' (A14:95)

When it has this function, it is frequently combined with the particle *xa* resulting in the form *xakma* (§14.9.10.). When the head noun is omitted, the form *xakma* is regularly used in place of *kəma*.

14.9.9.3. *Exclamatory Quantifier*

When it has an exclamatory function, it may be combined with a head noun, e.g.

- (1) *'ána kəmə dána t-in-mšalóye tla-márya 'álaha¹ ta-t-yawǎlli 'emma dáwe.*¹ 'I was praying to the Lord God so many times to give me a hundred gold coins.' (A6:10)

More frequently it is a modifier of an adjective (2) or an adverb (3):

- (2) *kəma-basimtela 'ixála!*¹ 'How delicious the food is!' (A21:31)
 (3) *baxtátha kəma zádúwa mən-xuwəwəwe!*¹ 'How much the women feared snakes!' (B5:78).

14.9.10. *xakma*

This particle has been formed by the combination of *xa* with *kəma*. It is used in the sense of ‘a small quantity of’ or ‘some (items/portion of a set)’: *xákma mǎndiyàne*¹ ‘some things’ (B5:62), *xákma xabráne* ‘some words’ (A4:40), *xákma šǎnne xène*¹ ‘a few more years’ (B5:208), *xákma dukáne*¹ ‘some places’ (B6:2). In some cases it is used with a singular noun of mass: *báθər xákma dàna*¹ ‘after some time’ (B165),

- (1) *hálli xákma mǎndi*¹ *masqánnə l-bèθa*¹ ‘Give me some stuff to take up to the house.’ (A22:19)

It may be used pronominally, independently of a head noun. In such cases it normally denotes groups of items that belong to a set, e.g.

- (2) *xákma doqúwale xúwwa qatlúwale*¹ *xákma zǎdúwa*¹ ‘Some took hold of the snake and killed it. Some used to be afraid.’ (B5:78)
 (3) *xákma la-šǎmi*¹ *xákma šǎmi tǎlá yomàne*¹ ‘Some do not fast. Some fast for three days.’ (B6:21)
 (4) *xákma dǔwáqa xáše dǔye*¹ ²*u-xákma darqúle dǔye*¹ ‘Some (villagers) supported him and others were against him.’ (A7:20)
 (5) *náše mšuréla xnàqa*¹ *xákma náše*¹ ²*u-xákma mxulšàla gána*¹ ²*u-xákma síqla garǎwáθət bâte*¹ ²*u-xákma síqla dukáne ramáne qa-t-la-máti míya ʔlla*¹ ‘People began to drown—some people, some saved themselves. Some went up onto the roofs of houses. Some went up onto high places so that the water would not reach them.’ (B6:18)

Occasionally the particle has the form *xamka* by metathesis, e.g.

- (6) *yáβəxwale xámka yomàne*¹ ‘We would bake for a few days.’ (B10:91)
 (7) *xámka bǎnya*¹ ²*u-xámka là*¹ ‘Some built (such houses), some did not.’ (B10:52)

14.9.11. *xena* (f. *xeta*, pl. *xene*)

Sporadically this word is attested in the form *xrena* (f. *xreta*, pl. *xrene*), in which the original /r/ has been preserved.

14.9.11.1. *Modifier of a Noun*

When functioning as a modifier of a noun, the word is always placed after the noun. A singular indefinite noun in such phrases generally has the

indefinite cardinal particle *xa/ða* ‘a, one’ and definite nouns singular and plural have demonstratives. The word means ‘other’, both in the sense of ‘different, alternative’ and also that of ‘additional’:

- (1) *matúli xá-šamma xèna.*¹ ‘Give me another name.’ (A7:2)
- (2) *m-ya-góta xèta*¹ ‘from the other side’ (A25:30)
- (3) *’áwwa plítèle gu-ða-dúnye xèta.*¹ ‘He came out in another world.’ (A14:26)
- (4) *w-an-xonǎwátha xéne mára* ‘the other brothers said...’ (A12:17)
- (5) *ða-kista-xéta max-d-áy yawǎnnax.*¹ ‘I shall give you another bag like that one.’ (A4:16)
- (6) *xa-béna xéta mjarbǎnna.*¹ ‘I shall test them another time (= again).’ (A48:4)

The particle *ču-* may replace *xa/ða* before negated indefinite nouns:

- (7) *ču-mǎi xéna liθm.*¹ ‘There is nothing else.’ (A4:43)

An indefinite singular noun does not have any preceding particle if it is a noun of mass: *tálga xèna*¹ ‘more snow’, *mǎndi xéna kúlla* ‘all else’ (A21:14). Elsewhere an indefinite singular noun rarely lacks the preceding particle. The attested examples are listing constructions, expressing one of several items in a list rather than one that is in binary opposition to another item (8) or adverbial phrases (9), e.g.

- (8) *qímle ’áqla xéta... qǎm-parǎmla.*¹ ‘He cut off another leg (one of the four).’ (A22:5)
- (9) *zille ’u-xyèle gu-mǎíta xéta.*¹ ‘He went and lived in another town.’ (A18:11)

The head of the phrase may be an interrogative pronoun: *módi xèna?*²¹ ‘What else?’ (A23:35), *’éni xèna?*²¹ ‘Who else?’

Indefinite plural nouns may have the indefinite determiner *xakma* ‘some, a few’ or a numeral: *xákma šǎnne xène*¹ ‘a few more years’ (B5:208), *trè-mǎndi-yane xéne*¹ ‘two other things’ (A39:8), *’ǎsrà tǎyáre xéne*¹ ‘ten other people from Tiyare’ (B17:16), *’ǎští-šǎnne xène*¹ ‘sixty more years’ (A4:48). It is, however, often left without any determiner:

- (10) *’o-tǎjǎr núblèle náše xène.*¹ ‘The merchant brought other people.’ (A14:72)

An adjective is placed after the particle if the adjective is presented as specific to the item in question:

- (11) *xzéli xa-béθa xéna zòra.*¹ ‘I saw another house, (which was) small.’
 (12) *xârθa¹ t-áθe xá-²eða xréna zòra.*¹ ‘Then comes another festival, (which is) small’ (B6:8)

If the adjective expresses a property that is common to the set of which the noun in question is one member, the particle *xena* is placed after the adjective:

- (13) *xzéli xa-béθa zóra xèna.*¹ ‘I saw another small house (another one of the set of small houses).’

The noun may be omitted with the singular indefinite particle *xa/ða* or a demonstrative alone functioning as the head of the phrase: *xa-xéna* ‘another one’ (A23:27), *ða-xéta* ‘another one’ (A22:9), *’o-xéna* ‘the other one’ (A4:45), *’áyya xéta* ‘this other one’ (B12:2), *’an-xéne* ‘the others’ (A8:86). The singular indefinite particle is occasionally omitted in contexts where the item is presented as one of a list of members of a set:

- (14) *qayámwa xéna t-amàrwa¹* ‘Another man (from the group) would get up and say...’ (B5:9)
 (15) *’áy y-oya-priqta,¹ mátta xéta sópa diya.*¹ ‘(When) that is finished, she puts in another in its place.’ (B5:102).

It can act as the modifier of an interrogative pronoun in constructions such as *’u-mòdi-xenət xázya?*¹ ‘What else have you seen?’ (A17:8).

14.9.11.2. *Adverbial*

The particle *xena* may be used adverbially with the sense of ‘more, again’:

- (1) *’ána xéna súla la-pàlxm.*¹ ‘I shall not work any more.’ (A23:40)
 (2) *xéna rìšele.*¹ ‘He woke up again.’ (A14:95)
 (3) *xéna téla tèlele.*¹ ‘The fox was a fox again.’ (A32:26)

When it occurs at the front of a clause, it is often largely devoid of semantic content, serving, it seems, as a discourse particle expressing some kind of boundary and prominence, e.g.

- (4) *xéna polise mù t-ódi?*²¹ ‘Well, what should the police do?’ (A8:9)
 (5) *xéna ’ána qémən ’ázən ’ùmra.*¹ ‘Well, I shall go to church.’ (A37:2)
 (6) *xéna šlìθela.*¹ ‘Well, she went down.’ (A4:37)

14.9.11.3. *Modifier of Quantifier*

On some occasions the particle is placed after a quantifier:

- (1) *šqilənwə xáčča xéna qàlya¹ ta-t-axlənne b-’ùrxa.*¹ ‘I took a little more roasted meat to eat on the way.’ (A23:10)
 (2) *’ən-hawétuwə dóryalli xáčča xéna biš-hódəx...* ‘If you had thrown me a little further along...’ (A7:22)
 (3) *xáčča xéna mumžəlla.*¹ ‘She delayed a little more.’ (A18:21)

14.9.12. *mo, mu, mut, modi*

This interrogative particle, in its various forms, may be used as a modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *’áwəwə mò-tāhər nāsəle?*²¹ ‘What kind of man is he?’ (A25:31)
 (2) *mo-čára t-óðəx tla-d-áyya qātu t-la ’axlələni?*²¹ ‘What solution can we find for this cat so that it does not eat us?’ (A44:1)
 (3) *’áwəwə mò-qalət báyəle?*²¹ ‘What sound of screaming is this?’ (A4:44)
 (4) *’áwəwə mut-qələle?*²¹ ‘What noise is this?’ (A26:53)
 (5) *’áyya mòdi mđitela?*²¹ ‘What town is this?’ (A26:26)

The particle may also function as an exclamatory modifier of nouns, e.g.

- (6) *’ina mù-brata!*¹ ‘But what a girl!’ (A13:11)

More frequently the particle is used as an interrogative particle independently of a head noun, e.g.

- (7) *mò-bəyət?*²¹ ‘What do you want?’ (A13:13)
 (8) *mòdi widdle?*²¹ ‘What did he do?’ (A25:19)

It is also used as an exclamatory interrogative in constructions such as (9) and (10), also occasionally in exclamatory assertions (11):

- (9) *mu-štímlux bèθi?!* ‘Why have you destroyed me (literally: my house)?!’ (A15:14)
 (10) *mùt hole-pčíla?* ‘How could it be that it is crooked?’ (A17:20)
 (11) *téla mo-ṭréle ?alla!* ‘How the fox ran to it!’ (A49:4)

14.9.13. *ma-*

This particle may be used in the same way as *mo* and its variants as an interrogative modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (1) *?anna ma-brinànela gu-réšux?* ‘What wounds are these on your head?’ (A29:6)
 (2) *?anna ma-dàwela?* ‘What (type of) gold are they?’ (A7:13)

It may be used as an exclamatory modifier of a noun, e.g.

- (3) *?u-Bəlbəl Hazár yăđátla ma-báxta xàmθela.* ‘You know what a beautiful woman Bəlbəl Hazar is.’ (A8:65)

It is occasionally used in other syntactic positions to mark prominence. These include before adjectives (4), in exclamatory statements (5) and before negated questions (6)–(7):

- (4) *mríle ma-dūs téla.* ‘The fox really became ill.’ (A32:32)
 (5) *ma-píštát kəwəlla!* ‘How you have become a ruin!’ (A18:16)
 (6) *ma-lat-đáya b-gánəx qàrθela?* ‘Don’t you know yourself that it is cold?!’ (A20:1)
 (7) *ma-létu mšūwəre? ... ma-létu gnìwe?* ‘Have you not cursed? ... Have you not stolen (something)?’ (B8:18).

For the use of *ma* in conjoining constructions see §14.11.

14.9.14. *?eni*

This may be used as an interrogative modifier of a noun in the sense of ‘which’, e.g.

- (1) *?eni bəxtela mubrèθa?* ‘Which woman has given birth?’ (A25:6)
 (2) *ga-lédəx ?ekèla, b-?eni dükθela.* ‘But we do not know where she is, in which place she is.’ (A26:18)

- (3) *ga-ʿéni žine¹ ʿáxni lèðax.¹* ‘Now, which Zine we do not know.’ (A26:61)

It may be separated from its head by intervening material, in which case it is linked to the noun by the annexation particle *D*, e.g.

- (4) *ʿéni ʿitlexu t-náše t-mási mšáwθi mənna.¹* ‘What people do you have who can talk with her?’ (A4:13)

In (5) the particle is placed after the noun and is followed by a prepositional phrase that restricts the scope of the question to a previously mentioned known set of items:

- (5) *þónxa ʿéni mənnele.²* ‘Which of the (types of) grind wheel is it? (literally: a grind wheel which of them is it?)’ (B5:92)

It is more frequently encountered in the text corpus as an independent interrogative with the sense of ‘who’, e.g.

- (6) *ʿéni.²* ‘Who is he?’ (A2:7)
 (7) *ʿéni híwle-llax.²* ‘Who gave it to you?’ (A4:19)
 (8) *ʿéni qtilalle.²* ‘Who has killed him?’ (A15:16)
 (9) *ʿéni b-záwəw tawra.²* ‘Who will buy an ox?’ (A22:2)

This usage no doubt developed from questions concerning members of a set such as:

- (10) *ʿéni mənneXu t-àzəl.²* ‘Which of you will go?’ (A30:1)
 (11) *múr ʿéni-mənnən¹ biš-šapirtela.¹* ‘Say which of us is the most beautiful.’ (A25:17)

14.9.15. *hatxa*

This word may be used as an anaphoric determiner before a singular or plural noun in the sense of ‘such a’, ‘such’, e.g.

- (1) *bróni lá-wuð hátxa məndi.¹* ‘My son, do not do such a thing.’ (A14:6)
 (2) *liθ hátxa-məndi.¹* ‘There is not such a thing.’ (A25:69)
 (3) *liθ hátxa məndi wíya gu-mđita.¹* ‘Such a thing has not happened in the town.’ (A22:2)

- (4) *hátxa pəlxána pəlxeti?*¹ ‘Do you do such work as this?’ (A23:32)
 (5) *málka kriblə¹ bud-hátxa məndiyáne.*¹ ‘The king became angry about such things.’ (A25:8)

It may be used independently of a head noun as a subject or object argument in a clause, e.g.

- (6) *hátxa la-həwya.*¹ ‘Such a thing should not be.’ (A21:32)
 (7) *si-hátxa múrgən tla-málka.*¹ ‘Go, say thus to the king.’ (A17:30)
 (8) *qa-mòt hátxa wáða bíyi?*¹ ‘Why are you doing this to me?’ (A25:42)

It can take a nominal plural ending, e.g.

- (9) *’ána gárəg ’ámərən hatxàne.*¹ ‘I must tell such things.’ (A39:7)

It is used predicatively, e.g.

- (10) *hətxəla qəşşət.*¹ ‘The story is this.’ (A13:5)
 (11) *ta-módila ’áyya mđíta hátxa?*¹ ‘Why is the town like this?’ (A4:31)

The particle may function as a modifier of adjectives, e.g.

- (12) *’iman t-ile xəzyəlla, hátxa šətránta-w šapirta, ’ay-şrixla.*¹ ‘When he saw her, so beautiful and good-looking, she screamed.’ (A4:4)
 (13) *’u-paroşyáða hátxa glòle*¹ ‘pebbles, round like this’ (A23:17)
 (14) *hátxa faqira*¹ ‘so poor’ (A40:4)

It is frequently used adverbially, e.g.

- (15) *mjunəgníla hátxa.*¹ ‘She shook them like this.’ (A4:15)
 (16) *dwiqəlla hátxa gu-’iðe dıye.*¹ ‘He took her like this in his hand.’ (A13:25)
 (17) *šışále gáne hátxa.*¹ ‘He rocked himself like.’ (A31:7)

14.9.16. hodəx

This is occasionally used as a deictic modifier of a nominal with the sense of ‘yonder’, e.g.

- (1) *m-támma hódəx tūra ’áθrə d-ánna dəwele.*¹ ‘From here to yonder mountain is the land of the wolves.’ (A14:48)

It is combined with a demonstrative pronoun in expressions such as *l-ay-gōt-hòdax t-šaqíθa*¹ ‘on the farther side of the channel’ (A9:1). It is more commonly used as an adverbial meaning ‘beyond, further’, e.g.

- (2) *m-táma hódax t-ázət mátat xa-nèra*¹ ‘Go onwards from there and you will reach a river.’ (A14:50)

It is often combined with *biš*, e.g. *xáčča xéna biš-hódax* ‘a little further on’ (A7:22). On some occasions it has temporal rather than spatial reference, e.g.

- (3) *m-táma hòdax¹ ’áxtu ’u-g’anèxu*¹ ‘From then onwards you are by yourselves.’ (A8:27)

14.9.17. ču

This is used as a negative determiner in the sense of ‘not any.’ The predicate of the clause in which it occurs is itself always negative, e.g.

- (1) *’u-łlálux lan-šwíqa ču-məndi*¹ ‘and for you I have not left anything.’ (A2:11)
 (2) *’ána bsiml¹ ču-mdi liθ-biyi*¹ ‘I am cured, nothing is the matter with me.’ (A4:20)
 (3) *ta-t-čú-mdi là-’aθe bíye diye*¹ ‘so that nothing will happen to it.’ (A7:9)
 (4) *čú pəlxána la-pəlxət ’ati*¹ ‘You shall do no work.’ (A23:32)
 (5) *hon-dáryəlle gu-xa-čále ’amúqta lá-’aməš ču-ga čú-ga palət*¹ ‘I have put him in a deep hole and he will never be able to come out.’ (A22:41)

The negation can be reinforced by prefixing the particles *la* and *har*, e.g.

- (6) *la-har-čú-dúkθa liθwa*¹ ‘She was nowhere at all (to be found).’ (A27:26)

14.9.18. hič

The particle *hič* is used with the same function as *čú* by some speakers, e.g. *hič-nəša*¹ ‘nobody’ (A8:2). It may be combined with the indefinite article, e.g.

- (1) *hič xa-náša lá-maše mēθéla Bálbəl Hazàr.*¹ ‘Nobody could bring back Bəlbəl Hazar.’ (A8:25).

14.9.19. *la*

The negative particle *la* can be used as a modifier of an adjective, e.g. *fəl-fəl... lā-xšilta* ‘uncrushed pepper’ (B10:21), *miya la-rθixe* ‘unboiled water’.

14.9.20. *fəllən, pəllən, flan*

This word, in its various alternative forms, is used as a modifier of a noun with the sense of ‘such-and-such’, e.g.

- (1) *sí-mur ta-pəllən wǎzìr.*¹ ‘Go and tell such-and-such a minister.’ (A4:38)
 (2) *ʿána siqli fəllən dükθa.*¹ ‘I went up to such-and-such a place.’ (A10:9)
 (3) *só l-béθət flān-naša.*¹ ‘Go to the house of such-and-such a man.’ (A8:8)

In (4) it modifies a pronoun, e.g.

- (4) *mó-t mára fəllən ʿàti?*¹ ‘What do you, so-and-so, say?’ (B5:9)

It may be used independently, e.g.

- (5) *hàtxele wiða fəllən.*¹ ‘So-and-so did such-and-such.’ (A48:1)
 (6) *hà-pəllən lēkət zála?*¹ ‘Hey so-and-so, where are you going?’ (A1:11)

14.9.21. *ʿay*

This is marginally used instead of *ʿeni* with the sense of ‘which’, e.g.

- (1) *ʿàti xázət ʿay-mənnə báýət.*¹ ‘See which one you like.’ (A14:80)

14.10. REPETITION OF CONSTITUENTS

The repetition of constituents in a clause has various functions, which can be classified as follows.

14.10.1. *Intensity*

Adjectives and adverbs are repeated with an intensifying function, e.g.

- (1) *máglət gilándi xá-mdi gòrəle... !la-d-án mεrgáne góre gòre.*¹ ‘The scythe is something big... for the very big meadows.’ (B5:144)
- (2) *ʔiθwa ʔawalyáθa rábe ràbe.*¹ ‘There were very many games.’ (B7:4)
- (3) *pálʔi wènde, béhεr y-áwe príše príše.*¹ ‘Flowers come out, in Spring there are lots of different kinds.’ (B5:176)
- (4) *y-aθiwa baxtáθat màθa, ʔi-mbašlīwa, m-qúrbə qúrbət mārət xlūla.*¹ ‘Women of the village who were close (relatives of) the head of the wedding would come and cook.’ (B15:63)
- (5) *lwíša jülle hátxa jálde jálde.*¹ ‘He put on his clothes very quickly.’ (A4:55)

The expression *jalde jalde* is often abbreviated to *ja-jalde*, e.g.

- (6) *mšawθitu m-gòðə, ta-t-túra ja-jalde pàraq.*¹ ‘You should speak with one another, so that the mountain (journey) would finish very quickly.’ (A17:19)

In (7) a plural attributive demonstrative is repeated to convey an intensified quantity:

- (7) *ʔánna ʔánna šazəde ʔánna jwàñqe, ʔánna náše kulla-ʔəθye ʔləbəlləx.*¹ ‘These many princes, these young men, these people have all come to seek your hand.’ (A8:77)

14.10.2. *Increment*

In some contexts nouns or adverbs are repeated to express gradual increase or progression, e.g.

- (1) *t-la-nápəl ʔo-rəzza ʔurxà-w-urxa.*¹ ‘so that the rice does not fall along the road.’ (B5:80)

- (2) *šléle ʔurxa-ʔurxa xzéle ʔina pyáša dabbòre.*¹ ‘He went down and along the way saw that they were becoming hornets.’ (A10:10)
- (3) *y-àθi¹ góta góta d-è-maθa.*¹ ‘They come alongside that village.’ (B18:2)
- (4) *bāláwala yabíšta xərqá xərqá gu-qðála díya mabyànwa.*¹ ‘When she swallowed a raisin, it could be seen, ring by ring in her neck (as it went down).’ (A8:63)
- (5) *qíméle sáryalle b-réšət ʔilanáne ʔilanàne.*¹ ‘He tied it to the tops of the trees (one after the other).’ (A39:12)
- (6) *šléla bé'e ʔàx-ʔaxxe díye.*¹ ‘The eggs ran down him here and here.’ (A23:8)
- (7) *ʔan-tre-maláxe... θéla pyáða táma tàma.*¹ ‘Those two angels... came passing by.’ (A4:44)
- (8) *garšúle níxa níxa-w.*¹ ‘They gradually pull it out.’ (B5:178)
- (9) *ja-jámúwa náše,¹ níxa níxa níxa níxa,¹ péšúwa xámša-w ʔəra-w hál xamšəssər.*¹ ‘The people would gather and would gradually become five, ten, up to fifteen.’ (B5:61)
- (10) *xánčì xánčì¹ pərmáxwa bi-díye.*¹ ‘We would cut down with it little by little (a little at a time).’ (B5:144)

14.10.3. *Distribution*

Nouns are repeated in some distributive expressions, e.g.

- (1) *qíma kút-yoma yóma šláya.*¹ ‘Everyday he would get up to go down (to the pool).’ (A14:79)
- (2) *y-azólwa ʔyáda,¹ béθa béθa.*¹ ‘He would go to make an invitation, at each house.’ (B5:20)
- (3) *kút y-azólwa zayànwa,¹ píše xá ʔarb-əmma xamš-əmma náše réza rəza.*¹ ‘Everybody who went would stand, about four or five hundred people, in rows.’ (A8:31)

14.11. CONJOINING OF NOUNS IN A NOMINAL PHRASE

Two nouns in a compound nominal phrase are linked together by the connective particle *w*. This may be attached as a clitic either to the beginning of the second noun or to the end of the first noun. When in contact with a consonant at the beginning of a word it is realized as ʔu- (< **w*), e.g.

- (1) *xá-yoma ʔíθwa xá-qaša ʔu-xà-malla.*¹ ‘Once there was a priest and a mullah.’ (A2:1)
- (2) *lát-xila xa-láxma-w xa-bèta.*²¹ ‘Have you not eaten a loaf of bread and an egg?’ (A17:15)
- (3) *t-ámrax ʔána w-àti¹ xóna-w xàθa.*¹ ‘Let’s say I and you (we are) brother and sister.’ (A16:8)
- (4) *sab-k’álo-w xátna ʔíwa málka-w malàkθa.*¹ ‘since the bride and groom were the king and queen.’ (B15:71)

The conjoining may have a concomitative sense, e.g.

- (5) *xá-gaya y-asqàxwa¹... kút-xa-w táxte diye.*¹ ‘Sometimes we went up (onto the roof)...everybody with his bed.’ (B10:58)

In such cases the two items are not coordinated but rather the first has greater prominence. This may be reflected in verb agreement, in that the verb in some cases agrees only with the first item. In (6), for example, the verb is singular:

- (6) *kályele gu-tárət bέθa ʔáv ʔu-ʔáy.*¹ ‘He stood at the door of the house together with her.’ (A4:55)

When three or more items are linked in a chain, the connective particle is usually attached to each item before the one at the end of the chain, e.g.

- (7) *ʔíwa záwnat qátla-w dámma-w pràma.*¹ ‘It was a time of killing, blood and slaughter.’ (A1:24)
- (8) *qóryalle wazír-díye ʔu-xákma guràne¹ ʔu-báxte diye.*¹ ‘He called his minister, a few courtiers and his wife.’ (A4:40)
- (9) *báyən lá-ʔaθi b-xàsša¹ ʔu-bxáya-w jnàna.*¹ ‘I do not want them to come in sadness, weeping and singing dirges.’ (A4:33)

The connective particle is used in some contexts as an intensifier of a gradable relation or quality. In (10), for example, it intensifies the comparative adverbial:

- (10) *b-qáryən ʔu-hèš-biš záwda.*¹ ‘I shall call yet louder.’ (A8:72)

It is used in constructions expressing a range of items with the prepositions *mən... ʔu-hal* ‘from...to’ in order to express increased extension, e.g.

- (11) *kùllən*,¹ *mən-yále zóre ʔu-hal-gôre*¹ ‘all of us, from young children all the way to old people’ (B16:4)
- (12) *m-ó-yoma dwíqalle Mămo gu-hàbsa*,¹ *ʔu-hàl-ʔadyo*.¹ ‘From that day he has held Mămo in prison, all the way until today.’ (A26:75)

Lists of items, which are presented individually rather than linked together in a composite whole, are in some cases expressed without any connective particles, e.g.

- (13) *gàrwe*,¹ *šàwle*,¹ *jülle rixe*,¹ *jülle jərjət*¹ ‘stockings, shoes, long clothes, clothes of purple fabric’ (B10:30)
- (14) *y-awéwa wásta bra-qđála*,¹ *breθáθe rixe*¹ *y-ođđxwala*.¹ ‘There was the chest (of the blouse), the collar, long sleeves, which we would make.’ (B10:45)
- (15) *ʔu-kúl-məndi y-áwe pàrya*,¹ *xàlta*,¹ *štèθa*,¹ *m-kúl-məndi*.¹ ‘Everything was in abundance, food, drink, (something) of everything.’ (B15:63)

A noun may be repeated to make the class denoted by it more general. In most cases the second occurrence of the noun is introduced by the particle *ma-*. The connective particle *w* may optionally occur before the *ma-* particle (*X ma-X ~ X ʔu-ma-X*), e.g.

- (16) *jawáttá tla-pràma*¹ *ʔanna qése ma-qése*.¹ ‘A chopper was for chopping wood and the like.’ (B5:141)
- (17) *ʔaxxa xuwwáwe ma-xuwwáwe lè-y-aθe l-d-áwwa gášra*.¹ ‘Here snakes and the like will not come onto this bridge.’ (A30:49)
- (18) *kúl-məndi deréwa biya*.¹ *harmône*¹ *ʔu-ma-harmône*,¹ *hermìye*,¹ *sparəgle*.¹ ‘They would put everything on it. Pomegranates and the like, pears, quinces.’ (B8:31)
- (19) *xóna mənèxule*,¹ *léla ta-t-ʔamráti tliba ma-tliba*.¹ ‘He is your brother, you should not say (that he) is a fiancé or something.’ (A25:22)

On some occasions, instead of prefixing the *ma-* particle, the first consonant of the second occurrence of the noun is replaced by a different consonant, resulting in a word that has no meaning in isolation, e.g.

- (20) *ʔána háwən Qára Tèždin*,¹ *maθyánat xárje-w bájət botanəye*.¹ ‘I am Qara Teždin, the collector of taxes and the like of the people of Botan.’ (A26:34)

A related strategy is to repeat the word with a change of internal vocalic pattern, e.g.

- (21) *bráte díye multúla qásre 'u-qašòre.*¹ 'His daughter established villas and palaces.' (A40:7)

We may include here the combination of stem I and stem II resultative participles in order to express intensity in contexts such as (22) and (23):

- (22) *bad-pésšat b-šòpi,*¹ *bríxta mburàxta.*¹ 'You will stand in my place, (you are) greatly blessed. (A40:15)
- (23) *pàqəð bába 'azíza,*¹ *xqàra,*¹ *gu-d-áyya dúnýe mxùqra.*¹ 'Welcome dear, esteemed father, honoured in this world.' (A40:12)

In (24) the second resultative participle is from a cognate quadriliteral verb:

- (24) *qčpewəx mgorəčpewəx.*¹ 'We are cut down and harvested.' (A51:8)

Another practice is to place the generic word *məndi* 'thing' in apposition to the noun, e.g.

- (25) *kút-ile xiləlle xa-rəmsi-məndi*¹ *gu-bəθi*¹ *'áθe xarəla gu-bəθi.*¹ 'Everyone who has eaten my dinner or the like (i.e. any food) in my house, let him come and defecate in my house.' (A7:5)

14.12. NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals are placed before the counted nominal, which follows in apposition. The nominal is in the plural after all numerals above 'one', unless it is a loanword that has not been adapted to Aramaic morphology and does not take plural inflection. The only exception to this is the word *'amma* 'hundred', which remains singular when preceded by numerals, e.g. *tré 'amma* 'two-hundred', *tláθa 'amma* 'three-hundred', *'árba 'amma* 'four-hundred'. The word *'alpa* 'thousand', by contrast, is made plural after numerals, e.g. *tré 'alpe* 'two-thousand', *tláθa 'alpe* 'three-thousand', *'árba 'alpe* 'four-thousand'. The word *'amma* is plural in expressions such as *'ammáyət ššne*¹ 'hundreds of years' (B15:92).

In principle, the cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 exist in both masculine and feminine forms in agreement with the gender of the noun they are combined with. In practice, the masculine form is in the process of becoming the default form in the dialect and is used with both masculine and feminine nouns (§12.1.1., §14.1.2.). It is worth noting that the levelling is regular in certain common multiplicative expressions. These include phrases containing the word *'amma* 'hundred', which is historically feminine, but regularly takes the masculine form of numeral. We should also mention expressions containing the feminine nouns *gaya* and *bena* 'time, instance', which regularly take the masculine cardinal *xa* rather than *ða*, viz. *xa-gaya*, *xa-bena* 'once' (§14.1.2.).

Most nouns ending in the singular nominal inflectional ending *-a* that have a plural in *-ane* or *-aθa* can also form a plural with the shorter ending *-e*, e.g. *tāra* m. 'door' (pl. *tārane*, *tāre*), *qawra* f. (pl. *qawraθa*, *qawre*). In exceptional cases all three plural endings are used, e.g. *yoma* m. 'day' (pl. *yomane*, *yomaθa*, *yome*). In the case of most such nouns, the shorter plural form with the *-e* ending tends to be used after numerals, whereas the long form is used for plurals denoting groups of an unspecified number of items. There is a particular tendency for the short form to be used with the numeral 'two'. In all cases, however, these are only tendencies and not absolute rules, e.g.

<i>tāra</i>	'door'
<i>tre tāre</i>	'two doors'
<i>!la tārane</i>	'three doors'
<i>raba tārane</i>	'many doors'
<i>pəqqa</i>	'frog'
<i>tre pəqqe</i>	'two frogs'
<i>!la pəqqaθa</i>	'three frogs'
<i>raba pəqqaθa</i>	'many frogs'
<i>yoma</i>	'day'
<i>tre yome</i>	'two days'
<i>!la yome ~ yomane ~ yomaθa</i>	'three days'
<i>raba yomane ~ yomaθa</i>	'many days'
<i>gaya</i>	'time'
<i>tre gaye</i>	'two times'
<i>!la gaye</i>	'three times'
<i>raba gayaθa</i>	'many times'

The *-e* plural ending of *'ida* 'hand' and *'aqla* 'foot' is regularly used in the fixed expression *'ide 'u-'aqle* 'arms and legs' / *'aqle 'u-'ide* 'legs and arms', whereas the plurals *'iθaθa* and *'aqlaθa* are normal elsewhere, e.g.

- (1) *dawéra 'ide-w 'àqle.*¹ 'A mule (is a man's) arms and legs.' (B5:124)
 (2) *šryalla 'aqle w-ide.*¹ 'He untied the legs and arms.' (A10:13)

The nouns *baxta* 'woman' and *γamma* 'mother', which have human referents, have the feminine plural ending *-aθa* in all contexts.

This alternation between short and long plurals is rare in nouns ending in the singular feminine endings *-ta* and *-θa*. A few nouns with the feminizing ending *-ta* or *-θa* in the singular that have a plural in *-aθa* may be given the plural ending *-e* after numerals, e.g.

<i>kθεθa</i>	'chicken'
<i>tarte kθaye</i>	'two chickens'
<i>raba kθayaθa</i>	'many chickens'

Nouns that form a plural by reduplication of the final consonant in many cases use a simple plural in *-e* after numerals, e.g.

<i>pəčča</i>	'piece'
<i>tre pəčče</i>	'two pieces'
<i>raba pəččače</i>	'many pieces'

Numerals are sometimes repeated in order to express distribution, either within one event (3) or across different events (4):

- (3) *kút-xa mánnon t-ámrx máttax tlaθa tlaθa teballe.*¹ 'We each put down, let's say, three marbles.' (B11:25)
 (4) *xa-xá-ga mārət bεθa mbašlwa 'ixála 'imət hoya dānət 'ixála.*¹ 'Sometimes the owner of the house would cook food when it was time for food.' (B6:16)

Numerals may be used independently of a head noun as an argument in a clause, e.g.

- (5) *xà-qaṭlitu,¹ trè-qaṭlitu,¹ mò b₂-ódax b-ánna.²¹* 'You may kill one, you may kill two, but what will we do with (all the rest of) them?' (A14:44)

- (6) *'áyya kista¹ hóle mxožábnalla max-xà.¹* 'He has reckoned this bag as one.' (A6:3)
- (7) *'ašarta¹ tre-šléla.* 'In the evening two men went down.' (A14:15)
- (8) *'anna tr'e zərək-ila.¹* 'These two are strong.' (B11:4)
- (9) *péšət lāxxa¹ gu-bèθa¹ xóna¹ mən-d-ánna bnàθi.¹ 'ítli təl!əθ.¹* 'Stay here in the house, brother, with these daughters of mine. I have three.' (A25:15)

When an ordinal number is used independently of a head noun, it generally takes a pronominal head in the form of a demonstrative, e.g.

- (10) *'o-qamáya miràle,¹ 'o-t-tré miràle.¹* 'The first one said it, the second one said it.' (A17:31)

These phrases may be used in apposition to a nominal with the same function as appositives consisting of a demonstrative head and an adjective (§14.7.). They are either non-restrictive appositives, e.g. *žine,¹ 'a-t-tòrte¹* 'Zine, the second one' (A25:20), or restrictive appositives with a contrastive function, e.g. *'é-ga 'é-t-tré* 'the second time (as opposed to the first), secondly' (B15:19).

When the number of times is left imprecise, two or more numerals are placed together asyndetically, e.g. *xa-tré-yarxe xéne* 'one or two months later' (A1:16), *tre-šlá-yarxe¹* 'two or three months' (A48:4), *xámša 'áštà ganáθa¹* 'five or six people' (B5:77), *'áštà šáwwa manzàle¹* 'six or seven rooms' (B10:52), *qám šáwwi tmáni šanne* 'seventy or eighty years ago' (B5:179), *yómə t!áθa 'árba* 'on the third or fourth day' (A14:91).

A group of numbered items may be presented as a single whole by placing *xa* before the phrase, e.g.

- (11) *mattìwa¹ t-ámrx xa xámša dinàre.¹* 'They would deposit let's say a sum of five dinars.' (B5:6)

This construction is particularly common when two or more numerals are juxtaposed to express approximation, e.g. *xa-'árba xamšà bé'e¹* 'four or five eggs' (A23:6), *xa-tmánya 'əsrà-maθwaθa¹* 'a (group of) eight or ten villages' (B15:61), *xa-'áštà šáwwa yómé¹* 'a (period of) six or seven days' (A24:48).

Distributive expressions relating to groups of numbered items may be formed by combining the particle *kut/ku* with the numeral phrase, e.g. *ku-tmánya yománe* 'every eight days' (B7:15), *kút xamšássər yománe¹* 'every fif-

teen days' (B10:73), *kút-ṭla šanne xa-béna* 'once every three years' (A14:61), *'u-kut-šéta xa-gáya* 'once every year' (B10:68).

When a cardinal qualifies a definite noun, the numeral generally takes an anticipatory suffix in constructions such as *ṭláṭna t-bnóne díye* or *ṭláṭna bnóne díye* 'His three sons (literally: the three of them, [of] his sons)' (A24:3).

The following examples illustrate various ways in which multiples ('x-fold', 'x times as much') are expressed:

- (12) *'ina qəm-xazənnəx 'āti rába hawnànta,*¹ *biš-mánni xa-tàrte.*¹ 'I see that you are very clever, twice as much as me.' (A40:16)
- (13) *'ən-háwe dàwa-ži¹ 'áxni t-yawáxla xa-b-ṭláṭa 'álle díye.*¹ 'Even if it is gold, we shall give him threefold.' (A7:10)
- (14) *ṭarṭána biš-góra tárte gáye mən-màgləwa.*¹ 'A scythe was twice as big as a sickle.'
- (15) *'o-qášra 'o-náša hədəx-ile wiðalle,*¹ *'əšrà-gaye béna qamáya.*¹ 'The man made the palace in such a way (that it was) ten times (bigger than) before.' (A12:22)

Expressions relating to the clock: *sá'ət kəmèla.*²¹ 'What time is it?', *sá'ət 'ərbəla*¹ 'It is four o'clock', *sá'ət 'əšra b-lèle*¹ 'ten o'clock at night', *sá'ət xa-w-pálg'e*¹ 'half past one', *sá'ət xa-w çàràk*¹ 'a quarter past one', *sá'ət tré 'u-'əšra*¹ 'ten past two', *čàràk ṭla-'əšra*¹ 'a quarter to ten', *xámša ṭla-ṭláṭa*¹ 'five to three', *'əšra pyáša xámša daqiqe*¹ 'five to ten'.

Numerical expressions relating to the calendar: *yárxət trè*¹ 'February', *yárxət 'əçça*¹ 'September', *táltássər b-'əçça*¹ 'the thirteenth of September' (B15:92), *táltássər b-yérxa*¹ 'the thirteenth of the month' (B16:22); *b-'arbiye* 'In the (19)40s' (B5:161), *šét 'arbiye-u l-àxxa*¹ 'from the (19)40s onwards' (B5:179).

Numerical expressions relating to age:

- (16) *kəmə šanne-wət.*²¹ 'How old are you?'
- (17) *'ána 'əšri šannewəm.*¹ 'I am twenty years old.'
- (18) *'áni qúrbət 'əšra trəsər šannəwa.*¹ 'They were around ten or twelve years old.' (B15:32)
- (19) *'é-gə 'ána 'úmur díyi 'əštà-šannewa*¹ 'when I was six years old' (B15:32)
- (20) *záwda mən-'arbá-mma šannele.*¹ 'It (the church) is more than four-hundred years old.' (B6:31)
- (21) *'uwabi 'əšrá šanne.*¹ 'I was ten years old.' (B5:130)
- (22) *brón-díye 'o-zòra*¹ *'ítwale 'arbi šanne.*¹ 'His youngest son was forty years old.' (A12:1)

- (23) *m̄t̄ele ʔs̄ti šáwwi š̄anne*.¹ ‘He reached sixty or seventy years old.’ (A24:1)
- (24) *ʔána¹ šáwwa-š̄anne*,¹ *ʔs̄tá-š̄anne šáwwa pl̄t̄ew̄an m̄an-tàma*.¹ ‘I left there when I was seven or six years old.’ (B15:30)
- (25) *taq̄riban ʔanna xamš̄i-š̄anne ʔum̄ri¹ ʔána l̄an-mir̄alla*.¹ ‘I have not told it (the story) for almost fifty years.’

‘Ago’ is expressed by the preposition *qam-* ‘before’, e.g. *qám šáwwi tm̄áni š̄anne*¹ ‘seventy or eighty years ago’ (B5:179), *qúrba qam-šáwwo-ámma xámš̄i tm̄any-ámmà-š̄anne*¹ ‘about seven hundred and fifty or eight hundred years ago’ (B3:19). Occasionally *qam-* is omitted, e.g.

- (26) *ʔáwwa yála yúwalle ʔálaha ʔilla díya ʔs̄tá yárxe*.¹ ‘God gave this baby to them six months ago.’ (A15:9)

Other numerical expressions relating to periods of time:

- (27) *ʔanna t̄l̄à yománaela mátye*.¹ ‘They arrived in three days.’ (A25:76)
- (28) *p̄iš̄la t̄l̄a-yárxe*.¹ ‘They stayed for three months.’ (A14:84)
- (29) *ʔána tré-yome l̄axxew̄an*.¹ ‘I have been here for two days.’
- (30) *hóle tíwa gu-xa-ḡapp̄iθa¹ ʔarbi-š̄anne*.¹ ‘He has been dwelling in a cave for forty years.’ (A15:4)
- (31) *ʔána ʔanna-šáwwo-š̄anne hon-θàya*.¹ ‘I have been travelling (on my way here) for these (last) seven years.’ (A37:17)
- (32) *ʔanna xamš̄ass̄ar-š̄anne š̄ópa lánwa x̄əzya*.¹ ‘I had not seen a stove for fifteen years.’ (B15:23)
- (33) *hál xámš̄i-w xámša š̄anne¹ y-awéwa sxáða ʔalaha*.¹ ‘For fifty-five years they were worshipping God (and then stopped doing so).’ (A15:17)
- (34) *xá-saʔat qam-dána*¹ ‘an hour beforehand’ (B5:119)
- (35) *m-díya ʔar̄p̄a-saʔte*¹ ‘in four hours from now’ (B1:13)

Mathematical operations:

- (36) *xámša záyad tré y-áw̄di šáwwa*.¹ ‘Five plus two makes seven.’
- (37) *xámša náq̄s tré y-áw̄di t̄l̄àθa*¹ ‘Five minus two makes three.’
- (38) *xámša gáye t̄l̄áθa y-áw̄di xamš̄ass̄ar*¹ ‘Five times three makes fifteen.’
- (39) *tré-gaye tré wita ʔarba*.¹ ‘Two times two is four.’
- (40) *xámša gáye xámša wáyela ʔs̄ri-w xámša*.¹ ‘Five times five is twenty-five.’
- (41) *ʔs̄ra qa-tré y-áw̄di xámša*¹ ‘Ten divided by two makes five.’

- (42) *píšela mnáyalla l-xà-xa*.¹ ‘They began counting them one by one.’
(A6:3)

Percentages are expressed thus: *xámšī mən-ʔmma* ‘fifty percent’, *ʔamma mən-ʔmma* ‘a hundred percent’.

14.13. ADVERBIAL EXPRESSIONS

Many nominals are used with the function of adverbials without an explicit marking of their relation by a preposition.

The majority of these are temporal expressions, e.g. *xa-yóma* ‘one day’ (A25:2), *yóma qamàya* ‘on the first day’ (A25:14), *hàr ʔo-yóma* ‘on the same day’ (A25:4), *yómət trè* ‘on the second day’ (A21:14), *yómət xyáptət xàtna* ‘on the day of the washing of the groom’ (B15:74), *yòma* ‘during the day’ (B5:27), *qédamta* ‘in the morning’ (A1:2), *pálgət yòma* ‘at midday’ (B5:62), *ʔašrta* ‘in the evening’ (A21:12), *šábθa* ‘on Saturday’ (A25:90), *dánət kawùθra* ‘at lunchtime’ (A22:22), *dánət xa-rámša* ‘at dinner time’ (A21:12), *xá-xa-gaya* ‘sometimes’ (B3:9), *xá-ga xèta* ‘another time’ (A48:4), *ʔanna šónne xaràye* ‘in recent years’ (B3:9), *ʔé-šətət wìrra* ‘last year’ (B15:93), *qéta* ‘in the summer’ (B5:107), *sátwa* ‘in winter’ (B5:107), *qàmθa* ‘formerly’ (B5:179), *xàrθa* ‘afterwards, then’ (A13:15).

The adjectives *qamaya* ‘first’ and *xaraya* ‘last’, when used adverbially, have the adverbial ending *-e*: *qamaye* ‘at first’, *xaraye* ‘finally’ (< **qamayəθ*, **xarayəθ*; see §13.2.). Note the phrases *bánta qamàye* ‘for the first time’ (B5:1), *ʔax-d-é-ga qamàye* ‘as before’ (A27:31), *bánta xaràye* ‘finally’ (A29:65), and *béna xaràye* ‘finally’ (B5:43), in which the noun is modified by the adverbial forms rather than by adjectives that agree with the head noun. Elsewhere the adjectival form is used, e.g. *béna qamáya* (A12:22), *béna xaràya* (A12:47).

In a few such temporal adverbials the nominal is in the absolute state with no inflectional vowel, e.g. *kut-yom* ‘every day’, *ʔadyo* ‘today’ (< *ʔad-yom*), *kúššət* ‘every year’ (< *kut-šət*).

Temporal adverbial expressions with prepositions are also used. Some of these are parallel to the phrases cited above, e.g. *b-qéta* ‘in summer’ (B5:19), *b-sátwa* ‘in winter’ (B5:145). The sense of ‘in the day(time)’ and ‘in the night(time)’ are regularly expressed by phrases with the preposition *b-*, e.g.

- (1) *ʔó dewàrrəš b-yóma y-azšlwa l-ṭùra*,¹ *b-lèle y-aθéwa*.¹ ‘The vagabond used to go to the mountains in the day and come back at night.’
(A12:46)

Occasionally nouns are used without prepositions as adverbials expressing static spatial location, e.g.

- (2) *ʔiman-t y-awíwa bēθa*¹ ‘when they were at home’ (B5:128)
- (3) *ʔasʔàtla xa-dúkθa*¹ ‘Tether her in some place.’ (A12:29)
- (4) *túwtela márʔat yàma*¹ ‘She sat on the sea shore.’ (A13:12)
- (5) *bēθe díye šáttat màθa-wewa*¹ ‘His house was at the bottom of the village.’ (A29:15)

Note also the expression *be-pàlga* (< **beθ-palgā*) ‘in the middle’ (A24:24). The noun *šawpa* ‘place’ is often used adverbially without a preposition. In such cases the diphthong /*aw*/ is generally contracted (§2.4.2.), e.g.

- (6) *de-puš-šòpux!*¹ ‘Stay in your place (where you are).’ (A14:20)
- (7) *ʔawewa píšle málka šópət bábe díye*¹ ‘He became king in place of his father.’ (A12:70)

A further example is *xasa* ‘back’ in constructions such as

- (8) *ʔu-yatáxwa xās-kođánta*. ‘We would sit on the back of the mule.’ (B5:138)

We may include here also the nouns *rəḥqa* ‘distance’ and *qurba* ‘vicinity’, which are used adverbially and attributively (§14.7.), e.g.

- (9) *muttēθalle rəḥqa*¹ *mən-màθa*¹ ‘She put him down far away from the village.’ (A19:3)
- (10) *kúlla náše díye t-wéwa qurba*¹ ‘all his relatives who were in the vicinity’ (B8:38)

The adjective *rama* ‘high’ may be used as a locative adverbial, e.g.

- (11) *bíš y-awéwa ráhat ràma*¹ ‘It was more comfortable above.’ (B5:204)

The adjectives *baraya* ‘external’ and *gawaya* ‘internal’ have the adverbial ending *-e* when used adverbially: *baraye* ‘outside’, *gawaye* ‘inside’.

More frequently a noun without a preposition is used to express an adverbial denoting movement towards a place, e.g. *kút-xa y-áθe bēθ-díye*¹ ‘Everybody returns home’ (B5:155), *mεθéle bēθa*¹ ‘They bring it back home’ (B5:164), *zilele súle díye*¹ ‘He went to his work’ (A21:16), *xákma*

*síqla garāwáθat bàte*¹ ‘Some went up onto the roofs of the houses’ (B6:18), *mašléwala ḡrxe*¹ ‘They took it down to the water-mill’ (B5:15), *šláya npála ḡrēle*¹ ‘It falls onto the ground’ (A10:11), *qəm-xaššille ḡāra*¹ ‘He threw him on the ground’ (A28:36), *ḡaw-ḡéne díye npíltela ḡisàqθe*¹ ‘His eye fell onto his ring (= he noticed his ring)’ (A26:31). Movement towards can also be expressed by a preposition in these contexts, e.g. *dírḡa l-bèθa*¹ ‘She returned home’ (A22:47), *si-l-bèθa*¹ ‘Go home!’ (A23:39), *qédamta ḡ-ázi náše l-ḡumra*¹ ‘In the morning people go to church’ (B6:23).

Adjectives are occasionally used as adverbials of manner, e.g. *qəm-maxéla ḡáqla biš-xelàna*¹ ‘He struck her leg harder’ (A33:12), *ḡina šláya xelànele*¹ ‘It (the river) is flowing down in spate’ (A14:58), *tríθa qūwya*¹ ‘She rode hard’ (A8:70), *qa-t xáḡm spáy ḡaxxa*¹ ‘so that I can live well here’ (A3:3).

The adverbs *ḡaxxa* ‘here’ are *tama* ‘there’ in some contexts are treated syntactically like nouns, in that they may take pronominal suffixes, e.g. *ḡaxxi hóle mràya*¹ ‘It hurts me here (literally: My here hurts)’, *šléla bēe ḡax-ḡaxxe díye*¹ ‘The eggs ran down him here and here (literally: his here and here)’ (A23:8), or occur in an annexation construction, e.g. *déwe ḡu-haywáne ḡ-ḡaxxa ḡ-axlilən*¹ ‘The wolves and the animals here (literally: of here) will eat us’ (B9:11), *xayúθat táma dàx-ila*² ‘What is the life there like? (literally: the life of there)’ (B5:107).