

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Challa

Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

Editorial Board

T. Muraoka, C.H.M. Versteegh and A.D. Rubin

VOLUME 54

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Challa

By

Steven E. Fassberg



BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2010

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Fassberg, Steven E.

The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Challa / by Steven E. Fassberg.

p. cm. – (Studies in Semitic languages and linguistics ; Vol. 54)

Includes bibliographical references (p.).

ISBN 978-90-04-17682-9 (hardback : alk. paper)

1. Aramaic language–Dialects–Turkey–Çukurca–Grammar. 2.

Jews–Turkey–Çukurca–Languages. 3. Çukurca (Turkey)–Languages. I. Title. II. Series.

PJ5282.F37 2010

492'.2–dc22

2009046087

ISSN 0081-8461

ISBN 978 90 04 17682 9

Copyright 2010 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing,
IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.
Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

For Teddy and Sarah

CONTENTS

Preface	xiii
Abbreviations and Sigla.....	xv
I. Introduction	1
1.1. Challa	1
1.2. Jewish Presence in Challa	1
1.3. Christian Presence in Challa	4
1.4. Muslim (Kurdish) Presence in Challa	4
1.5. Jewish Challa Informants	5
II. Jewish Challa and the Other <i>Lishana Deni</i> Dialects	7
2.1. Dialectal Position of Jewish Challa	7
2.2. Salient Features of Jewish Challa.....	7
III. Phonology	11
3.1. Consonants	11
3.2. <i>Bgdkpt</i>	12
3.3. Pharyngeals and Glottals	13
3.4. Affricates.....	14
3.5. Emphatics.....	15
3.6. Assimilation	16
3.7. Dissimilation	18
3.8. Vowels	18
3.9. General Distribution of Vowels	19
3.10. Shortening of Long Vowels.....	21
3.11. Conditioned Vowel Shifts	22
3.12. Rising Diphthongs.....	23
3.13. Falling Diphthongs	23
3.14. Other Diphthongs That Have Contracted in Jewish Challa	24
3.15. Contraction of Triphthongs and Related Forms.....	24
3.16. Glides	25
3.17. Aphaeresis	25
3.18. Syncope	26
3.19. Apocope	28

3.20. Gemination	29
3.21. Syllable Structure	31
3.22. Anaptyxis	32
3.23. Stress	33
3.24. Pause	34
IV. Morphology and Morphosyntax	35
4.1. Pronouns	35
4.1.1. Independent Pronouns	35
4.1.2. Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns	36
4.1.3. Independent Genitive Pronoun	37
4.1.4. L-Suffix Pronouns	39
4.1.5. LL-Suffix Pronouns	40
4.1.6. E-Suffix Pronouns	40
4.1.7. Demonstrative Pronouns	42
4.1.8. Possessive-Relative Particle <i>d</i>	44
4.1.9. Reflexive Pronoun	47
4.1.10. Reciprocal Pronouns	47
4.1.11. Interrogative Pronouns	48
4.1.12. Indefinite Pronouns	49
4.2. Nouns and Adjectives	51
4.2.1. Inflection of Nouns	51
4.2.2. Annexation of Nouns	54
4.2.3. Nominal Plural Forms	56
4.2.3.1. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-e</i>	56
4.2.3.2. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-āne</i>	57
4.2.3.3. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-āhe</i>	58
4.2.3.4. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-āsa</i>	58
4.2.3.5. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-yāsa</i>	59
4.2.3.6. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-awāsa</i>	59
4.2.3.7. Plural Forms with Reduplicated Consonant	60
4.2.3.8. Plural Forms Ending in <i>-ine</i>	60
4.2.3.9. Multiple Plural Forms	60
4.2.3.10. Irregular Plural Forms	60
4.2.3.11. Pluralia Tantum	61
4.2.4. Inflection of Adjectives	61
4.2.5. General Remarks on Noun and Adjective Patterns	62
4.2.6. Noun and Adjective Patterns	63
4.2.6.1. Monosyllabic	63
4.2.6.2. Bisyllabic	64

4.2.6.3.	Bisyllabic with Feminine Ending.....	73
4.2.6.4.	Trisyllabic	74
4.2.6.5.	Trisyllabic with Feminine Ending.....	77
4.2.6.6.	Quadrisyllabic	78
4.2.6.7.	Quadrisyllabic with Feminine Ending	78
4.2.7.	Diachronic Overview of Patterns	78
4.2.8.	Prefixes	80
4.2.9.	Suffixes.....	81
4.2.9.1.	<i>-āya, -esa, -āye</i>	81
4.2.9.2.	<i>-nāya, -nesa, -nāye</i>	82
4.2.9.3.	<i>-ūsa, -atūsa</i>	82
4.2.9.4.	<i>-ona, -one</i>	84
4.2.9.5.	<i>-unka, -unke</i>	84
4.2.9.6.	<i>-āna, -anta, -āne</i>	84
4.2.9.7.	<i>-oya</i>	85
4.2.9.8.	<i>-k</i>	85
4.2.9.9.	<i>-aski</i>	86
4.2.9.10.	<i>-i</i>	86
4.2.9.11.	<i>-li</i>	87
4.2.10.	Compound Nouns	87
4.2.11.	Proper Names and Hypocoristics.....	88
4.3.	Numerals	89
4.3.1.	Cardinal Numbers 1–10	89
4.3.2.	Cardinal Numbers 11–20	91
4.3.3.	Cardinal Numbers—Tens and Hundreds	91
4.3.4.	Cardinal Numbers—Thousands and Above.....	92
4.3.5.	Ordinal Numbers	92
4.3.6.	Fractions	93
4.3.7.	Multiplicatives	93
4.3.8.	Days of the Week	93
4.3.9.	Other Expressions of Time.....	94
4.4.	Verbs	94
4.4.1.	Stems	94
4.4.2.	G Stem	95
4.4.3.	D and C Stems.....	96
4.4.4.	Q Stem.....	97
4.4.5.	Inventory of Verbal Forms	98
4.4.6.	Copula	98
4.4.6.1.	Present Copula	98
4.4.6.2.	Negated Present Copula	101

4.4.6.3.	Deictic Present Copula	102
4.4.6.4.	Past Copula	102
4.4.7.	Subjunctive	104
4.4.8.	Past Subjunctive (Subjunctive + <i>wa</i>).....	106
4.4.9.	Present (<i>g/k</i> + Subjunctive)	106
4.4.10.	Past Habitual (<i>g/k</i> + Subjunctive + <i>wa</i>).....	108
4.4.11.	Future (<i>b/p</i> + Subjunctive)	108
4.4.12.	Past Prospective (<i>b/p</i> + Subjunctive + <i>wa</i>)	110
4.4.13.	Preterite.....	110
4.4.14.	Plupreterite (Preterite + Infixed <i>wa</i>).....	111
4.4.15.	Imperative	112
4.4.16.	Perfect (Present Copula + Participle).....	113
4.4.17.	Pluperfect (Past Copula + Participle).....	117
4.4.18.	Participle.....	117
4.4.19.	Gerund	118
4.4.20.	Passive Voice	120
4.4.21.	Inchoative Aspect	121
4.4.22.	Negation of Verbs	121
4.4.23.	Object Markers	121
4.4.23.1.	Objects Marked by L-Suffix Pronouns	121
4.4.23.2.	Objects Marked by LL-Suffix Pronouns	122
4.4.23.3.	Objects Marked by Independent Forms of LL-Suffix Pronouns	122
4.4.23.4.	Objects Marked by E-Suffix Pronouns	124
4.4.23.5.	Dummy Objects	125
4.4.24.	<i>Qym</i> + Verb	126
4.4.25.	Sequences of Verbal Forms	127
4.4.26.	Repetitive—Reversive Postverbal Particle	128
4.4.27.	Verb Classes	128
4.4.27.1.	Verbs I- ^ʔ	129
4.4.27.2.	Verbs I- <i>y</i>	130
4.4.27.3.	Verbs II- ^ʔ	131
4.4.27.4.	Verbs II- <i>w</i>	131
4.4.27.5.	Verbs II- <i>y</i>	132
4.4.27.6.	Geminate Verbs.....	134
4.4.27.7.	Verbs III- ^ʔ	134
4.4.27.8.	Verbs III- <i>w</i>	135
4.4.27.9.	Verbs III- <i>y</i>	136
4.4.28.	Doubly Weak and Irregular Verbs	138
4.4.28.1.	Verbs I- ^ʔ and II- <i>w</i>	138

4.4.28.2.	Verbs I- <i>y</i> and II- <i>w</i>	139
4.4.28.3.	Verbs I- <i>y</i> and III- <i>w</i>	139
4.4.28.4.	Verbs I- <i>y</i> and III- <i>y</i>	139
4.4.28.5.	Verbs II- <i>w</i> and III- ³	139
4.4.28.6.	Verbs II- <i>w</i> and III- <i>y</i>	139
4.4.28.7.	' <i>rq</i> (< ערק >).....	140
4.4.28.8.	' <i>sy</i> (< אחי >)	140
4.4.28.9.	' <i>zl</i> (< אזל >).....	141
4.4.28.10.	<i>b'y</i> (< בעי >)	142
4.4.28.11.	<i>hnnl</i> (< <i>hanna</i>)	142
4.4.28.12.	<i>hwy</i> (< הוי >)	142
4.4.28.13.	<i>hymn</i> (< הימן < C אמן >)	143
4.4.28.14.	<i>mnx</i> (< נוח?; < עיני? >).....	143
4.4.28.15.	<i>mšy</i> 'be able' (< מצי >)	144
4.4.28.16.	<i>nbl</i> (< יבל >).....	144
4.4.28.17.	<i>npl</i> (< נפל >).....	144
4.4.28.18.	<i>xyy</i> (< חיי >)	145
4.4.28.19.	<i>y'y</i> (< ידע >)	145
4.4.28.20.	<i>yhw(l)</i> (< יהב + ל >)	146
4.4.28.21.	<i>ytw</i> (< יתב >)	146
4.4.29.	Modern Hebrew Verbs	147
4.5.	Prepositions.....	149
4.6.	Conjunctions	152
4.7.	Adverbs	154
4.7.1.	Interrogative Adverbs	154
4.7.2.	Temporal Adverbs.....	155
4.7.3.	Locative Adverbs	156
4.7.4.	Adverbs of Manner.....	156
4.8.	Particles of Existence and Ability	158
4.8.1.	Particles of Existence	158
4.8.2.	Particles of Ability.....	159
4.9.	Fillers	159
4.10.	Exclamations and Expressions	161
V.	Texts and Translation	165
5.1.	The History of Jews in Challa	166
5.2.	The Agha Takes What He Wants.....	172
5.3.	Sufi Abraham, the Prayer Rug, and the Ḥajj.....	180
5.4.	The Death of Mighty Qoto	188
5.5.	The Murder of a Peddler	194

5.6. The Beating and Killing of Jews	198
5.7. Abraham Gets Drunk	210
5.8. The Attempted Seduction	214
5.9. The Wife of the Mudir Repays Kindness	224
5.10. The Art of Stealing While on a Moving Train	228
5.11. Shabbo Decides to End Business Dealings with His Kurdish Neighbors	234
5.12. The Death Threats over Leaving Challa for Israel	240
5.13. The Seizure of Shabbo's Brother and Attempted Forced Conversion	240
Glossary	249
Bibliographical References	307

PREFACE

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

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

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

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

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

Jerusalem 2009

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. CHALLA

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

1.2. JEWISH PRESENCE IN CHALLA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Challa (גלא) is mentioned in this letter together with Betanure and Nerwa, two other nearby villages with Jewish communities. K'K' could be an error for nearby *Kāra*.³ Of the two, Nerwa was the closer village⁴ and the distance between the two could be covered on foot in about three hours.⁵ Another important Jewish center, Amidya, was a one day journey on foot.⁶

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

קהלא קדישא. ואבן הראשה לכל דבר שבקדושה. ה"ה (= והחכם הגדול) עמי ועדתי ק"ק גירוא וגלא וסיגד יע"א (= יבנה עירנו אמון) ועילא מנהון החכמים הרמים

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

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

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

³ So according to Hezy Mutzafi (p.c.).

⁴ See the map in Mutzafi 2004:13.

⁵ See § 5.11.1.

⁶ Ben-Yaacob 1980, supplement p. 47.

⁷ Assaf 1943:141 n. א122.

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

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

שלומות רבות וישועות קרובות לאלפים ורבבות יבואו ממזרח שמש וממערב אל ק"ק
נאלא...

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

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

אחינו אנשי גאולתנו גומלי חסדים טובים והכמים וגבוהים ורמים אשר בק"ק נירוה יע"א
ואשר בק"ק גילה יע"א... וענין ק"ק גילה עליכם לגמור המצוה הזאת...

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

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

...הה (= והחכם הגדול) שלמה היו (= השם ישמרהו ויצילהו) והה יעקב היו ועכ כמ
קק (= ועל כל כבוד מעלת קהל קודש) גלא כיבנש (= כן יבנה במהרה נוה שלום) כירא
(= כן יהי רצון אמן)... והרשיתי אותו שתאכלו משחיתתו...

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

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

⁸ Assaf 1943:142.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Assaf 1943:143-144.

¹¹ Mann 1931, 1:532-533, letter 14, line 7.

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

According to the *Kurdish Jewish Encyclopaedia*,¹⁴ there were 30 Jews in Challa¹⁵ in 1933, who engaged in weaving, trade, and agriculture. Some Jews left Challa for Palestine in the first decades of the 20th century; those who remained immigrated to Israel in 1951.

1.3. CHRISTIAN PRESENCE IN CHALLA

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

1.4. MUSLIM (KURDISH) PRESENCE IN CHALLA

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

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

¹³ Mutzafi 2008a:192–193.

¹⁴ Yona 2003, 1:185.

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

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

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

1.5. JEWISH CHALLA INFORMANTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In addition, a few lexical items have been included from the tape recordings of Ahiya's father, Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, which were made in 1964 at the Language Traditions Project of The Institute of Jewish Studies, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Rabbi Hashiloni recorded sections of the Passover *haggada* compiled by Rabbi Alwan Avidani, which was first published in 1959²² together with a translation into the Jewish Amidya dialect,²³ though some features reflect an "all-dialectal Jerusalemite NA [Neo-Aramaic]".²⁴ Rabbi Hashiloni, when chanting from this *haggada*, sometimes substitutes Jewish Challa grammatical forms for those forms found in the printed *haggada*²⁵ and on occasion also replaces lexemes with entirely different lexical items.²⁶ The grammatical forms that deviate from the printed *haggada* are corroborated by Shabbo's speech. The lexical items that deviate from the printed *haggada* are included in this grammar since they provide evidence of where the Jewish Challa dialect differed from the Neo-Aramaic tradition of Rabbi Avidani. It should be kept in mind that these lexical items reflect a literary register.

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

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

²⁴ Sabar 1976:175.

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

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

CHAPTER TWO

JEWISH CHALLA AND THE OTHER *LISHANA DENI* DIALECTS

2.1. DIALECTAL POSITION OF JEWISH CHALLA

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

- a. the independent genitive pronoun *did-* with pronominal suffixes in the singular, e.g., *didox* ‘yours’, but the possessive-relative particle *d-* with pronominal suffixes in the plural, e.g., *dexun* ‘yours’
- b. *-Vwun* in III-y pl. imperative forms, e.g., *sāwun* ‘come!’³

2.2. SALIENT FEATURES OF JEWISH CHALLA

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

- a. Reflexes of the interdental (§ 3.2.b): ClAram $\underline{t} > s$ (*sele* ‘he came’), $\underline{d} > d$ (*ida* ‘hand’)
- b. Sporadic contraction of the triphthong $\bar{a}ya > \bar{a}$ (§ 3.15): *qurdāya* ‘Kurd’ > *qurdá*; *xzāya* ‘seeing’ > *xzá*

¹ Sabar 2002a:5–9.

² Mutzafi 2002; Mutzafi 2008b:10–11.

³ So too in JChalla *sāwun*. In other III-y verbs, however *-*ūwun*, > *ūn*, e.g., **xzūwun* > *xzūn*.

⁴ Of the *lishana deni* dialect group, JChalla appears to be closer in general to modern JNerwa (based on the fieldwork of Mutzafi) and to JBetan than to the other dialects.

- c. Independent pronouns (§ 4.1.1): 2 c.s. 'āhat (also 'āt), 3 c.s. 'āya ('ā; see [b] above), 1 pl. 'axnan
- d. Pronominal suffixes (§ 4.1.2): 2 pl. -exun
- e. Demonstrative pronouns (§ 4.1.7): c.s. 'iya 'this' (yā- only in the expression *b-iyā 'ida u-yā-'ida* 'when it comes down to it'); c.s. 'ē 'that', 'āya ('ā) 'that (one)'; c.pl. 'anna ('an) 'these/those'
- f. Reflexive pronoun (§ 4.1.9): *gyāna*
- g. Reciprocal pronouns (§ 4.1.10): 'ōgdād(e), l-ōgdād(e), m-ōgdād(e); *xa l-e-xeta/xet/xē*
- h. Interrogative pronoun (§ 4.1.11): 'eni 'which'
- i. Indefinite Pronouns (§ 4.1.12): *flān* 'such and such' occurs before humans and *flāna* before non-humans.
- j. Preterite (§§ 4.4.23.4; 4.4.28.19): It is inflected with object affixes for all persons, e.g., *xpiqanne* 'he embraced me'. Unlike most *lishana deni* dialects, there is no construction of the type **qam xāpəqli* 'he embraced me'.⁵ There are no reflexes of *d in the Preterite of *yd 'know', e.g., *y'eli* 'I knew'.
- k. Subjunctive based inflection (§§ 3.18.c; 4.1.6.c,f; 4.4.28.12): 1 f.s. E-suffix -an occasionally in place of 1 m.s. -ən; 1 c.pl. E-suffix -axin;⁶ 2 c.pl. with L- suffix pronouns 'amrētūle 'you may tell him', dārētūle 'they may put it';⁷ 3 f.s. of verb *hwy—hūwa* 'she may be', *kūwa* 'she is', *pūwa* 'she will be'
- l. Subjunctive particle (§ 4.4.7): *mən/məl*, e.g., *mən hāwe* 'let it be!', *məl 'āzəl* 'he may go!'
- m. Participle III-y f.s. (§ 4.4.27.9): *xzeta* 'seen'⁸
- n. Extensive Use of *qym* (§ 4.4.24): Though the construction *qam xāpəqli* is strikingly absent, it is noteworthy that *qym* is used widely to express ingressive action, particularly with participial forms that govern an object (like the *qam xāpəqli* construction), e.g., *qāyəm xāzele* 'he up (and) sees him', *qemən gālənnu* 'I up (and) reveal it', *qemi mesele* 'they up (and) bring him'.
- o. Preposition 'to, for' (§ 4.5): *ta; ʔas* when bound by suffixes and the independent genitive pronoun *did-*, e.g., *ʔāsi, ʔāsox, ʔāsax, ʔas didi*,

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

⁶ Cf. -ax(ni) in other dialects.

⁷ Cf. modern J Nerwa *qaʔlētunle* (Hezy Mutzafi p.c.) and elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects *qaʔlētule*.

⁸ As opposed to forms with medial *i*.

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

- p. Particles of existence (§ 4.8): *’it*, *’itən(a)* ‘there is’; *let*, *létən(a)* ‘there isn’t’.
- q. Lexicon: *’áqqar(a)* ‘so much’, *’əl’uwwa* ‘inside’, *básbasər* ‘right after’ (cf. *basər* ‘after’), *ḥál-u-masale* ‘the upshot’, *ḥil/ḥel* ‘until’, *plāṭa* ‘go out’ and *(m)palōṭe* ‘take out’, *plāxa* ‘work’, *qadōme* ‘tomorrow’, *bəšṭor* ‘better’, *qamqam* ‘right before’ (cf. *qam* ‘before’), *xamūšeb* ‘Thursday’.

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

CHAPTER THREE

PHONOLOGY

3.1. CONSONANTS

The consonantal inventory of JChalla is

	bi- labial	labio- dental	alveo- lar	post- alveolar	pala- tal	uvu- lar velar	pharyn- geal	glottal
plosive								
<i>voiced</i>	<i>b b</i>		<i>d d</i>			<i>g q</i>		ʔ
<i>voiceless</i>	<i>p p</i>		<i>t t̥</i>			<i>k k̥</i>		
nasal	<i>m m̥</i>		<i>n n̥</i>					
trill			<i>r r̥</i>					
fricative								
<i>voiced</i>		<i>v v̥</i>	<i>z z̥</i>	<i>ʒ</i>		<i>ʕ</i>		
<i>voiceless</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>s s̥</i>	<i>š</i>		<i>x</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
affricate								
<i>voiced</i>				<i>j</i>				
<i>voiceless</i>				<i>č č̥</i>				
approximant	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>			
lateral			<i>l̥</i>					

- *f* is restricted to loanwords, e.g., *farq* ‘difference’, *feka* ‘fruit’, *kafil* ‘guarantor’, *kāfār* ‘infidel’. *flān*, *flāna* ‘such and such’ (ClAram 𐩧𐩣𐩪𐩪) is either a borrowing from Arabic or Kurdish, or else the *f* of the Arabic cognate ڤلآن and the Kurdish *filan* has influenced the native Aramaic form. *flānkas* ‘so and so’ is a loan from Kurdish (§4.2.10.b). *nāfe* ‘it is useful’ < Arabic ڤع is also heard as *nāpe* (hypercorrection?).
- *v* is limited to Kurdish and ModH loanwords, e.g., from Kurdish: *veza* ‘so, like this’, *kavra* ‘cliff’; from ModH: *qv* ‘determine’, e.g., *wetun kv̥e* ‘you have determined’; *vr* ‘cross over’, e.g., *v̥arri* ‘I crossed over’.¹ The *v* of ModH shows up as *b* in JChalla in *vk̥h* ‘argue’: *mbokaḥlan* ‘we argued’, *mbokāḥe* ‘arguing’.²

¹ Cf. the genuine NeoAram reflex *wr*, e.g., *ʾūrri* ‘I entered’.

² See Sabar 1990:55 for examples of loanwords in which *v* > *b* in JZakho.

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

3.2. BGDKPT

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

ClAram	JChalla	
<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bərqa</i> ‘lightning’
<i>b</i> ³	<i>w</i>	<i>dehwa</i> ‘gold’
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gəlda</i> ‘skin’
<i>g</i>	<i>ʾl</i>	<i>zo’a</i> ‘pair’, <i>bənhe</i> ‘morning’
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>de’sa</i> ‘sweat’
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>’ida</i> ‘hand’
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kalba</i> ‘dog’
<i>k</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>nəxrāya</i> ‘foreigner’
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>pəmma</i> , <i>pumma</i> ‘mouth’
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>kəpna</i> ‘hunger’
<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tar’a</i> ‘door’
<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>besa</i> ‘house’

b. A salient phonological feature of JChalla is the reflex of the interdentalals: **t̄ > s* (*sele* ‘he came’), **d̄ > d* (*qdāla* ‘neck’). Cf. JZakho and JGzira *s* and *z*, JAmid *t̄* and *d*, JDohok and JBetan *t̄* and *d̄*, JAradh *t̄* and *d̄*.⁴ *t̄ > t*, however, in all forms of the particles of existence, e.g., *’it* ‘there is’ (< *’it̄*), *’ətwāli* ‘I had’, and *let* ‘there is not’ (< *let̄*), *lēt̄wāli* ‘I didn’t have’. The shift originated in the partial assimilation of *t̄* to *l* (*ʾ* > *t̄/_l*) in forms such as *’atli* ‘I have’ (< *’at̄li*) and *letli* ‘I don’t have’ (< *let̄li*). *l* is also responsible for the *t* (< *t̄*) of *mətle* ‘he died’ (cf. *māyəs* ‘he may die’). Surprisingly *t̄ > t* in the forms of the verb *ptx* ‘open’ (cf. JZakh *psx*, JBetan and JDohok *ptx*).

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

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

⁴ See Kapeliuk 1997 on the reflexes of *t̄* and *d̄* in NeoAram.

up' one finds $g > ʕ$, e.g., *murʿašənnox* 'you woke me up'. In *ʿəl'uwwa* 'inside' (< ClAram ܘܘܐ) $*g > g > ʕ$. *b* has become lexicalized in two verbs borrowed from ModH, ܩܩܩܩ 'request' and ܩܩܩܩ 'suffer', e.g., *mbokəšli* 'I requested', *sabli* 'they may suffer'.

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

3.3. PHARYNGEALS AND GLOTTALS

a. The ClAram pharyngeals *ħ* and *ʿ* have reflexes of *x* and *ʕ* respectively, e.g., *xmāra* 'donkey' (ClAram ܩܩܩܩ), *xāsa* 'new' (ClAram ܩܩܩܩ), *balōʿta* 'throat' (BTA ܩܩܩܩ), *ʿrota* 'Friday' (Syriac ܩܩܩܩ). ClAram *ʿ* is preserved in the vicinity of *r* in the inflection of the root *šʿr* 'curse', *šaʿāre* 'barley', and *urṯūsa* 'fart', and in *tʿy* 'search' in the vicinity of *t*. Words with *ħ* and *ʿ* are either loans originally from Arabic (e.g., *ħaqq* 'price', *ħāl* 'situation', *ʿāšərta* 'evening', *aṭarka* 'peddler') or from Hebrew (*ʿāwon* 'sin').⁷ The JChalla nouns *ħakoma* 'ruler' and *ħukum*, *ħukūma*, *ħukumiya* 'government' are derived from Arabic ܩܩܩܩ and not from ClAram *ħkm*.

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

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

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

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

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

d. ʾ shifts to the pharyngeal ʿ in a few Arabic loans, a phenomenon that is also attested elsewhere in NeoAram:⁸ *mṛ* ‘boss around’, *maʾmūr* ‘officer-in-charge’, *ʾanjil* ‘Gospels’, *qurʾān* ‘Quran’, *ʾaṣəl* ‘(good) origin’, *ʾaṣlāye* ‘of good origin’, *ʾaṣli* ‘genuine’. It happens in the Aramaic verb *šy* ‘plaster’ (§ 4.4.27.5), which elsewhere in NeoAram is attested as *šy* < שׁוּע or שׁוּע. It is also attested in the Hebrew hypocoristic *ʾĀbo* (אַבֹּרָהֶם) and ModH *ʾazor*, ʾazór ‘area’ (אַזֹּר).

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

3.4. AFFRICATES

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

b. *č* occurs in Kurdish and Turkish loanwords,⁹ e.g., *ʾačāyəb* ‘how strange!’, *čamča* ‘teaspoon’, *čaydanka* ‘teapot’, and in the ModH based *pənčərali* ‘I caused a flat tire’. It is attested in a reflex of an old loan into Aramaic (< תְּשִׁירִי) from Akkadian, *čeri* ‘spring’. It is also heard in Present forms of the verb *yʿy* ‘know’ (§ 4.4.9.c) in addition to the forms with *k*, e.g., *lá-čiʾan* ‘I don’t know’ (also *lá-kiʾan*), *čiʾatte* ‘you know him’ (also *kiʾatte*¹⁰). An emphatic realization, *č*, is found in the native Aramaic words *čym* ‘close (eyes; < טַמַּם)’, *mṛč* ‘crush’ (< מַרַּס), *čmy* ‘extinguish’ (< סַמִּי), *čəʾa* ‘smooth’ (< שׁוּע), and ʾəčʾa ‘nine’ (< תְּשִׁעָה).

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

⁸ See, e.g., Sabar 1990:56; Fassberg 2005.

⁹ Sabar 1990:55.

¹⁰ One also hears frequently fronted *k*: [kʰtʰte].

3.5. EMPHATICS

a. The emphatic (pharyngealized) pronunciation is found regularly in *ṣ* and *ṭ* that are direct reflexes of the corresponding ClAram emphatic consonants, e.g., *ṣlosa* ‘prayer’, *ṭina* ‘mud’. Non-emphatic consonants in native Aramaic words sometimes become emphatic in certain words in JChalla as in other NeoAram dialects,¹¹ e.g., *ṛ* in *’urwa* ‘big’, *naxrāya* ‘foreigner’, *rāba* ‘much’, *ṛapsa* ‘big (f.)’, *ṛomāna* ‘high’, *ṣa’āre*¹² ‘barley’, *ṣarūsa* ‘lunch’; *ṣ* in *ṣāye* ‘water’.¹³ Emphaticization of ClAram *t* (as well as the contiguous *l*) is attested in the numbers based on ‘three’: *ṭlāha* ‘three’ and *ṭlāsi* ‘thirty’, but not in *talta’sar* ‘thirteen’.¹⁴ It does not occur in *tmanyā* ‘eight’ but it is found in *ṭṣmāne’sar* ‘eighteen’ and *ṭṣmāni* ‘eighty’. Secondary emphatic consonants due to assimilation to a contiguous inherited Aramaic *ṭ* or *ṣ* are unmarked, e.g., *mṭele* [ɔm^ht^helɛ], whereas unmotivated, spontaneous emphaticization is marked, e.g., *ṭlāha* ‘three’.¹⁵ As elsewhere in Neo-Aram, emphaticization may be phonemic, e.g., *mly* ‘be sufficient’ vs. *mly* ‘fill’, *tora* ‘ox’ vs. *ṭora* ‘Torah’ (attested in the corpus only in the compound *séfartora* ‘Torah scroll’).

b. Emphatic consonants also show up in JChalla in loanwords¹⁶ many of which do not have an emphatic consonant in the original language. Often the emphaticization spreads throughout the word. The following loanwords with emphatic consonants are listed according to the first emphatic consonant in the word:

<i>b:</i>	<i>ḅanḅ</i> ‘bank’, <i>ḅarāne</i> ‘rams’, <i>ḅarāza</i> ‘pig’, <i>ḅāš</i> ‘good’, ¹⁷ <i>ḅaḅ’a</i> ‘bastard’
<i>č:</i>	<i>pyč</i> ‘break’
<i>d:</i>	<i>’oda</i> ‘room’
<i>k:</i>	<i>ḅappāra</i> ‘expiation’
<i>l:</i>	<i>ḅappa</i> ‘lump’
<i>m:</i>	<i>māl</i> ‘property’, <i>mamzer</i> ‘bastard’, <i>’mḅāsi</i> ‘corporal’
<i>n:</i>	<i>quṣṣul</i> ‘consul’, <i>quṣṣulya</i> ‘consulate’

¹¹ Sabar 2002:32–33; Mutzafi 2008a:19–20.

¹² The emphaticization is the result of assimilation to neighboring *ṣ* and *ṭ*.

¹³ See Fassberg 1997 for possibly emphatic forms of ‘water’ in JPA.

¹⁴ Sabar 2002a:33.

¹⁵ Following Mutzafi 2008a:20.

¹⁶ This reflects the phenomenon of ‘emphatic foreignization of borrowed forms.’ See Campbell 2004:82. On emphaticization in loanwords in JZakho, see Sabar 1990:55–56.

¹⁷ Shabbo sometimes pronounces *baškānāye* ‘resident of Bashkala’ with an emphatic realization (*ḅaškānāye*) under the influence of *ḅāš*.

- p*: *gopāla/gopalta* ‘shepherd’s stick’, *palāstināye* ‘Palestinians’, *palle* ‘coals’, *paṅqānoṭ* ‘lira, paper money’, *pāṣṣaport* ‘passport’, *pošta* ‘mail’, *qapṭān* ‘captain’
- r*: *barāxa* ‘blessing’, *dor* ‘generation’, *raḥḥi* ‘My Lord!’, *raḍyo* ‘radio’, *raṣte* ‘right’, *reṃa* ‘pus’, *zyāra* ‘visit to a shrine’
- t*: *tārix* (also *tārix*) ‘date of event’, *tēlgəraf* ‘telegraph’, *tēlgəram* ‘telegram’, *ṭrambel* ‘automobile’, *payṭuna* ‘carriage’
- ʔ*: *ʔarāham* ‘Abraham’
- z*: *bəzzəte* ‘torches’, *gəzab* ‘anger’, *qozzəlqorṭ* ‘hell, disgusting’, *zor* ‘force’

3.6. ASSIMILATION

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

b. The absence of *d/d* in the preposition *qam* would appear to be the result of assimilation to *m* in a biform of ClAram *qōdām* when bound by pronominal suffixes *qudm-,¹⁸ as evidenced already in the LAram forms of the preposition with geminated *m*, e.g., SA *qammi* ‘before me’, JBA *qamme* ‘before him’ (cf. JChalla *qāme*). A similar case of assimilation to *m* occurs in *amədnāye > *amənnāye* ‘residents of Amidya’ and *bağdadnesa > *bağdannesā* ‘f. resident of Baghdad’. *d* assimilates to *š* in *kuššat* ‘every year’ (< *kud šāta). *d* assimilates to *t* in the f.s. Participle *wəḍta > *ʔutta* ‘done’ and in the feminine adjective *naqīdta > *naqōdta* > *naqōtta* ‘thin’.

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

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

¹⁸ Cf. PrAram *qudm > ClAram *קדמ/קדמ/קדמ*, and with pronominal suffixes, e.g., *קדמיה, קדמיה*.

<i>'amrøttu</i>	<	*'amrət + lu	'you (m.s.) may say to them'
<i>kpənnu</i>	<	*kpən + lu	'they starved'
<i>d'ərrox</i>	<	*d'ər + lox	'you (m.s.) returned'

l in **kull* assimilates to the following possessive-relative particle *d* in the indefinite pronoun **kull d* -> *kud* 'each, every' (§ 4.1.12.f). On the partial assimilation of **t* to *l* in the particles of existence, see § 3.2.b.

d. n has assimilated to a following consonant in inherited Aramaic words, e.g., *'azza* < *'inzā' 'goat', *šāta* < *šantā' 'year'. *n* assimilates to *l* in the Turkish loanword *osmanlı* > *'oşmolli* 'Ottoman'. *n* assimilates partially to *p* in **npølle* > *mpølle* 'he fell' and in **npox* > *mpox* 'blow'

e. š in the preposition *reš* 'on, upon' (< *reša* 'head') assimilates in voicing (> *ž*) to a contiguous voiced consonant. Cf. *reš kāse* ['rɪʃ 'kʰa:sɛ] 'on his belly' vs. *reš dide* ['rɪʒ 'dʰi:dʰɛ] 'on him'.

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

g. x assimilates in voicing (> *ḡ*) to the contiguous consonant in the verbs *xzy* 'see', *xdr* 'go around', and *xzd* 'harvest' in the G stem, e.g., *xzeli* ['χze:li] 'I saw', *xzi* [χzi] 'see (m.s.)!',¹⁹ *xdor* [χdʰor] 'go around (c.s.)!', *wən xdira* [wɪn 'χdʰi:ra] 'I (m.s.) have gone around', *xzədle* ['χzɪrɛ] 'he harvested'. Cf. *xāze* ['χa:zɛ] 'he may see'. *x* also assimilates in voicing in the adverb *'axxa* 'here' in the expression *'āx-geb tən-geb* [ʰaχḡʰɪb tʰangʰɪb] 'when all's said and done', and in the neo-construct form *bax* 'woman' from *baxta* (e.g., *bax mədor* [bʰaχ 'mɪdʰor] 'the wife of the mudir') and the neo-construct form *tax* from *tāxa* 'quarter of town' in *tax mallāye* ([tʰaχ mal'la:ye] 'the Mullahs' Quarter'. *x* also assimilates in voicing in *wax* 'we are' and *šāx* 'healthy' when in sandhi before a vowel: *wāx-əsyə* ['waχ.ɪsyɛ] 'we have come', *šāx-ile* ['sʰa:χ.i:lɛ] 'he is healthy'.

¹⁹ This is not always true in the C stem 'show', however. Cf. Past Habitual 1 m.s. [maχ'zɪnwɔ] 'I used to show', Participle m.s. [mʰuχza] 'shown', pl. [mʰuχze], but Subjunctive 1 m.s. [maχ'zɪnnax] 'I (m.s.) may show you (f.s.)', Gerund [maχ'zo:ye] 'showing'.

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

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

3.7. DISSIMILATION

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

3.8. VOWELS

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

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

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

b. *a* is usually realized as [a], though one also hears [ae], e.g., *tar’a* ‘door’ [t^har^ʔa]/ [t^hær^ʔa]. Final *a* may be rounded, e.g., the final *a* in *tāma*

‘there’ [t^ha:mɒ], particularly following /w/, e.g., *ʔatwa* [ʔ^hitwɒ]. Near an emphatic consonant *a* moves back to [ɑ], e.g., [b^hɑ:f] ‘good’. Stressed *e* is usually realized as [e], e.g., *b-é-dor* [b^hedor^s] ‘in that generation’, though sometimes it is more open and realized as [ɛ], e.g., *sele* [‘sele]/[‘seɛ].

c. *ə* is normally realized as [ɪ], e.g., *mən* ‘from, with’ [mɪn], though it may be pronounced [ɣ] in the vicinity of an emphatic, labial, or velar, e.g., *q̄t̄alle* ‘he killed’ [‘q̄t̄ɪllɛ]/[‘q̄t̄ɣllɛ], *šq̄alle* ‘he took’ [‘ʃq̄ɪllɛ]/[‘ʃq̄ɣllɛ], *pt̄axle* ‘he opened’ [‘pt̄^hɪxlɛ]/[‘pt̄^hɣxlɛ]. It is realized as [i] before or after *y*, e.g., *zəmryāsa* ‘songs’ [zɪmri‘ya:sa], *yəm̄ma* ‘mother’ [‘yimma]. On occasion *ə* may be realized as [y], e.g., [ʔ^hynwɛ] ‘grapes’.

d. *ū* is a reflex of *wi and is mostly limited to verbs II-*w* (§ 4.4.27.4), e.g., *dūqa* ‘seized’ ([‘d^hy:qɑ]) alongside *dwiqa* [‘d^hwi:qɑ], or *tūra* ‘broken’ ([‘t^hy:ra]), alongside *twira* [‘t^hwi:ra]. *ū* is attested in closed and pretonic syllables in verbs II-*w*, e.g., *ʔüdle* ‘he did’ alongside *wädle*, *düqāla* ‘she seized it’, as well as in the II-*w* adjective *zūrta* ‘small’ (m.s. *zōra*, c.pl. *zöre*) and in *Túrkiya* ‘Turkey’. Cf., however, the lack of fronting in *kúšleni* ‘we descended’ and the the II-*w* adjective *ruxta* ‘wide’ (m.s. *rwixa*).

e. *ø* ([ø]) is poorly attested. It is heard in the nouns *lō‘a* ‘jaw’ and **sapōxa* ‘wrap sandwich’, the adjective *zōra*, *zöre* ‘small’, and in the numbers *šō‘a* ‘seven’, *šō‘i* ‘seventy’, and *šō‘amma* ‘seven hundred’. Rarely *o* is fronted to *ø* in additional words, e.g., *ʔodax* ‘we may do’ as against the more common *ʔodax*.

3.9. GENERAL DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

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

b. Long vowels occur in open syllables:

1. most frequently in stressed syllables, e.g., *kātəb* ‘secretary’, *qāzi* ‘qadi’, *ʔida* ‘hand’, *spisa* ‘rotten’, *qəta* ‘summer’, *reša* ‘head’, *dūša* ‘honey’, *güre* ‘men’, *qora* ‘grave’, *tora* ‘ox’, *tūra* ‘broken’, *zōra* ‘small’;
2. *ā*, *i*, *e*, *o* may be found in pretonic syllables, e.g., *ʔāḡāye* ‘aghas’, *qyāmata* ‘resurrection’, *čiroke* ‘story’, *jirāne* ‘neighbors’, *ḡewāne*

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

‘animals’, *gopāla* ‘shepherd’s stick’, *gotiya* ‘small box’, *šō’amma* ‘seven hundred’; with the exception of the last example, all of the nouns are loanwords; *ā* is attested in this environment in the verbal system in inflected forms based on the Subjunctive, e.g., *kšāqalwa* ‘he used to take’;

3. *i* is attested in a propretonic syllable: *kilomātre* ‘kilometers’;
4. *ā* and *ū* may occur in a posttonic syllable: *qṭālwāle* ‘he had killed him’; *dārētūle* ‘you may put him’;
5. in monosyllabic words: *gā* ‘time’,²¹ *hā* ‘here, so!’, *mā* ‘what?’, *xzi* ‘see (m.s.)!’, *ke* ‘c’mon’, *go* ‘in’, *ko* ‘that, since’, *qū* ‘get up! (c.s.)’

c. Long vowels may also occur in closed syllables:

1. in stressed syllables, e.g., *flānkas* ‘so and so’, *qapṭān* ‘captain’, *giska* ‘young goat’, *guník* ‘gunny sack’, *dehwa* ‘gold’ (§ 3.1.1.a), *desta* ‘portion of food’, *darwéz* ‘dervish’, *mamnún* ‘grateful’, *qorús* ‘piaster’, *kolka* ‘hovel’, *qaraqól* ‘garrison’; most of the examples are loanwords;²²
2. in monosyllabic words, e.g., *bān* ‘I shall go’, *ḡās* ‘good’, *ḡāl* ‘situation’, *ʔit* ‘there is’, *pis* ‘filthy’, *beb* ‘together with’, *heš* ‘yet, still’, *bron* ‘son of’, *šqol* ‘take (c.s.)!’, *qūn* ‘get up! (c.pl.)’, *rūt* ‘naked’;
3. in final unstressed syllables, e.g., *jəwāb* ‘answer’, *wəždān* ‘conscience’, *qaddiš* ‘memorial prayer’, *tagbir* ‘counsel, conspiracy’, *tārix*, *ṭārix* ‘date of event’, *ṭrambel* ‘automobile, bus’, *āwon* ‘sin’; all the examples are loanwords with the exception of the E-suffix 1 c.pl. form *-axin* (*pātxaxin* ‘we may open’; § 4.1.6.f);
4. in pretonic and even earlier syllables in loanwords: *qāymaqam* ‘local governor’, *pisyatūsa* ‘filth’, *nerwāya* ‘resident of Nerwa’, *hekkarnāya* ‘resident of Hakkari’, *hekkaratūsa* ‘residents or region of Hakkari’.

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

1. unstressed final open syllables, e.g. *hedi* ‘slowly’, *ṭlāsi* ‘thirty’, *kalbe* ‘dogs’, *denāne* ‘debtors’, *māto* ‘why?’, *ṭadyo* ‘radio’

e. Short vowels occur in open syllables:

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

²¹ In rapid speech the final *a* of *gā* often tends to sound short.

²² Cf. the inherited Aramaic word *palgūṭ* in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:29) with JChalla *pālgus*.

2. *a, u, ü, ə* may be found in unstressed syllables (propretonic, pretonic, and posttonic), e.g., *ganāwūsa* ‘thievery’, *ḥakome* ‘kings’, *məsəlmāna* ‘Muslim’, *muselu* ‘they brought’, *čādəra* ‘tent’, *xāṭəreni* ‘our sake’, *guniya* ‘bramble’, *gurāne* ‘men’, *ḥukumiya* ‘government’, *qṭəllu* ‘they killed’, *tāpu* ‘title deed’, *düqāle* ‘he seized her’;
3. *a* and *ə* may be found in stressed syllables, e.g., *fišaka* ‘bullet’, *malək* ‘ruler’, *masale* ‘matter’, *kəra* ‘rent’, *mədor* ‘mudir’, ‘*ādəta* ‘custom’.

f. Short vowels occur in closed syllables:

1. in unstressed syllables, both non-final and final: *baxtūsa* ‘wifehood’, *darḥāme* ‘dirhams’, *bəndaqīya* ‘rifle’, *kəndāla* ‘steep slope’, *kurtāke* ‘garments’, *qurdāya* ‘Kurd’, *qačax* ‘smuggled goods’, *tre’sar* ‘twelve’, *qāṭəl* ‘he kills’, *tābur* ‘battalion’, *təttun* ‘tobacco’;
2. in stressed syllables: *ṛapsa* ‘big’, *sahma* ‘portion, lot’, *pəsra* ‘meat’, *wəždān* ‘conscience’, *ḥušta* ‘excuse’, *qur’an* ‘Quran’, ‘*üdle* ‘he did’.

3.10. SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS

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

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

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

<i>bāba</i>	‘father’	>	<i>babawāsa</i>	‘fathers’
<i>gāre</i>	‘roof’	>	<i>garawāsa</i>	‘roofs’
<i>hudāya</i>	‘Jew’	>	<i>hudayeni</i>	‘our Jews’
<i>kāpa</i>	‘shoulder’	>	<i>kapāne</i>	‘shoulders’

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

This applies also to the D Gerund, e.g., *mšadore* ‘sending’ (cf. *(m)šādər* ‘he may send’).

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

<i>’āğa</i>	‘ <i>āgha</i> ’	>	<i>’āğāye</i>	‘ <i>āghas</i> ’
			<i>’āğātūsa</i>	‘ <i>masterdom</i> ’
<i>pis</i>	‘ <i>filthy</i> ’	>	<i>pisyatūsa</i>	‘ <i>filth</i> ’

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

<i>bāba</i>	‘ <i>son</i> ’	>	<i>bāb-</i>	‘ <i>father of</i> ’
<i>brāta</i>	‘ <i>daughter</i> ’	>	<i>brāt-</i>	‘ <i>daughter of</i> ’
<i>qdāla</i>	‘ <i>neck</i> ’	>	<i>qdāl-</i>	‘ <i>neck of</i> ’

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

<i>dūka</i>	‘ <i>place</i> ’	>	<i>dukāne</i>	‘ <i>places</i> ’
<i>ṭūra</i>	‘ <i>mountain</i> ’	>	<i>ṭurāne</i>	‘ <i>mountains</i> ’

3.11. CONDITIONED VOWEL SHIFTS

a. *ā* > *e* before a syllable closing ’ and *h*, e.g.,²⁴

<i>behna</i>	‘ <i>moment</i> ’
<i>de’sa</i>	‘ <i>sweat</i> ’
<i>dehna</i>	‘ <i>fat</i> ’
<i>dehwa</i>	‘ <i>gold</i> ’
<i>nehra</i>	‘ <i>river</i> ’
<i>pehna</i>	‘ <i>kick</i> ’
<i>se’ra</i>	‘ <i>goat hair</i> ’
<i>šme’lu</i>	‘ <i>they heard</i> ’ ²⁵
<i>ṭe’na</i>	‘ <i>load</i> ’

b. *u* > *o* before syllable-closing ’, e.g.,²⁶

<i>balo’ta</i>	‘ <i>throat</i> ’
<i>šabo’ta</i>	‘ <i>finger</i> ’
<i>zdo’sa</i>	‘ <i>fear</i> ’
<i>mo’rəqle</i>	‘ <i>he chased him away</i> ’

²⁴ Hobermann 1997:324–325; Mutzafi 2008a:27.

²⁵ In forms of the C Imperative, **mašmə* ‘listen! (m.s.)’ > *mašme*(’), but also *mašmi*(’)

as a result of the partial merger of verbs III-’ and III-y (§ 4.4.27.7).

²⁶ Hoberman 1997:324–325; Mutzafi 2008a:27.

moʿrənne ‘he brought me in’
^Hmoʿšəmānmu^H ‘they accused me’

3.12. RISING DIPHTHONGS

a. The attested rising diphthongs are:

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

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

3.13. FALLING DIPHTHONGS

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

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

²⁷ Shabbo alternates both forms, even in the same sentence: *hatxa le ʾūda hatxa le wida* ‘Like this he has done, like that he has done.’

- ‘Moroccan’, *nerwesa* ‘resident of Nerwa’, *qurdesa* ‘Kurd’, *wānesa* ‘resident of Wan’.
- uy: *uy* appears in the C stem of *y’y* (< **yd*‘) ‘make known’, e.g., *muyde(°)lu* ‘they made known’.
- aw: See § 3.14

3.14. OTHER DIPHTHONGS THAT HAVE CONTRACTED IN JEWISH CHALLA

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

**ib* > *ib* > *aw* > *u/ū*: This contraction takes place before a consonant e.g., *dūša* ‘honey’ (cf. TO, JPA *dibšā*; Syr ܕܝܒܫܐ; TO, BTA, Mand *dubšā*); *hūle* ‘he gave’ (< **həwle* < **həble* < **yhible*); *kāsu* ‘he may write’ (< **kāsəw* < **kāsib*), *ksūli* ‘I wrote’ (< **ksəwli* < **ksibli*), *ksūta* ‘written’ (< **ksəwta* < **ksibtā*). Before a vowel, the diphthong is retained, e.g., *ksiwa* ‘written’ (< **ksiba* < **ksibā*), *hiwe* ‘given’ (Participle pl. **hibe* < **yhibe*). The diphthong *aw* is attested, however before *y*, in **šwīya* > **šiwya* > *šəwya* ‘dyed’, and the loanwords *qəwya* ‘strong’, *qəwyūsa* ‘strength’.

**ap* > *ap* > *aw* > *o*: *ḥoxe* ‘lentils’ (< **ḥlawxe* < *ḥlapḥe*; cf. TO, BTA ܚܠܘܚܝܬܝܢ; Syr ܠܘܚܝܬܝܢ).

3.15. CONTRACTION OF TRIPHTHONGS AND RELATED FORMS

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

1. the 3 c.s. independent pronoun ‘*āya* ‘he, she’ > ‘*ā* (§ 4.1.1.e)
2. the m.s. gentilic suffix: *hudāya* ‘Jew’ > *hudā*, *qurdāya* ‘Kurd’ > *qurdā*
3. the Gerund of verbs III-*y*: *bəxzāya* ‘seeing’ > *bəxzā*; *bəjrāya* ‘flowing’ > *bəjrā*
4. *ṭappāya* > *ṭappā* ‘hillside’ (§ 5.7.5)

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

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

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

3.16. GLIDES

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

<i>’āḡaye</i>	‘ <i>āgha</i> ’ (s. <i>’āḡā</i>)
<i>balāye</i>	‘ <i>trouble(s)</i> ’ (§ 4.2.3.1.d)
<i>kiloye</i>	‘ <i>kilos</i> ’ (s. <i>kilo</i>)

b. The glide *y* (< *w*?) is attested in *’amoya* (*’amo* + *a*) ‘paternal uncle’, and *xaloya* (*xālo* + *a*) ‘maternal uncle’ (§ 4.2.9.7).

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

3.17. APHAERESIS

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

<i>hūle</i>	‘ <i>he gave</i> ’ < * <i>yhəwle</i>
<i>mira</i>	‘ <i>said</i> ’ < * <i>’mira</i>
<i>mərre</i>	‘ <i>he said</i> ’ < * <i>’mərre</i>
<i>səqli</i>	‘ <i>I went up</i> ’ < * <i>ysəqli</i>
<i>sira</i>	‘ <i>bound</i> ’ < * <i>ysira</i> ²⁹
<i>sirilu</i>	‘ <i>they bound them</i> ’ < * <i>ysirilu</i>
<i>seta</i>	‘ <i>come (f.s.)</i> ’ < * <i>’seta</i>
<i>sela</i>	‘ <i>she came</i> ’ < * <i>’sela</i>
<i>tiwa</i>	‘ <i>seated</i> ’ < * <i>ytiwa</i>

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

²⁹ *ysira* is attested once in Shabbo’s speech.

<i>tūle</i>	‘he sat’ < *ytəwle
<i>xīla</i>	‘eaten’ < *xīla
<i>xəlle</i>	‘he ate’ < *xəlle ³⁰
<i>zəlle</i>	‘he went’ < *zəlle

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

c. Nor does it occur in the Gerund of Verbs I-’, where #’C > #’iC: *’isāya* ‘coming’, *’ixāla* ‘eating’, *’izāla* ‘going’.

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

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

<i>koma</i>	‘black’ (ClAram ܟܘܡܐ); f. <i>kumta</i>
<i>tiqa</i>	‘old’ (ClAram ܩܝܩܐ; cf. <i>’atiqa</i> elsewhere in <i>lishana deni</i> dialects); f. <i>təqta</i> , pl. <i>tiqe</i>
<i>dāna</i>	‘time’ (ClAram ܕܢܐܢܐ ‘time’); pl. <i>dāne</i> and the conjunction <i>kud dān</i> ‘whenever’

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

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

3.18. SYNCOPE

a. Unstressed *ə* is syncopated in the plural forms³¹ *kilometre* ‘kilometers’ (sg. *kilometər*), *metre* ‘meters’ (s. *metər*), *malkāni* ‘chieftains’ (s. *malək*), and in *ma’almine* ‘teachers’ (s. *ma’alləm*).

³⁰ Shabbo also once says *’xəlli* ‘I ate’.

³¹ Cf. the syncope of *ə* or *e* in a singular base when the suffix *-āḏa* is added (Mutzafi 2008a:97).

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

b. ' (< ClAram ʿ) has been syncopated in *zora* 'small' < *z'ora* (< ClAram ארזר).³²

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

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

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

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

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

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

³² Sabar 2002a:156.

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

3.19. APOCOPE

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

<i>'axona</i>	'brother'	>	<i>'axon ma'alləm</i>	'the brother of the teacher'
<i>baxtása</i>	'women'	>	<i>baxtás qurdāye</i>	'the women of the Kurds'
<i>brona</i>	'son'	>	<i>bron sāwox</i>	'your grandfather's son'

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

<i>palg(a)</i>	'half'	>	<i>pálsā'a</i>	'half an hour'
			<i>pálpaŋqànoŋ</i>	'half lira'

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

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

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

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

The final syllable of *yoma* is apocopated in

*palgeh d-yomā	>	<i>palgədyo</i>	'noon'
*hā d-yomā	>	<i>'ədyo</i>	'today'

Note that *lele* is not apocopated in *'ádlele* 'tonight', unlike in *palgədlel* 'midnight'. Cf. the JBetan forms *'ədlel*, *palgədlel*, *palgədyom*, *'ədyo*.

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

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

f. *l* is apocopated in the preposition *kasəl* (§ 3.18.f): *kas spindarnāye* ‘with the residents of Spindar’.³⁴

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

3.20. GEMINATION

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

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

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

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

³⁵ Mutzafi (2008a:124) raises the possibility that *m-* is also a reduced form of *³am < *‘am ‘with’.

³⁶ A trace of gemination can be seen in the Gerund of geminate verbs (§ 4.4.2.7.6). See also in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:47–48, 77–79). Quantitative metathesis (CvCC = Cv:C) is the rule in Turoyo for all ClAram gemination. See Jastrow 1985:XXI.

³⁷ See Mutzafi 2008a:30.

³⁸ Syr *ܡܡܡܐ* and JBA *מְמַמ*, but TO *מְמַמ*.

‘mother’.³⁹ At other times the gemination in these patterns is simplified and one hears a long penultimate vowel, e.g., *gūba* ‘loom’, *gūda* ‘wall’, *dūka* ‘place’, *kāke* ‘teeth’, *rāba* ‘much’, *xāye* ‘life’. Gemination is preserved in cases where the gemination is the result of an assimilated *n*: *’azza* ‘goat’ (< *’izzā < *’inzā’) and *xatte* ‘wheat’ (< *ḥitte < *ḥinṭayyā’). Cf., however, the simplification of ClAram gemination before the *f*. morpheme *-t* and compensatory lengthening in *šāta* ‘year’ (ClAram 𐤱𐤲𐤔 < PrAram *šantā’). Fluctuation is found in the forms of the noun *skinalsəkkina* ‘knife’.⁴⁰ Gemination is not preserved in adjectives of the *qattil noun pattern, e.g., *basima* ‘pleasing’ (f.s. *basəmta*),⁴¹ *šamina* ‘fat’ (pl. *šamine*), *yarixa* ‘long’ (f.s. *yarəxta*, pl. *yarixe*), or in nouns of the *qattāl pattern, e.g., *ganāwa* ‘thief’, *sahāda* ‘witness’, *šawā’a* ‘dyer’, *šahāra* ‘blind’. Gemination of an earlier period that stemmed from the assimilation of *t* in the noun *kāpa* ‘shoulder’ (< *kappa < ClAram 𐤊𐤏𐤓𐤔 < PrAram *katipā’; pl. *kapāne*) has been simplified.

d. Gemination in loanwords is preserved, e.g., *čakke* ‘weapons’, *čappa* ‘left’, *ḥaqq* ‘salary’, *julle* ‘clothes’, *ḳappāra* ‘expiation’. The gemination in the loanword *ma’alləm* ‘teacher’ is lost in the plural form along with the following vowel *ə*: *ma’almine*.

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

f. The gemination in *rəqqa* ‘distance’ comes from the assimilation of *x* (< *h*) to *q* (LEAram 𐤓𐤓𐤑𐤓).⁴⁵

³⁹ < 𐤌𐤍.

⁴⁰ Cf. ClAram 𐤱𐤲𐤔 (and BiblH 𐤱𐤲𐤔) and MishH 𐤱𐤲𐤔.

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

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

⁴³ Cf. ClAram 𐤓𐤓𐤑 ‘one (f.)’. Gemination is also attested in this number in SA ‘*adda* ‘the one (m.)’ and JPA 𐤌𐤓𐤑 ‘the one (m.)’ (Fassberg 1985).

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

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

g. The gemination in *xuṭṭa* ‘stick, rod’ results from the assimilation of *r* to *t* (ClAram אַחַטְּח).

h. The inflected forms of the preposition *l-* ‘to, for’ and *b-* ‘in’ exhibit what might be secondary gemination that arose by analogy to the gemination of the inflected forms of the preposition *mən* ‘from, with’ (e.g., *mənni* ‘from me’ [ClAram מְנִי], *mənnexun* ‘from you’), e.g., *’alle* ‘to him’, *’abbe* ‘in him’.⁴⁶ It is also possible, however, that the gemination of *’all-* comes from the affixation of the L-suffix pronouns to the preposition *’al* (< ClAram אַל).⁴⁷

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

*kṗən + lu	>	<i>kṗənnu</i> ‘they starved’
*d’ər + lox	>	<i>d’ərrox</i> ‘you returned’
*’amrən + lox	>	<i>’amrənnox</i> ‘I may say to you’
*’amrət + lu	>	<i>’amrəttu</i> ‘you may say to them.’

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

<i>mətle</i>	‘he died’
<i>skətle</i>	‘he croaked’

3.21. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

Unlike in ClAram where only Cv, Cṽ, CvC, and CṽC syllables were allowed, JChalla, like other NeoAram dialects, evidences additional syllable types: CCv and CCṽ, which in ClAram have the shape CəCv, CəCṽ (e.g., *šlosa* ‘prayer’ < ClAram *šlotā*), and CvCC, which occurs only in loanwords (e.g., *ḥaqq* ‘right’; *žang* ‘rust’).

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

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

⁴⁷ Mutzafi 2008a:123.

3.22. ANAPTYXIS

a. A synchronic cluster of three consonants is usually resolved by the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel between the second and third consonants, e.g., ^Hbma'smi^H > *mmá'səmi* 'they will accuse', *mburbza > *mbúrbəza* 'scattered'; *mad'raxle > *mad'əraxle* 'we may return him'; *maqtlili > *maqṭəlili* 'they may have me killed'.

b. When the second consonant is a resonant, however, anaptyxis occurs between the first and second consonants. See, e.g., in verbal forms: *mašlmile > *mašəlmile* 'they may convert him to Islam'; *muxrwālu > *muxərwālu* 'they destroyed her'; *ma'rqile > *ma'ərqile* 'they may smuggle him out'; and in nouns: 'aqalta 'foot' (< *'aqлта),⁴⁸ *tawərta* 'cow' (< *tawrta). Perhaps anaptyxis is also the origin of *ū* in 'axūsa 'brotherhood' (< *'axəwsa < *'axwsā?) and *našwsā > *našūsa* 'fight' (< *našəwsa < *našwsā?; § 4.2.9.3.a). Even though the resonant is the first and not the second consonant in the cluster, anaptyxis occurs between the first and second consonants in *kaləpsa* 'bitch' (< *kalbtā). This occurs regularly when *b-* is prefixed to the Gerund, e.g., *b + qṭāla* > *bəqṭāla* 'in killing'.

c. Anaptyxis is attested in neo-construct forms (§ 4.2.2.b), e.g., 'əpər 'soil' (< *'əpr < 'əpra), 'əqər 'bottom' (< *'əqr < 'əqra), *naqəl* 'time' (< *naql < *naqla*), *qəṭəl* 'killing' (< *qəṭl < *qəṭla*), and *xətən* 'son-in-law' (< *xətn < *xətna*).

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

<i>Parsnāye</i> 'Persians'	=	<i>par-snāye</i> .
'əltxé(t?) 'under'	=	'əl-txé(t?)
<i>mundyālu</i> 'they threw her down'	=	<i>mun-dyālu</i>
<i>škaftiyāsa</i> 'caves'	=	<i>škaft-yāsa</i>
<i>lā-gmzabnetun</i> 'you don't sell'	=	<i>lāg-mzabnetun</i>

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

'əhməlle, <i>hməlle</i>	'he stood'
əmtəlan, <i>mṭəlan</i>	'we arrived'
əmrə(')la	'it hurt'
əmpəlle, <i>mpəlle</i>	'he fell'

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

<i>əmxéwālu</i>	‘they had beaten’
<i>əʃqəllu, ʃqəllu</i>	‘they took’
<i>axzi, xzi</i>	‘look (m.s.)!’

3.23. STRESS

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

- a. in loanwords, where stress is sometimes according to the donor language, e.g., *čádəra* ‘tent’, *dúnume* ‘dunams’, *faqír* ‘poor’, *kafil* ‘guarantor’ (also *káfil*), *máhkama* ‘court’, *taḥqiqát* ‘investigations’. Some loanwords have been assimilated to the regular JChalla stress pattern, e.g., *‘arzuḥal* ‘petition’ (but also *‘arzuḥál* § 4.2.1.h), *gazeṛa* ‘(evil) decree’, *wakil* ‘deputy’;
- b. in proper nouns, where stress is variable, e.g., the Hebrew name אַבְרָהָם is pronounced with three different stresses: *‘Awṛáham* (general JChalla stress pattern as well as colloquial Hebrew stress pattern), *‘Awrahám* (formal Hebrew stress pattern), and *‘Áwrahám* (also colloquial Hebrew stress pattern);
- c. Stress is prepenultimate on verbs that have the past marker *-wa* followed by an L-suffix, e.g., *‘ətwāle* ‘he had’, *gbéwāle* ‘he used to want’, *xapri-wālu* ‘they used to dig’, *kaswánwālu* ‘I used to write them’;
- d. Stress is prepenultimate on verbal forms with the final allomorphs *-a*, *-ən(a)*, *-an(a)*, and *-in* on inflected forms of the Subjunctive base and Imperative, e.g., *‘ázəna* ‘I (m.s.) may go’, *yā’étuna* ‘you (c.pl.) may know’, *ḥmóləna* ‘wait!’, *qématən* ‘you (f.s.) may arise’, *šáqlaxin* ‘we may take’. Stress is also prepenultimate on forms of the Preterite with the 1 c.pl. and 2 c.pl. L-suffixes, e.g., *zəlłeni* ‘we went’, *zəllexun* ‘you went’.
- e. Stress is prepenultimate on certain adverbs and prepositions, e.g., *‘áqqara* ‘so much’ (< *’ad + qadara; also *‘aqqar*); reduplicated forms with stress on the first syllable: *básbasər* ‘right after’, *bárbara* ‘towards’, *qámqāmu* ‘right before them’.

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.24. PAUSE

Two pausal forms of numbers are attested, both of which take an excrescent glottal stop: *xa* ‘one’ and *tre* ‘two’ (§ 4.3.1).

CHAPTER FOUR

MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

4.1. PRONOUNS

4.1.1. *Independent Pronouns*

a. The inventory of independent pronouns in JChalla is

1 c.s.	'āna
2 c.s.	'āhat
3 c.s.	'āya, 'ā
1 c.pl.	'axnan
2 c.pl.	'axtun
3 c.pl.	'āni

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2. Pronominal Suffixes on Nouns

a. The pronominal suffixes in JChalla are

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

b. Representative examples include

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

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

<i>ʔaprexun</i>	‘your (pl.) soil’
<i>mállətexun</i>	‘your (pl.) ethnic group’
<i>qalunku</i>	‘their narghiles’
<i>ʔidāsu</i>	‘their hands’

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

kullan, kulleni kiʔax
 ‘All of us, all of us know.’³

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

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

4.1.3. Independent Genitive Pronoun

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

1 c.s.	<i>didi</i>
2 m.s.	<i>didox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>didax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>dide</i>
3 f.s.	<i>dida</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>deni</i> ⁷

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

⁴ Fox 2002:160.

⁵ Talay 2008:191.

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

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

- 2 c.pl. *dexun*⁸
 3 c.pl. *didu*

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

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

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

- bāb dide* / *bābəd dide* / *bābe*
 ‘his father’
’urxa dide / *’urxəd dide* / *’urxe*
 ‘his path’
gor dida / *gora dida* / *gora*
 ‘her husband’

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

- didox ’āya-la.*
 ‘It is yours (m.s.)’
didax ’āya-la.
 ‘It is yours (f.s.)’

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

’āya dīdi-le.
‘It is mine.’

dexun ’āya-la.
‘It is yours (c.pl.).’

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

nāš d-éka-wət? kəmri dəd Wān.
“‘Where are you from?’ They say from Van.’

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

4.1.4. L-Suffix Pronouns

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

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

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

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

zālleni mṭelan^H gyul^H.
‘We went (and) we arrived at the border.’

kúšlana ’əltəx ’əltəx. kúšleni ḥel tāma.
‘We went way down. We went down until there.’

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

4.1.5. *LL-Suffix Pronouns*

a. LL-suffix pronouns may have been formed historically by the affixation of the L-suffix pronouns to the preposition 'al (< ClAram לַעַל):⁹

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

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

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

4.1.6. *E-Suffix Pronouns*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

baxlan pār didu... 'āna baxlən pār didu

'I shall use up their money... I shall use up their money' (§ 5.3.16)

'āna gəbən pālpaŋqaŋoŋ mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta ^Hšamran^H pāri ta baṛāxa.

'I want a half lira of your money in order to put it in with my money for a blessing (alms).'

 (§ 5.3.12)

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

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

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

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

'axnan kpalxax hənna kpalxaxin 'əbbəd^Hkuwaḥ ha-šəm^H la 'əbbəd^Hkuwaḥ^H gyānan.

'We work, um, we work by the power of God, not by our own power.'

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

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

qaṭlaxle

'we may kill him'

yāwaxle
‘we may give it’

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

šalxáxwālu
‘we used to take them off’

’axnan panjāre^Zgəmráxwāla^Z.
‘We used to call it *panjare* (window).’

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

ki’ētūle, naxón? ktaxrétūle.
‘You (pl.) know him, correct? You (pl.) remember him.’

4.1.7. Demonstrative Pronouns

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

Near	Far
c.s. <i>’iya (yā)</i>	c.s. <i>’e</i>
c.pl. <i>’anna (’an)</i>	

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

’āya q̄t̄əllu Spindarnāye.
‘The residents of Spindar killed that one.’ (§ 5.6.8)

u-’āya mokušlu m-kawónta
‘and that one they brought down off the mule’ (§ 5.2.11)

lewət wida lə-’āya u-lə-’āya u-lə-’āya
‘you haven’t done (it) to that one and to that one and to that one’

’āya țarma šüqlu l-ta(ma).
‘They left that corpse the(re).’ (§ 5.2.14)

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

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

'an bargūze / 'anna bargūze
‘these suits’

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

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

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

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

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

<i>'iya gora</i>	‘this man’
<i>'e gora</i>	‘that man’
<i>'anna 'urwānəd didu</i>	‘those leaders of theirs’

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

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

'iya 'ādōta-la.
‘This is a custom.’ (§ 5.6.6)

'anna lu wide 'askar go Túrkiya.
‘Those have done military service in Turkey.’ (§ 5.6.12)

¹¹ So too in JArbel. See Khan 1999:85.

¹² Elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects *'e* marks the f.s. as against the m.s. *'o*.

¹³ When asked if there is a far demonstrative ‘those’, Shabbo, after hearing his cousin Ahiya and his brother Ḥayyo use JZakho *'anāha*, also says *'anāha*, but he never uses it in the many hours of recorded speech.

¹⁴ See Jastrow 1990:101–102 on the reflexes of *'ad* in NeoAram, where he notes that *'ad-* is best preserved in Hertevin. It occurs on a limited scale in Ṭuroyo but in most NENA dialects only in one or two fossilized words.

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

4.1.8. Possessive-Relative Particle d

The ClAram relative pronoun (ד/י) has allomorphs in JChalla: -*ad*, -*d*, *d*-, 'ad-.

a. One reflex occurs as the suffix -*ad* (before unvoiced consonants [-It]); § 3.2.d)¹⁶ on nouns in annexation (§ 4.2.2.a), e.g., 'āgāyad Čalla 'the aghas of Challa, qatlad 'aṭarka 'the killing of the peddler', nixad 'amoyi 'my late paternal uncle', yammad bābox 'your father's mother'. The vowel *i* of *māndi* 'thing' is preserved before -*d* in *māndid deni* 'something of ours' (§ 5.4.1; see also below 'ānid § 4.1.8.g).

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

<i>šālād dide</i>	'his belt'
<i>ṭarmād dide</i>	'his corpse'
'abbād dide	'in him'
'allād didu	'to them'
<i>mānned dide</i>	'from him'

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

<i>yomād plātlan</i>	'the day we went out'
<i>yarxād kese</i>	'the month he comes'
<i>denānād muselu</i>	'the debtors whom they brought'
<i>kud duksād gəbe</i>	'whatever place they want'

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

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

¹⁷ Goldenberg 1993:631 and 1995.

nāšād gbe^Hemét^H
 ‘people who want truth’

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

’é-məšəlmānəd nixəd bābi muqtəlle
 ‘that Muslim whom my father had killed’ (§ 5.6.19)

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

yarxəd ’arba
 ‘fourth month’

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

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

mād gbənwa muselu.
 ‘Whatever I would want, they brought.’

mād ’amraxlu la^Zgəmrilan^Z la.
 ‘Whatever we say to them, they don’t say no to us.’

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

’ānid lu m’axye-lle ’āya.^Hken^H, ’ānid əmxéwālu ’əlle.
 ‘Those who have beaten him, that one. Yes, those who had beaten him.’
 (§ 5.2.16)

’annəd qāmi
 ‘those that (are) on me’

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

tad dārənna
 ‘in order to put her’

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

dla pāre ‘without money’
dla šarwāla ‘without trousers’
dlá-’ārəqla ‘lest he flee’

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

mən d-axxa ‘from here’
mən d-iya ‘from this’
xor d-axxa ‘like here’

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

ʾāğa d-Čalla ‘an agha of Challa’
ʾāğa d-láxma-ewa ‘he was the Agha of bread’
^Htaḥaná^H d-basra ‘the next station’ (cf. *kud^Htaḥaná^{dH}gezaxwa* ‘every station which we went to’ (§ 5.10.1)
wal^Hpolátika^H d-hudāye řába-la. ‘Indeed, the craftiness of the Jews is great.’ (§ 5.6.5)
^Hhistóriya^H d-kullu kiʾanna. ‘I know the history of everyone.’ (§ 5.6.11)

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

^Hkafé d-bokər^H ‘the morning coffee’ (§ 5.4.6)

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

xalwəd d-iwət xíla-lle mən xədyawāsəd yəmmox
 ‘the milk which you have drunk¹⁹ from your mother’s breasts’
ʾaxnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa.
 ‘We are not (like) the people here.’

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

māṭo t-ūwa?
 ‘How will it be?’
mā t-ūwa
 ‘what should be’
ʾanna t-ilu ʾurwānəd hənna...
 ‘those who are the leaders of, um...’

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

¹⁹ Lit., ‘eaten’

²⁰ As in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:42).

'e *hudāya t-ile naxrāya l-tāma*
 'that Jew who is a foreigner there'

n. Sometimes *d* has the allomorph 'əd-,²¹ e.g.,

'āwon *didox* 'əd-kúlla *hudāye mən kullu dukāne*
 'your guilt (and) of all the Jews from everywhere' (§ 5.8.19)

'āwon *didax u-'əd-górax b-qdāléxun*
 'you and your husband are responsible' (§ 5.9.13)

'atta 'əd-gyāni *pšalxənnu*
 'now I will take them off of myself' (§ 5.2.8)

'egā 'āni 'ādətəd *dídu-la 'əd-'āga.*
 'Now it is a custom of theirs with the Agha.' (§ 5.4.6)

4.1.9. Reflexive Pronoun

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

dūkəd gyāne
 'his own place'

haqqəd gyānan
 'our due'

'āna ^H*mbakšm^H pār gyāni.*
 'I request my money.' (§ 5.2.2)

^H*dowar^H gyānu zəlle kəl qāymaqam, ^Hdowar^H gyānan msulmālan.*²²
 'Their mail went to the local governor, our mail we delivered.' (§ 5.7.1)

4.1.10. Reciprocal Pronouns

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

'āni *ki'ewa b-'əğdād.*
 'They knew (of the matter from) each other.' (§ 5.8.13)

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

²¹ See also in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:41).

²² Note that Shabbo treats ^H*dowar^H* as both m. (*zəlle*) and f. (*msulmālan*).

lu tiwe 'āni barqul 'ígādā.

'They had sat opposite each other.' (§ 5.3.10)

r'áqqe-lu m-'ígādā(e).

'They are far from each other.'

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

xa ^Hg'azri^H l-e-xét, xa mraḥmi l-e-xéta.

'One helps the other, one pities the other.'

ṣrəxlu xá-l-e-xet

'they shouted to each other' (§ 5.2.10)

xa lu mšaboḥe 'əl-xé

'one is praising the other' (§ 5.3.10)

4.1.1.1. Interrogative Pronouns

mā 'what?'

má-lox. 'What's with you?'

má-le. 'What's with him?'

mā wáxt-ile. 'What time is it?'

mā 'ódəna. 'What should I do?'

mani 'who?'

lá-ki'on mani xéta-ži

'I don't know (on) whom else either' (§ 5.5.1)

mani lu q'íle-lle 'aṭarka?

'Who have killed him, the peddler?' (§ 5.5.1)

'eni 'which?'²³

mar 'eni ^Hmədiná^H bəštor.

'Say which state (is) better!'

mən ^HTúrkiya^H 'eni dūka?

'From which place (in) Turkey?'

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

mā qársa-la l-tāma go ṭūra!

'How cold it is there on the mountain!' (§ 5.2.11)

'iya mā qurdáya-le! hatxa narm u-ḥāle garməd dide.

'What (sort of) a Kurd this is! His bones are so soft and the like!' (§ 5.3.6)

²³ Cf. *'emi* (JZakho and JDohok), *'ema* (JBetan). It also functions as an adjective in *'éni-āšti kiloye, šo'i kiloye* 'some sixty kilos, seventy kilos' (§ 5.3.15).

4.1.12. *Indefinite Pronouns*

A number of words function as indefinite pronouns:

a. *xa* ‘a, a certain’:²⁴

<i>xa nəqwa</i>	‘a female’
<i>xa šwāna</i>	‘a shepherd’
<i>xa yalunka</i>	‘a child’

b. *xanči* ‘some, a few’:

xanči qtililu. xanči drelu go^Hbet sohar^H. xanči ’riqālu mən^Hpaḥad^H. xanči pəšlu.
 ‘Some they killed. Some they put in prison. Some fled out of fright. Some remained.’ (§ 5.1.8)

c. *xədda*²⁵ ‘someone’:

<i>xədda qātəllexun</i>	‘someone may kill you (pl.)’
<i>’ən xədda^Hpšə’le^H</i>	‘if someone got injured’

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

<i>flān brāta</i>	‘such and such a daughter’
<i>flān muxtar</i>	‘such and such a mukhtar’
<i>flān nāša</i>	‘such and such a person’
<i>flān bər flān kəslox ’āya?</i>	‘Is so and so with you?’

flāna is used with non-humans, e.g.,

<i>flāna dūka</i>	‘such and such a place’ (also <i>flānā-dūka</i> ; § 3.23.h)
<i>flāna māsa</i>	‘such and such a village’
<i>flāna šāta</i>	‘such and such a year’

e. *flānkas* ‘so and so, a certain person’:

<i>flānkas ké-le?</i>	‘Where is so and so?’
-----------------------	-----------------------

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

<i>kud duksa</i>	‘each place’
<i>kúd-dūka-u-dūka</i>	‘each and every place’

²⁴ For a detailed analysis of the use of *xa* as an indefinite pronoun in NENA, see Khan 2008:288–293.

²⁵ See §§ 3.20.e; 4.3.1.d.

<i>kud kma yarxe</i>	‘every few months’
<i>kúd-lel</i>	‘every night’
<i>kud mhokéle-ži</i>	‘whoever also spoke’
<i>kud šuftiya</i>	‘each watermelon’
<i>kúd-yom</i>	‘every day’
<i>kuššat</i>	‘every year’ (§ 3.6.b)

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

kútxa-le dūkəd gyāne.

‘Each one is (in) his own place.’ (§ 5.11.6)

kutxa xa ’nglizi-la l-kāpəd dide.

‘Each one (has) an English (rifle) on his shoulder.’ (§ 5.11.9)

kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa.

‘Each one’s knife is here.’ (§ 5.4.10)

h. *kút-xa-u-xa* ‘each and every one’

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

<i>kútreni</i>	‘the two of us’
<i>kútrexun</i>	‘the two of you’
<i>kutru</i>	‘the two of them’
<i>kúṭlāhun</i>	‘the three of them’
<i>kút’arbeni</i>	‘the four of us’

j. *kull-* ‘all’

<i>kullan, kulléni</i>	‘all of us’
<i>kúllexun</i>	‘all of you’
<i>kullu lu zile</i>	‘all of them have gone’
<i>kulle lašše</i>	‘all of his body’
<i>kulle gəldəd ’ide</i>	‘all of the skin of his hand’
<i>kulle mənni šqəllexun</i>	‘You have taken all of it from me.’
<i>kulle məndi</i>	‘all sorts of things’
<i>kulla ’ar’a</i>	‘all of the land’
<i>kulla ’Iraq</i>	‘all of Iraq’
<i>kullu xāšu</i>	‘all of their backs’

k. *məndi* ‘thing’:

mesewa məndi.

‘They would bring something.’

mərru məndid deni šqəllu.

‘They said they took something of ours.’

l. *xá-māndi* ‘something’:*mārru xá-māndi.*

‘They said something.’

m. *čú-māndi* ‘nothing’:*čú-māndi xet let.*

‘There is nothing else.’

lewe bāda čú-māndi.

‘He isn’t doing anything.’

lá-ki’etun čú-māndi.

‘You (pl.) don’t know anything.’

n. *čú-xa* ‘no one’:*čú-xa xet látwāle.*

‘He didn’t have anyone else.’

čú-xa lewe míra-lli.

‘No one has told me.’

čú-xa lewe plīta.

‘No one has come out.’

o. *kma* ‘some’:*kma qorūše*

‘some piasters’

4.2. NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

4.2.1. *Inflection of Nouns*

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

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

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

<i>damma</i>	‘blood’
<i>gālda</i>	‘skin’
<i>qāša</i>	‘priest’
<i>pāšra</i>	‘flesh’

<i>sahāda</i>	‘witness’
<i>ṣiwa</i>	‘wood’
<i>talga</i>	‘snow’

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

<i>’aqla</i>	‘foot’
<i>’ar’a</i>	‘land’
<i>’ena</i>	‘eye, well’
<i>’ərba</i>	‘sheep’
<i>’ida</i>	‘hand’
<i>’urxa</i>	‘path’
<i>kāsa</i>	‘belly’

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

<i>bəndaqiya</i>	‘rifle’
<i>daqīqa</i>	‘minute’
<i>ḥukūma</i>	‘government’
<i>māḥkama</i>	‘court’
<i>qaḥba</i>	‘whore’
<i>səjjāda</i>	‘prayer rug’

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

<i>’alisa</i>	‘fat tail’
<i>basəmta</i>	‘pleasing’
<i>kaləpsa</i>	‘bitch’
<i>səpsa</i>	‘lip’
<i>ṣabo’ta</i>	‘finger’

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

<i>’ādəta</i>	‘custom’
<i>darbəta</i>	‘blow from God’
<i>məlləta</i>	‘ethnic group’
<i>qudrəta</i>	‘(Divine) omnipotence’
<i>qyāməta</i>	‘resurrection’

’əmməta ‘nation’ and *məlkəta* ‘property’ may have also entered through Kurdish (or Turkish).

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

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

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

<i>ʿarzūḥal</i>	‘petition’ (also <i>ʿarzuḥál</i>)
<i>ʿaskar</i>	‘army, soldier’
<i>ʿāwon</i>	‘guilt, sin’
<i>ʿnyān</i>	‘matter’ ²⁸
<i>doktor</i>	‘doctor’
<i>ḥākəm</i>	‘judge’
<i>ḥarb</i>	‘war’
<i>māl</i>	‘property’
<i>páṣṣaport</i>	‘passport’
<i>sartuk</i>	‘cream’

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

<i>ʿaqida</i>	‘(military) leader’
<i>ḥarāza</i>	‘pig’
<i>dašta</i>	‘field’ ³⁰
<i>kavra</i>	‘cliff’
<i>máfəra</i>	‘opportunity’
<i>naqla</i>	‘time’
<i>nəzima</i>	‘low’
<i>pehna</i>	‘kick’
<i>qatxa</i>	‘cup’ ³¹
<i>reṃa</i>	‘pus’
<i>šarwāla</i>	‘trousers’

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

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

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

²⁹ Note also the following ModH nouns in Shabbo’s speech, which he has Aramaized with either singular or plural suffixes: *dapé* (דָּפֵ) ‘pages’; *pastela* (פֶּסְטֵל) < Judeo-Spanish ‘pie’; *šrife* (שְׂרִיפֵ), pl. ‘cabins’.

³⁰ Already in JBA. An older borrowing from Iranian is attested in QArām דָּחַשַׁת.

³¹ Already in Syriac.

³² Cf. also the indefinite pronoun *flān(a)* ‘such and such’ (§ 4.1.12.d).

<i>ḥarām, ḥarāma</i>	‘forbidden’ ³³
<i>ḥazur, ḥázura</i>	‘estimation’
<i>kef, kefa</i>	‘joy’
<i>sayyid, sayyida</i>	‘descendant of Muhammad’
<i>wāli, walya</i> ³⁴	‘vali’
<i>waxt, waxta</i>	‘time’
<i>xanjar, xanjāra</i>	‘dagger’

Shabbo seems to use the addition of the suffix *-a* to distinguish between *qačax* ‘smuggled goods’ and *qačāxa* ‘smuggler’.

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

<i>e:</i>	<i>’ərxe</i> ‘mill’, <i>dugle</i> ‘lie(s)’, <i>gāre</i> ‘roof’, ³⁶ <i>lele</i>
<i>i:</i>	<i>čeri</i> ‘autumn’, ³⁷ <i>məndi</i> ‘thing’

Loanwords include

<i>e:</i>	<i>čappe</i> ‘left’, <i>dunye</i> ‘world’, <i>masale</i> ‘matter’, <i>məzgaftə</i> ‘mosque’, <i>panjāre</i> ‘window’, <i>rašte</i> ‘right’
<i>i:</i>	<i>gərāni</i> ‘famine’, <i>kursi</i> chair’, <i>nāwí</i> ‘prophet’, <i>tangāwi</i> ‘distress’, <i>tūsi</i> ‘type of thorn’
<i>o:</i>	<i>rađyo</i> ‘radio’
<i>u:</i>	<i>ṭāpu</i> ‘title deed’

4.2.2. Annexation of Nouns

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

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

<i>’idəd ḥukum</i>	‘the hand of the government’
<i>’urxəd ṭlāḥa-yome-ži</i>	‘also a path of three days’
<i>baxxatəd</i> ³⁸ <i>’ilāha</i>	‘for the mercy of God!’
<i>denəd hudāye</i>	‘the debt (owed) to the Jews’
<i>marəd dukkāna</i>	‘the shopkeeper’

³³ Cf. the antonym *ḥalāla* ‘kosher, lawful’.

³⁴ See s.v. in the glossary for a possible origin of the form *walyá-bak*.

³⁵ See Mutzafi 2008a:90.

³⁶ On the development in NENA of this originally Akkadian noun, see Mutzafi 2008a:91.

³⁷ An early loan into Aramaic from Akkadian.

³⁸ Cf. *baxxat ’ilāha* (Sabar 2002a:110).

<i>talāqəd bāxtox-ži</i>	‘also the divorce of your wife’
<i>yoməd din</i>	‘the Day of Judgment’

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

<i>ʿəpər hudāye</i>	‘the soil of the Jews’
<i>ʿəqər dunye</i>	‘the bottom of the world’
<i>dum hoq</i>	‘the tail of the law’
<i>lel šapsa</i>	‘Saturday night’
<i>naqəl ʿarba</i>	‘the fourth time’
<i>palgus māsa</i>	‘center of the village’
<i>naqoş ʿəşra</i>	‘minus ten’
<i>tol babexun</i>	‘revenge for your father’
<i>xāy yəmmox</i>	‘By the life of your mother!’
<i>xətan walyá-bak</i>	‘the son-in-law of the Vali Bey’ ⁴⁰
<i>yom ʿərota</i>	‘Friday’

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

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

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

³⁹ Sabar 2002a:38–39; Mutzafi 2008a:33,92. Another example may be *ʿomər* (< *ʿumra < *ʿumra ‘monastery’) in the syntactically difficult and awkward *ʿitəna tāma ʿomər Biya u-hənnā l-tāma* ‘there is over there the monastery of Biya and, um, there.’

⁴⁰ See s.v. in the glossary.

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

⁴² A neo-construct form *bron* is also attested, but never annexed to a personal name, e.g., *bron ʿāga* ‘son of the agha’.

⁴³ A neo-construct form *mar* is also attested, e.g., *mar dukkāna* ‘shopkeeper’. Cf. also the annexed form with *-əd*: *mərəd dukkāna*.

⁴⁴ ܒܝ ‘house’ can be found as an absolute form in EgAram, JPA, and Syr (Leander

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

d. The Kurdish genitive particle *-e* is attested in the originally Arabic expression ‘*awlād-e rasūl* ‘descendant of the Messenger (i.e., Muhammad)’.⁴⁶

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

f. Annexation by the independent genitive particle *did* is attested in other *lishana deni* dialects⁴⁷ but is rare in JChalla (§ 4.1.3.e).

4.2.3. Nominal Plural Forms

4.2.3.1. Plural Forms Ending in *-e*

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

<i>’ərbe</i>	‘sheep’ (s. <i>’erba</i>)
<i>baxte</i>	‘women, wives’ (s. <i>baxta</i>)
<i>daqiqe</i>	‘minutes’ (s. <i>daqīqa</i>)
<i>dawāre</i>	‘riding animal’ (s. <i>dawāra</i>)
<i>ganāwe</i>	‘thieves’ (s. <i>ganāwa</i>)
<i>garme</i>	‘bones’ (s. <i>garma</i>)
<i>guniye</i>	‘bramble’ (s. <i>guniya</i>)
<i>kalbe</i>	‘dogs’ (s. <i>kalba</i>)
<i>kepe</i>	‘stones’ (s. <i>kepa</i>)
<i>kutwe</i>	‘thorns’ (s. <i>kutwa</i>)
<i>lašše</i>	‘corpses’ (s. <i>lašša</i>)
<i>lišāne</i>	‘tongues’ (s. <i>lišāna</i>)
<i>mal’āxe</i>	‘angels’ (s. <i>mal’ax</i>)

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

⁴⁵ Mutzafi 2008a:92.

⁴⁶ The *-i* vowel in *tuxmi xalwa la pāyāš go xədyawās didu* ‘no trace of milk remains in their breasts’ may be another example of the Kurdish *izafet*.

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

<i>naxire</i>	‘noses’ (s. <i>naxira</i>)
<i>qat’e</i>	‘pieces’ (s. <i>qat’a</i>)
<i>reše</i>	‘heads’ (s. <i>reša</i>)
<i>sahāde</i>	‘witnesses’ (s. <i>sahāda</i>)
<i>šiwe</i>	‘trees’ (s. <i>šiwa</i>)
<i>skine, səkkina</i>	‘knives’ (s. <i>skina, səkkina</i>)
<i>sūse</i>	‘horses’ (s. <i>sūsa</i>)
<i>šafqe</i>	‘hats (with a brim)’ (s. <i>šafqa</i>)
<i>tene</i>	‘figs’ (s. <i>tena</i>)

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

<i>dināre</i>	‘dinar’ (s. <i>dinar</i>)
<i>qorúše</i>	‘piasters’ (s. <i>qorúš</i>)
<i>ṭraṃbele</i>	‘automobiles’ (s. <i>ṭraṃbel</i>)

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

<i>kawdāne</i>	‘mules’ (s. <i>kawdānta</i>)
<i>ṭarrāše</i>	‘bushes’ (s. <i>ṭarrašta</i>)

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

<i>’āgāye</i>	‘aghas’ (s. <i>’āga</i>)
<i>kiloye</i>	‘kilos’ (s. <i>kilo</i>)
<i>mallāye</i>	‘mullahs’ (s. <i>malla</i>)

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

4.2.3.2. Plural Forms Ending in *-āne*

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

<i>’ar’āne</i>	‘lands’ (s. <i>’ar’a</i>)
<i>dukāne</i>	‘places’ (s. <i>dūka</i> , also <i>dukša</i>)
<i>govāne</i>	‘stalls’ (s. <i>gova</i>)
<i>gudāne</i>	‘walls’ (s. <i>gūda</i>)
<i>kapāne</i>	‘shoulders’ (s. <i>kāpa</i>)
<i>misāne</i>	‘dead’ (s. <i>misa</i>)

⁴⁸ Mutzafi 2008a:336.

⁴⁹ Sabar 2008a:110.

⁵⁰ The suffix *-ān* on the Kurdish loanword *mamāni* ‘my uncles’ is the Kurdish plural morpheme.

<i>qanāne</i>	‘horns’ (*qāna < *qanna < *qarna)
<i>qaṣrāne</i>	‘mansions’ (s. <i>qaṣra</i>)
<i>tar’āne</i>	‘doors’ (s. <i>tar’a</i>)
<i>ṭurāne</i>	‘mountains’ (s. <i>ṭūra</i>)

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

<i>ḥaqqāne</i>	‘rights’ (s. <i>ḥaqq</i>)
----------------	----------------------------

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

<i>ṣofyāne</i>	‘sufis’ (s. <i>ṣofi</i>)
----------------	---------------------------

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

<i>gurāne</i>	‘men’ (s. <i>gora</i> , also pl. <i>gūre</i>)
<i>malkāne</i>	‘chieftains’ (s. <i>malək</i>) ⁵¹

4.2.3.3. Plural Forms Ending in *-āhe*

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

<i>’ammāhe</i>	‘hundreds’ (s. <i>’amma</i> ‘hundred’; § 4.3.3)
<i>dəmmāhe</i>	‘guilt of bloodshed’ (s. <i>dəmma</i> ‘blood, blood money’)

4.2.3.4. Plural Forms Ending in *-āsa*

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

<i>’aqlāsa</i>	‘feet’ (s. <i>’aqla</i> , also <i>’aqlta</i>)
<i>’idāsa</i>	‘hands’ (s. <i>’ida</i>)
<i>baxtāsa</i>	‘wives’ (s. <i>baxta</i>)
<i>dəbbāsa</i>	‘bears’ (s. <i>dəbba</i>)
<i>qorāsa</i>	‘graves’ (s. <i>qora</i>)
<i>yomāsa</i>	‘days’ (s. <i>yoma</i> , also pl. <i>yome</i>)

⁵¹ On the syncope of *ʾ*, see § 3.18.a.

⁵² The plural marker *-āh* is not attested on either noun in older Aramaic. The suffix is found on additional nouns in other *lishana demī* dialects, e.g., JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:96) *’alpāhe* ‘thousands’ (cf. JChalla *’alpe*), *šəmmāhe* (~ *šəmmāne*) ‘names’, *dargāhe* ‘gates’. A plural *šəmmāhe* ‘heavens’ is found in the 17th and 18th century manuscripts of the Song of Songs (6:5) (Sabar 1991:62).

⁵³ In JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:96–98) *-āsa* may also be added to feminine nouns ending in *-ta* or *-ṭa*. In JChalla the *t* of *baxta* is part of the root and the plural *’aqlāsa* may be based on either or *’aqla* or *’aqlta*.

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

<i>kəsyāsa</i>	‘hens’ (s. <i>kseša</i>)
<i>šaḡyāsa</i>	‘(water) channel’ (s. <i>šaḡisa</i>)

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

<i>naṣwāsa</i>	‘fights’ (s. <i>naṣūsa</i> ; § 3.22.b)
<i>xaswāsa</i>	‘sisters’ (s. <i>xāsa</i>)
<i>qaṭwāsa</i>	‘cats’ (s. unattested, but cf. JBetan <i>qaṭūṭa</i>).

4.2.3.5. Plural Forms Ending in -yāsa

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

<i>knəšyāsa</i>	‘synagogues’ (s. <i>knəšta</i>)
<i>maxəlyāsa</i>	‘fine sieves’ (s. <i>maxəlta</i>)
<i>nasyāsa</i>	‘ears’ (s. <i>nāsa</i>)
<i>ṣuryāsa</i>	‘cheeks’ (s. <i>ṣurta</i>)
<i>škaftyāsa</i>	‘caves’ (s. <i>škafta</i> ; § 3.22.d)
<i>ṭanəšyāsa</i>	‘sides’ (s. <i>ṭanəšta</i>)
<i>toryāsa</i>	‘cows’ (s. <i>tawərtā</i>)

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

<i>čanyāsa</i>	‘satchels’
<i>kuləkyāsa</i>	‘ulcers’
<i>nunyāsa</i>	‘fish’
<i>zəmrəyāsa</i>	‘songs’

4.2.3.6. Plural Forms Ending in -awāsa

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

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

y of *xədyawāsa* ‘breasts’ is part of the root.

4.2.3.7. Plural Forms with Reduplicated Consonant

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

<i>'alāle</i>	'sides' (s. <i>'āla</i>)
<i>'əzlāle</i>	'yarn' (s. <i>'əzla</i>)
<i>gəllāle</i>	'grasses, plants, herbs' (s. <i>gəlla</i>)
<i>jebābe</i>	'pockets' (s. <i>jeba</i>)

4.2.3.8. Plural Forms Ending in -ine

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

<i>ma'almine</i>	'teachers' (s. <i>ma'alləm</i> ; § 3.18.a)
------------------	--

4.2.3.9. Multiple Plural Forms

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

<i>'aqla</i>	'foot', pl. <i>'aqle</i> and <i>'aqlāsa</i> (< <i>'aqalta</i> ?)
<i>'ar'a</i>	'land', pl. <i>'ar'āsa</i> and <i>'arāne</i>
<i>gora</i>	'man', pl. <i>gūre</i> and <i>gurāne</i>
<i>yoma</i>	'day', pl. <i>yome</i> and <i>yomāsa</i>

b. Different plural forms distinguish between the two meanings of the s. *'ena* 'eye, well': pl. *'ene* 'eyes', *'enāsa* 'wells'.

4.2.3.10. Irregular Plural Forms

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

<i>'axona</i>	'brother'; pl. <i>'axawāsa</i>
<i>'aširat</i>	'tribe'; pl. <i>'aširate</i>
<i>besa</i>	'house'; pl. <i>bāte</i>
<i>brāta</i>	'daughter'; pl. <i>bnāsa</i>
<i>brona</i>	'son, boy'; pl. <i>bnone</i>
<i>gora</i>	'man, husband'; pl. <i>gūre</i> , <i>gurāne</i>
<i>šāta</i>	'year'; pl. <i>šanne</i>
<i>šex</i>	'sheikh'; pl. <i>šexāye</i>
<i>šūla</i>	'work, affair'; pl. <i>šu'āle</i>

⁵⁴ See Nöldeke 1868:143–145; Sabar 2002a:44.

⁵⁵ This ending is typical in religious titles in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:103).

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

hajji ‘hajji, pilgrim’; pl. *hajjāye* (§ 4.2.9.1. n. 74)

4.2.3.11. *Pluralia Tantum*

The following *pluralia tantum* are attested:

<i>’ahāli</i>	‘population, people’
<i>’axre</i>	‘excrement’
<i>čakke</i>	‘weapons’
<i>ganmoke</i>	‘maize’
<i>ṁāye</i>	‘water’
<i>pāre</i>	‘money’ ⁵⁶
<i>prāge</i>	‘millet’
<i>šamme</i>	‘sky’
<i>təhome</i>	‘abyss’
<i>xarbé</i>	‘ruins’
<i>xruwiye</i>	‘sorghum’

4.2.4. *Inflection of Adjectives*

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

m. <i>tiqa</i>	‘old’ (§ 3.17.d), f. <i>təqta</i> , pl. <i>tiqe</i>
m. <i>qida</i>	‘burnt’, f. <i>qəḏta</i> , pl. <i>qide</i>
m. <i>yarixa</i>	‘long’, f. <i>yarəxta</i> , pl. <i>yarixe</i>
m. <i>zōra</i>	‘small’ (§ 3.18.b), f. <i>zurta</i> (§ 3.10), pl. <i>zöre</i>

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

<i>’āni</i>	‘poor’ (<i>lu piše ’āni</i> ‘they became poor’)
<i>’aşli</i>	‘genuine’ (<i>səjjāde ’aşli</i> ‘genuine rugs’; cf. Aramaized <i>’aşlāye</i> ‘of good origin’)
<i>ḥāš</i>	‘good’ (<i>ḥāš-ila</i> ‘it is good’)

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

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

<i>faqír</i>	‘poor’ (<i>peši faqír</i> ‘they become poor’) ⁵⁸
<i>gərüwer</i>	‘round-shaped’ (<i>tre gərüwer</i> ‘two round-shaped [objects]’)
<i>həšyar</i>	‘careful’ (<i>həšyar wetun</i> ‘you [pl.] are careful’)
<i>māšša</i>	‘many’ (<i>tarke māšša-lu</i> ‘there are many sticks’)
<i>muhtāj</i>	‘in need’ (<i>lewu muhtāj</i> ‘they are not in need’) ⁵⁹
<i>narm</i>	‘gentle’ in <i>narm u-hāle</i> ‘soft and the like’ (<i>hatxa nāše bāš. hatxa narm u-hāle. hatxa nāše bāš</i> ‘Such good people. So soft and the like. Such good people.’)
<i>šāx</i>	‘healthy’ (<i>‘iwaxən šāx</i> ‘we are healthy’)
<i>xurṭ</i>	‘aggressive’ (<i>xurṭ-ilu</i> ‘they are aggressive’)

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

<i>naxwaš</i>	‘ill’
<i>pis</i>	‘filthy, dirty’
<i>rūt</i>	‘naked’
<i>xwaš</i>	‘good’

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

<i>dūka tāza</i>	‘new place’
<i>mān^Hyahalóm^H-ži bəš-tāza-la</i>	‘she is more precious than a diamond’
<i>bāte tāze</i>	‘new houses’

d. There is one attested inherited Aramaic adjective that is invariable, *xeta*⁶¹ ‘other’:

<i>pelafta xeta</i>	‘the other shoe’
<i>xā-nāša xeta</i>	‘a certain other person’
<i>nāše xeta</i>	‘other people’
<i>’anna xeta</i>	‘those others’

4.2.5. General Remarks on Noun and Adjective Patterns

The morphology of the nominal system⁶² has allowed non-CIAram phonotactics that have led to nominal patterns not found in CIAram, e.g., patterns with final consonantal clusters, e.g., CaCC *hatk* ‘disgrace’, *ḥarb*

⁵⁸ Also attested with a Hebrew plural suffix: *lá-gpēšax faqīrīm* ‘we are not becoming poor’. See Sabar 2002a:264; pl. מִקִּירִין/מִ, *faqīrīn/m, faqīre*.

⁵⁹ Shabbo glossed this as *lewu sniqe*.

⁶⁰ See Nöldeke 1868:126,135.

⁶¹ This is a reflex of an older feminine singular form. Cf. Syr ܐܘܪܝܢܐ.

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

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

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

4.2.6. Noun and Adjective Patterns

4.2.6.1. Monosyllabic⁶³

CV		
	Ca	<i>xa</i> ‘one’
	Cā	<i>gā</i> ‘time’
CCV		
	CCe	<i>tre</i> ‘two’
CVC		
	CaC	<i>bak</i> ‘bey’ <i>xam</i> ‘care’
	CāC	<i>ḥāš</i> ‘good’ <i>čāy</i> ‘tea’ <i>gār</i> ‘time’ <i>ḥāl</i> ‘situation’ <i>ḥāl</i> ‘property’ <i>šāx</i> ‘healthy’
	CeC	<i>‘el</i> ‘family’ <i>kef</i> ‘joy’ (also <i>kefa</i>)

⁶³ With the exception of *xa* ‘one’ and *tre* ‘two’, all monosyllabic nouns are loanwords.

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

4.2.6.2. Bisyllabic

CVCV		
	CaCa	<i>bala</i> 'misfortune'
		<i>šawa</i> 'week'
	CāCa	'āga 'gha'
		'āla 'side'
		'āra 'shame'
		<i>bāba</i> 'father'
		<i>bāla</i> 'attention'
		<i>dāda</i> 'justice'
		<i>dāna</i> 'time'
		<i>gāla</i> 'kilim'
		* <i>kāka</i> 'tooth'
		<i>kāpa</i> 'shoulder'
		<i>kāsa</i> 'belly'
		<i>māsa</i> 'village'
		<i>nāsa</i> 'ear'
		<i>nāša</i> 'person'

	<i>pāša</i> 'pasha'
	<i>qāla</i> 'voice'
	* <i>qāna</i> 'horn'
	<i>qāša</i> 'priest'
	<i>sā'a</i> 'hour'
	<i>sāwa</i> 'grandfather'
	<i>tāxa</i> 'quarter of town'
	<i>tāza</i> 'fresh'
	<i>xāsa</i> 'new'
	<i>xāša</i> 'back'
	<i>yāla</i> 'child'
CāCe	<i>gāre</i> 'roof'
CāCi	<i>kāni</i> 'spring'
	<i>qāzi</i> 'qadi'
	<i>nāwi</i> 'prophet'
	<i>wāli</i> 'vali' (also <i>walya</i>)
CāCu	<i>tāpu</i> 'title deed'
CeCa	' <i>eda</i> 'holiday'
	' <i>ena</i> 'eye, spring'
	' <i>era</i> 'penis'
	' <i>eba</i> 'disgrace'
	<i>besa</i> 'house'
	<i>dena</i> 'debt'
	<i>feka</i> 'fruit'
	<i>geba</i> 'side'
	<i>gera</i> 'threshing'
	<i>jeba</i> 'pocket'
	<i>jeza</i> 'penalty' (also <i>jezā</i>)
	<i>kefa</i> 'joy' (also <i>kef</i>)
	<i>kepa</i> 'stone'
	<i>qeṭa</i> 'summer'
	<i>reṃa</i> 'pus'
	<i>reqa</i> 'distance' (also <i>rəqqa</i>)
	<i>reša</i> 'head'
	<i>sepa</i> 'sword'
	<i>tena</i> 'fig'
	<i>ṭera</i> 'fowl'
CeCe	<i>lele</i> 'night'
CeCi	<i>čeri</i> 'autumn'
CəCa	<i>kəra</i> 'rent'
CiCa	' <i>ida</i> 'hand'
	<i>lira</i> 'lira'
	<i>misa</i> 'dead'
	<i>nixa</i> 'deceased'
	<i>piča</i> 'small quantity'
	<i>qida</i> 'burnt'

	<i>tiqa</i> ‘old’
	<i>ʃiwa</i> ‘wood’
	<i>ʃima</i> ‘price’
	<i>ʃina</i> ‘mud’
	<i>wiza</i> ‘visa’
CiCi	<i>hivi, hiwi</i> ‘hope’
CiCo	<i>kilo</i> ‘kilo’
CoCa	<i>’oda</i> ‘room’
	<i>ç’o’a</i> ‘smooth’
	<i>gora</i> ‘man’
	<i>gova</i> ‘stall’
	* <i>goza</i> ‘walnut’
	<i>koma</i> ‘black’
	<i>mosa</i> ‘death’
	<i>moxa</i> ‘brain’
	<i>poxa</i> ‘wind’
	<i>qoma</i> ‘stature’
	<i>qora</i> ‘grave’
	<i>ʃopa</i> ‘stove’
	<i>tola</i> ‘revenge’
	<i>tora</i> ‘ox’
	<i>xora</i> ‘friend’
	<i>yoma</i> ‘day’
	<i>zo’a</i> ‘pair’
CöCa	<i>lō’a</i> ‘jaw’
	<i>šō’a</i> ‘seven’
	<i>zōra</i> ‘small’
CoCi	<i>ʃofi</i> ‘sufi’
CöCi	<i>šō’i</i> ‘seventy’
CuCa	<i>qura</i> ‘boy’
CūCa	<i>čūka</i> ‘bird’
	<i>dūka</i> ‘place’ (also <i>duksa</i>)
	<i>dūma</i> ‘tail’
	<i>dūra</i> ‘durra’
	<i>dūša</i> ‘honey’
	<i>gūba</i> ‘loom’
	<i>gūda</i> ‘wall’
	<i>nūra</i> ‘fire’
	<i>qūta</i> ‘vagina’
	<i>sūsa</i> ‘horse’
	<i>šūla</i> ‘work’
	<i>šūqa</i> ‘market’
	<i>ʃūra</i> ‘mountain’
	<i>tūsa</i> ‘mulberry tree’
CūCi	<i>tūsi</i> ‘type of thorn’

CCVCV

CCāCa	<i>flāna</i> 'such and such' (also <i>flān</i>) <i>gdāda</i> 'thread' <i>qdāla</i> 'neck' <i>šwāna</i> 'shepherd' <i>xmāra</i> 'ass, donkey' <i>*xwāra</i> 'white' <i>zyāra</i> 'visit to a shrine'
CCāCi	<i>tṁāni</i> 'eighty' <i>ṭlāsi</i> 'thirty'
CCeCa	<i>sfera</i> 'whistle'
CCiCa	<i>'jiza</i> 'tired, weary' <i>nqīša</i> 'lacking' <i>ptixa</i> 'wide' <i>qdila</i> 'key' <i>rwixa</i> 'wide' <i>skina</i> 'knife' (also <i>səkkina</i>) <i>sniqa</i> 'needy' <i>spīqa</i> 'empty' <i>spīsa</i> 'rotten' <i>*sqila</i> 'beautiful' <i>*swi'a</i> 'satiated' <i>xlima</i> 'thick'
CCoCa	<i>brona</i> <i>ṭrosa</i> 'truth'
CCūCa	<i>xlūla</i> 'wedding feast' (also <i>xulūla</i>)

CVCCV

CaCCa	<i>abla</i> 'older sister' <i>'alla</i> 'God' <i>'alpa</i> 'thousand' <i>'amra</i> 'wool' <i>'aqla</i> 'foot' (also <i>'aqalta</i>) <i>'ar'a</i> 'earth' <i>'arba</i> 'four' <i>'abba</i> 'inner pocket of garment' <i>bamba</i> 'bomb' <i>*baqqa</i> 'frog' <i>baxta</i> 'woman' <i>čamča</i> 'spoon' <i>dahba</i> 'animal' <i>darga</i> 'gate' <i>dawla</i> 'state' <i>daxla</i> 'crop' <i>falda</i> 'strip of meat placed in cholent' <i>garma</i> 'bone' <i>ḥafla</i> 'party'
-------	--

	<i>kalba</i> ‘dog’
	<i>kar’a</i> ‘butter’
	<i>kavra</i> ‘cliff’
	<i>lappa</i> ‘lump’
	<i>lašša</i> ‘body, corpse’
	<i>laxma</i> ‘bread’
	<i>malla</i> ‘mullah’
	<i>naqda</i> ‘bride price’
	<i>naqla</i> ‘time’
	<i>palga</i> ‘half’
	<i>paq’a</i> ‘crack’
	* <i>pałla</i> ‘live coal’
	<i>qahwa</i> ‘coffee’
	<i>qaħba</i> ‘whore’
	<i>qalya</i> ‘fried and heavily salted meat’
	<i>qašra</i> ‘mansion’
	<i>qatxa</i> ‘cup’
	<i>qaṭra</i> ‘boulder’
	<i>šadra</i> ‘chest’
	<i>šafqa</i> ‘hat (with a brim)’
	<i>šalla</i> ‘pants’
	* <i>šaqla</i> ‘piece’
	<i>šaqla</i> ‘half, section’
	<i>šar’a</i> ‘religious law’
	<i>talga</i> ‘snow’
	<i>talma</i> ‘water-jug’
	<i>tar’a</i> ‘door’
	<i>taṛka</i> ‘stick’
	<i>taṛma</i> ‘corpse’
	<i>walya</i> ‘vali’ (also <i>wāli</i>)
	<i>waxta</i> ‘time’ (also <i>waxt</i>)
	<i>xabra</i> ‘thing, word’
	<i>xalwa</i> ‘milk’
	<i>xamša</i> ‘five’
	<i>yarxa</i> ‘month’
	<i>zanqa</i> ‘chin’
CaCCe	<i>čappe</i> ‘left’
	<i>rašte</i> ‘right’
CaCCi	<i>’arbi</i> ‘forty’
	<i>’ašli</i> ‘genuine’
	<i>ħajji</i> ‘pilgrim’
	<i>xamši</i> ‘fifty’
	<i>xanči</i> ‘some, a few’
CeCCa	<i>kelka</i> ‘stone wall’
	* <i>teška</i> ‘whelp’

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

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

	<i>ṣəhya</i> ‘thirsty’
	<i>ṣəm̄ma</i> ‘name’
	<i>ṣəm̄ša</i> ‘sun’
	<i>ṣərma</i> ‘buttocks’
	<i>ṣər̄ta</i> ‘policeman’
	<i>ṣət̄ya</i> ‘warp’
	<i>ṣəxda</i> ‘good tidings’
	<i>ṣəxta</i> ‘dirt’
	<i>təqla</i> ‘weight’
	* <i>xəlyā</i> ‘sweet’
	<i>xət̄na</i> ‘bridegroom’
	<i>xət̄ta</i> ‘a grain of wheat’
	<i>xəška</i> ‘darkness’
	<i>xəzma</i> ‘in-law’
	<i>yəm̄ma</i> ‘mother’
	<i>zəbla</i> ‘garbage’
CiCCa	<i>giska</i> ‘young goat’
	<i>xiṭka</i> ‘bar indicating military rank on a uniform’
CəCCa	<i>qəwya</i> ‘strong’
	<i>ṣəwya</i> ‘dyed’
CəCCe	<i>’ər̄xe</i> ‘mill’
	<i>bən̄he</i> ‘morning’
CəCCi	<i>’əsri</i> ‘twenty’
	<i>’əsti</i> ‘sixty’
	<i>məndi</i> ‘thing’
CoCCa	<i>kolka</i> ‘hovel’
	<i>pošta</i> ‘post’
CoCCi	<i>’ordi</i> ‘army’
CuCCa	<i>’urxa</i> ‘road’
	<i>’urwa</i> ‘big’
	<i>’ušya</i> ‘cluster (of grapes)’
	<i>julla</i> ‘article of clothing’
	<i>kutka</i> ‘knee’
	<i>kutwa</i> ‘thorn’
	<i>pumma</i> ‘mouth’ (also <i>pəm̄ma</i>)
	<i>qurwa</i> ‘vicinity’
	<i>ṣudra</i> ‘shirt’
	<i>ṣurta</i> ‘face’
	<i>tuxma</i> ‘type, kind’
	<i>xulma</i> ‘dream’
	<i>xumma</i> ‘heat’
	<i>xurga</i> ‘step-son’
	<i>xuṭba</i> ‘Muslim Friday sermon’
	<i>xuṭta</i> ‘stick’
	<i>xuwwa</i> ‘snake’

	CuCCe	<i>duḡle</i> 'lie(s)' <i>dunye</i> 'world'
	CuCCi	<i>kursi</i> 'chair'
CCVCCV	CCaCCa	<i>tmanya</i> 'eight'
CVCVC	CaCaC	<i>bahar</i> 'spring season' <i>falaq</i> 'bastinado' <i>jalab</i> 'herd' <i>qačax</i> 'smuggled goods' <i>ṭaraf</i> 'side'
	CaCāC	' <i>alāy</i> 'military regiment' *' <i>aqār</i> 'immovable property' <i>garáč</i> 'garage' <i>ḥarām</i> 'forbidden' (also <i>ḥarāma</i>) <i>madām</i> 'Madam'
	CaCəC	' <i>aṣəl</i> '(good) origin' <i>malək</i> 'chieftain' <i>qaṭəl</i> 'killing'
	CaCiC	<i>faqír</i> 'poor' <i>kafil</i> 'guarantor' (also <i>kafil</i>) <i>wakil</i> 'agent'
	CāCaC	<i>šakar</i> 'sugar'
	CāCāC	<i>ḥāxām</i> 'rabbi'
	CāCəC	<i>čāwəš</i> 'sergeant' <i>ḥākəm</i> 'judge' <i>kāfər</i> 'heretic' <i>kātəb</i> 'secretary' <i>lāzəm</i> 'necessary' <i>xānəm</i> 'Madam' <i>xātər</i> 'sake'
	CāCiC	<i>tārix</i> 'date of event' (also <i>ṭārix</i>)
	CāCuC	<i>nāmus</i> 'proper behavior' <i>qānun</i> 'law' <i>qāšud</i> 'messenger' <i>šābun</i> 'soap' <i>tābur</i> 'battalion'
	CeCaC	* <i>ḥewan</i> 'animal' <i>jema</i> 'mosque'
	CeCəC	' <i>əḡəl</i> 'the Golden Calf' <i>metər</i> 'meter'
	CeCiC	<i>nečir</i> 'hunting'
	CəCāC	' <i>mād</i> 'mutual resistance' <i>jəwāb</i> 'answer' (also <i>jwāb</i>)
	CəCəC	' <i>mər</i> 'order'
	CəCuC	<i>ḥəzur</i> 'estimation' (also <i>ḥəzura</i>)

	CiCaC	<i>dinar</i> 'dinar'
	CiCāC	* <i>jirān</i> 'neighbor'
	CoCaC	<i>šoḥad</i> 'bribe'
	CoCoC	<i>domóz</i> 'pig'
	CoCūC	<i>qorús</i> 'piaster, small coin'
	CuCiC	<i>guník</i> 'gunny sack'
	CuCuC	<i>ḥudud</i> 'border'
		<i>ḥukum</i> 'government'
		<i>quşur</i> 'defect'
	CūCaC	<i>rūbar</i> 'stream'
CVCCVC		
	CaCCaC	' <i>awwal</i> 'first'
		' <i>askar</i> 'army'
		<i>bahḥar</i> 'sea'
		<i>baxxat</i> 'mercy'
		* <i>darham</i> 'dirham'
		<i>kallax</i> 'corpse'
		<i>naxwaş</i> 'ill'
		<i>xanjar</i> 'dagger' (also <i>xanjāra</i>)
	CaCCāC	<i>qaṭṭān</i> 'captain'
	CaCCeC	<i>darwéz</i> 'dervish'
	CaCCəC	<i>sayyəd</i> 'descendant of Muḥammad'
		(also <i>sayyəda</i> , <i>sayyədka</i>)
	CaCCiC	' <i>anjil</i> 'Gospels'
		<i>qaddiš</i> 'memorial prayer'
		<i>tagbir</i> 'counsel'
	CaCCuC	<i>mažbur</i> 'forced'
		<i>sartuk</i> 'cream'
	CaCCūC	<i>ma'mūr</i> 'officer-in-charge'
	CəCCaC	<i>təmmal</i> 'yesterday'
	CəCCaC	<i>həşyar</i> 'careful'
		<i>təffaḥ</i> 'rifle'
	CəCCāC	' <i>əştār</i> 'document'
		<i>wəždān</i> 'conscience'
	CəCCəC	<i>dəžmən</i> 'enemy'
	CəCCuC	<i>təttun</i> 'tobacco'
	CoCCoC	<i>doktor</i> 'doctor'
	CuCCaC	<i>muxtar</i> 'mukhtar'
	CuCCāC	<i>muḥtāj</i> 'in need'
		<i>qur'ān</i> 'Quran'
	CuCCəC	<i>gumrək</i> 'customs'
	CuCCuC	<i>quṇşul</i> 'consul'
CVCCVCC		
	CəCCaCC	<i>kərmanj</i> 'Kurd, peasant'
CCVCCVC		
	CCaCCeC	<i>ṭraṃbel</i> 'automobile'

4.2.6.3. *Bisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCV	CāCa	<i>pāsa</i> 'face' <i>šāta</i> 'year' <i>xāsa</i> 'sister'
	CeCa	<i>xeta</i> 'other'
CCVCV	CCāCa	<i>brāta</i> 'daughter' <i>xmāsa</i> 'mother-in-law'
	CCiCa	<i>ksisa</i> 'hat' (also <i>kusisa</i>)
	CCeCa	<i>ksesa</i> 'hen'
	CCoCa	<i>şlosa</i> 'prayer'
CVCCV	CaCCa	<i>'amta</i> 'maternal aunt' <i>dašta</i> 'field' ⁶⁵ <i>rapsa</i> 'big, large' <i>karta</i> 'load' <i>masta</i> 'yoghurt' ⁶⁶ <i>qarsa</i> 'cold' <i>şapsa</i> Sabbath' <i>xalta</i> 'maternal aunt' <i>xasta</i> 'new'
	CəCCa ⁶⁷	<i>kəsta</i> 'small bag' <i>nəxta</i> 'deceased' <i>qəđta</i> 'burnt' <i>səksa</i> 'peg' <i>şənsa</i> 'sleep' <i>səpsa</i> 'lip, edge' <i>təksa</i> 'waistband' <i>təqta</i> 'old'
	CeCCa ⁶⁸	<i>dešta</i> 'portion of food'
	CuCCa	<i>duksa</i> 'place' (also <i>dūka</i>) <i>gupta</i> 'cheese' <i>kumta</i> 'black' <i>ruxta</i> 'wide'
	CüCCa	<i>zürta</i> 'small'
CCVCCV	CCaCCa	<i>şkafta</i> 'cave' <i>swa'ta</i> 'satiety' <i>żwanta</i> 'expecting'

⁶⁵ *t* of the original Kurdish word has been reinterpreted as the feminine marker.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Also *de'sa* 'sweat' in which *ə* > *e* before ' and *h* (§ 3.11.a).

⁶⁸ See above n. 64.

CCəCCa⁶⁹ *knəšta* ‘synagogue’
jmatta ‘frozen’
sməxta ‘pregnant’
sqəltə ‘beautiful’

4.2.6.4. Trisyllabic

CVCVCV

CaCaCe	<i>masale</i> ‘matter’
CaCāCa	* <i>ḥarāna</i> ‘ram’
	<i>baṛāxa</i> ‘blessing’
	<i>ḥarāza</i> ‘pig’
	<i>dabāḥa</i> ‘ritual slaughterer’
	<i>dawāra</i> ‘riding animal’
	<i>ganāwa</i> ‘thief’
	<i>hayāma</i> ‘period of time’
	<i>ḥalāla</i> ‘kosher’
	<i>ḥarāma</i> ‘forbidden’ (also <i>ḥarām</i>)
	<i>našāma</i> ‘soul’
	<i>nawāga</i> ‘grandson’
	<i>qačāxa</i> ‘smuggler’
	<i>qalāma</i> ‘pen’
	<i>rakāwa</i> ‘rider’
	<i>sahāda</i> ‘witness’
	<i>ṣawā’a</i> ‘dyer’
	<i>šahāra</i> ‘blind’
	* <i>ṭabāqa</i> ‘story, floor’
	<i>warāqa</i> ‘paper’
CaCāCe	<i>ṭalāqe</i> ‘divorce’
CaCāCi	<i>rašādi</i> ‘gold lira’
CaCeCa	<i>gazeṛa</i> ‘(evil) decree’
	<i>ṭarefa</i> ‘non-kosher meat’
CaCiCa	<i>’amita</i> ‘civilian police’
	<i>’aqida</i> ‘(military) leader’
	<i>’aziza</i> ‘beloved’
	<i>basima</i> ‘pleasing’
	<i>gamiya</i> ‘ship’
	<i>daqiqā</i> ‘minute’
	<i>naxira</i> ‘nose’
	<i>šamina</i> ‘fat’
	* <i>qarira</i> ‘cold’
	<i>qaṭi’a</i> ‘stick’
	<i>xazina</i> ‘treasure, safe’
	<i>yarixa</i> ‘long’

⁶⁹ Also *mre’ta* ‘hurting’, *zde’sa* ‘fear’ (ə > e / _ ; § 3.11.a).

		<i>zaviya</i> 'field'
	CaCoCa	* <i>hakoma</i> 'ruler'
		* <i>kapora</i> 'faithless, cruel'
		<i>naqoşa</i> 'minus, less'
		<i>qaṭola</i> 'killer'
		<i>ṭahora</i> 'clean, pure'
	CaCöCa	* <i>sapöxa</i> 'wrap sandwich'
	CaCoCe	<i>qadome</i> 'tomorrow'
	CaCüCa	* <i>bahüra</i> 'bright'
		* <i>garüsa</i> 'large'
		<i>qalüla</i> 'quick, fast'
	CäCəCa	<i>čädəra</i> 'tent'
	CeCiCa	<i>setira</i> 'long three-shot rifle'
	CəCäCa	<i>jəgəra</i> 'cigarette'
		<i>məzədə</i> 'auction'
	CəCiCa	<i>nəzima</i> 'low, inferior'
		<i>šərika</i> '(business) partner'
	CəCuCa	<i>həzura</i> 'estimation' (also <i>həzur</i>)
	CiCaCa	<i>fišaka</i> 'bullet'
	CiCäCa	' <i>iläha</i> 'God'
		' <i>iläna</i> 'tree'
		' <i>ixäla</i> 'food'
		<i>lišäna</i> 'tongue'
	CiCiCa	<i>riviya</i> 'fox'
	CiCoCe	<i>čiroke</i> 'story'
	CoCäCa	<i>gopäla</i> 'shepherd's stick' (also <i>gopälta</i>)
		<i>koläna</i> 'alley'
	CoCiCa	<i>qotiya</i> 'small box'
	CuCäCa	<i>xuläma</i> 'servant'
	CuCiCa	<i>guniya</i> 'bramble'
	CuCüCa	<i>hüküma</i> 'government'
		<i>xulüla</i> 'wedding feast' (also <i>xlüla</i>)
	CüCəCa	<i>tükəla</i> 'piece of clothing'
CCVCVCCV		
	CCaCəCCa	<i>sparəgla</i> 'quince'
CVCCVCV		
	CaCCaCa	<i>kaččala</i> 'bald'
	CaCCäCa	<i>barwära</i> 'shortcut route'
		<i>ḳappära</i> 'expiation'
		* <i>šäqqäma</i> 'slap on face'
		<i>šarwäla</i> 'trousers'
		<i>ṭayyära</i> 'airplane'
		<i>xanjära</i> 'dagger' (also <i>xanjar</i>)
	CaCCäCe	<i>panjäre</i> 'window'
	CaCCiCa	<i>sayyəda</i> 'sayyid, descendant of Muḥammad' (also <i>sayyəd</i> , <i>sayyədka</i>)

	CaCCüCa	<i>pappüka</i> 'pitiful'
		<i>paytuna</i> 'carriage'
	CəCCāCa	'ərbāla 'coarse sieve'
		*bəzmāra '(metal) nail'
		dərmāna 'medicine'
		kəndāla 'steep slope'
		səjjāda 'prayer rug'
		təjjāra 'merchant'
		xəyyāra 'cucumber'
	CəCCāCi	'əmbāši 'corporal'
	CəCCeCa	səmbela 'mustache'
	CəCCiCa	səkkina (also <i>skina</i>)
	CəCCoCa	šəryoxa 'shoe-string'
		šəxxoṛa 'coal'
	CəCCüCa	bənjüka 'bead to avert the evil eye'
	CoCCiCe	qolčiye 'custom-house guards'
	CuCCāCa	dukkāna 'shop'
	CuCCiCa	šuftiya 'watermelon'
CVCVCCV		
	CaCaCCa	dabanja 'pistol'
		kalamča 'handcuff'
	CaCuCCa	'aqubra 'mouse'
CVCCVCCV		
	CaCCaCCi	'əffandi 'effendi'
	CaCCəCCa	jəndərma 'gendarme'
	CuCCuCCa	quṣṣulya 'consulate'
CVCVCVC		
	CaCaCoC	qaraqól 'garrison'
	CaCaCiC	'araqin 'arrack'
	CaCiCaC	'aşirat 'tribe, clan'
	CeCaCoC	télaḥon 'telephone' (also <i>télaḥon</i>)
	CeCeCoC	télaḥon 'telephone' (also <i>télaḥon</i>)
CVCCVCVC		
	CaCCaCoC	paṇqánoṭ 'lira, paper money'
	CaCCeCəC	'əbresəm 'silk'
	CeCCəCaC	télgəraf 'telegraph'
		télgəram 'telegram'
CVCVCCVC		
	CeCəCCaC	gehənnam 'hell'
CVCCVCVCC		
	CaCCaCoCC	páṣṣaport 'passport'

4.2.6.5. *Trisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCVCV

CaCiCa	<i>maxisa</i> ‘blow’ <i>šaḡisa</i> ‘(water) channel’
CāCəCa	‘ <i>ādəta</i> ‘custom’
CəCiCa	‘ <i>əlisa</i> ‘fat tail’
CəCoCa	‘ <i>ərota</i> ‘Friday’
CuCiCa	<i>kusisa</i> ‘hat’ (also <i>ksisa</i>)

CCVCVCV

CCāCəCa	<i>qyāməta</i> ‘resurrection’
---------	-------------------------------

CVCVCCV

CaCaCCa ⁷⁰	<i>ḡalalta</i> ‘kosher’ <i>ḡaramta</i> ‘forbidden’ <i>nawagta</i> ‘granddaughter’ * <i>ša’arta</i> ‘grain of barley’ <i>šaharta</i> ‘blind’
CaCəCCa ⁷¹	‘ <i>arməlsa</i> ‘widow’ <i>basəmta</i> ‘pleasing’ <i>kawənta</i> ‘mule’ (also <i>kawdənta</i>) <i>maxəlta</i> ‘fine sieve’ <i>naqətta</i> ‘thin’ <i>qarətta</i> ‘cold’ <i>rakəxta</i> ‘soft’ <i>šaxənta</i> ‘warm’ <i>šanəšta</i> ‘side’ <i>yarəxta</i> ‘long’
CaCuCCa ⁷²	<i>xanuqta</i> ‘throat’ <i>yatumta</i> ‘orphan’
CāCəCCa	‘ <i>āšərtā</i> ‘evening’
CəCaCCa	<i>pelafta</i> ‘shoe’
CəCCəCa	‘ <i>əmməta</i> ‘nation’ <i>məlkəta</i> ‘property’ <i>məlləta</i> ‘ethnic group’
CuCCəCa	<i>qudrəta</i> ‘(Divine) omnipotence’

CVCCVCCV

CaCCaCCa	<i>ṭarrašta</i> ‘thicket’
CaCCəCCa	<i>kawdənta</i> ‘mule’ (also <i>kawənta</i>)

⁷⁰ ‘*aqalta* ‘foot’ < **aqлта* (§ 3.2.2.b).

⁷¹ *kaləpsa* ‘bitch’ < **kalbta* and *tawərtā* ‘cow’ < **tawrta* (§ 3.2.2.b).

⁷² **balu’ta* > *balə’ta* ‘throat’ and **šabu’ta* > *šabo’ta* ‘finger’ (§ 3.1.1.b).

4.2.6.6. *Quadrisyllabic*

CVCVCVCV

CaCaCāCi	<i>jamadāni</i> ‘keffiya’
CaCaCiCa	‘ <i>amaliya</i> ’ (‘medical’) operation’
	<i>balamina</i> ‘iron pole for making holes to insert dynamite’ (pl. <i>balamine</i>)
CaCaCūCa	<i>maḥafūza</i> ‘guarding’ (also <i>muḥāfʿza</i>)
CuCāCəCa	<i>muḥāfʿza</i> ‘guarding’ (also <i>maḥafūza</i>)
CuCuCiCa	<i>ḥukumiya</i> ‘government’

CVCCVCVCV

CəCCaCiCa	<i>bəndaqiya</i> ‘rifle’
-----------	--------------------------

CVCVCCVCV

CaCaCCiCa	<i>qarantina</i> ‘quarantine’
-----------	-------------------------------

CVCVCVCVC

CiCoCeCəC	<i>kilometər</i> ‘kilometer’
-----------	------------------------------

CVCCVCVCVC

CaCCiCeCəR	<i>sántimetər</i> ‘centimeter’
------------	--------------------------------

4.2.6.7. *Quadrisyllabic with Feminine Ending*

CVCCVCVCV

CaCCaCiCa	<i>ḥambaqiša</i> ‘dense smoke’
-----------	--------------------------------

4.2.7. *Diachronic Overview of Patterns*

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

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

*qal	'ida, dəm̄ma, xa
*qalt	šāta
*qilat	'əm̄ma, šə̄nsa
*q(v)l	bər, šəm̄ma
*q(v)lat	brāta
*qāl	qāla, sāwa
*qīl	šiwa, ʔina
*qīlat	kasta
*qūl	nūra, šūqa, ʔūra
*qall	'ur̄wa, geba, *kāka, qāša
*qallat	qarsa, ʔapsa
*qill	gālla, ləbba, yəm̄ma
*qillat	səksa, təksa
*qull	dūka, gūba, gūda, moxa, xumma
*qullat	duksa
*qvll	bəzza, dəbba
*qatl (including II-w/y)	'alpa, 'amra, 'aqla, 'ar'a, 'eda, 'ena, 'əpra, besa, darga, garma, gora, kalba, kāpa, kar'a, kāsa, kepa, kəpna, laxma, lo'a, mosa, palga, poxa, *qāna, qoma, qora, sepa, talga, talma, tar'a, tora, xalwa, xāša, xətna, xora, yoma, yarxa 'əç'a, 'ərba, 'əspa, 'əšta, 'əzla, 'əzza, gəlda, gəšʔa, məšxa, pəsra, qəʔma, reša, šəm̄ša, šətya, təqla, xəška, xulma
*qitl	'urxa, dugle, nāsa, qurwa, rəqqa, reqa, šərma, šəxda, xuʔta
*qutl	'ərxe, 'əšʔa, dəpna, dūša, gəzra, qəʔla, səswa, šawa, šö'a
*qvtl	'aqalta, kaləpsa, tawərta
*qatlat	knəšta
*qatilat	qdāla
*qatāl	kərya, misa, naxira, nixa, qida, rwixa, sniqa, šəmya, xəzya, xlima
*qatil (including II-w/y and III-y)	'əlisa, nəxta, qədta, ruxta, sməxta, xzeta
*qatilat	xmāra
*qitāl	nāša, zōra
*qutāl	zūrta
*qutālat	gdāda
*qvtāl	*kapora, qəʔola
*qātvl	ganāwa, rakāwa, sahāda, šawā'a, šahāra
*qattāl	šapsa
*qattalat	xuwwa
*qittal	'əqra, dāna, lišāna, *xwāra
*qittāl	

*qattil	<i>basima, *qarira, šamina, skina, sakkina, tiqa, yarixa</i>
*qattilat	<i>basəmta, naqətta, qarətta, rakəxta, šaxənta, yarəxta</i>
*qattūl	<i>*bahūra</i>
*quttāl	<i>koma</i>
*quttālat	<i>kumta</i>
*qalqal	<i>lele</i>

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

4.2.8. Prefixes

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

<i>ma‘qūle</i>	‘nobles’
<i>máfəra</i>	‘escape, opportunity’
<i>máhkama</i>	‘court’
<i>mamnún</i>	‘grateful’
<i>marḥāma</i>	‘mercy’
<i>məšwá</i>	‘religious duty’
<i>məšpāha</i>	‘family’

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

<i>be-‘aşəl</i>	‘bad origin’
<i>be-čára</i>	‘helpless’
<i>be-dáda</i>	‘without justice’
<i>be-dín</i>	‘religionless’
<i>be-dárd</i>	‘painlessly’

be-hívi 'hopeless'
be-námus 'improper behavior'

4.2.9. Suffixes

4.2.9.1. -āya, -esa, -āye

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

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

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

qamāye 'at first'
xarāye 'finally'

c. The suffixes occur on the inherited Aramaic nouns:

hudāya, hudesā, hudāye 'Jew(s)'
nexrāya 'foreigner'
surāya, suresa, surāye 'Christian(s)'

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

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

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

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

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

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

<i>nerwāya, nerwesa, nerwāye</i>	‘resident(s) of Nerwa’
<i>palāstināye</i>	‘Palestinians’
<i>pəṃčāya, pəṃčāye</i>	‘resident(s) of Pinianish’
<i>qurdāya, qurdesa, qurdāye</i>	‘Kurd(s)’
<i>rekanāya, rekanāye</i>	‘resident(s) of Rekan’
<i>ṭayarāye</i>	‘residents of Tiari’
<i>türkāya, türkāye</i>	‘Turk(s)’
<i>wānesa</i>	‘resident of Van’

4.2.9.2. -nāya, -nesa, -nāye

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

<i>ʿanglīsnāya, ʿanglīsnāya</i>	‘Englishman’ ⁷⁶
<i>ʿaṭrušnesa</i>	‘resident of Atrush’
<i>ʿuramarnāya</i>	‘resident of Uramar’
<i>ʿamənnāye</i> (§ 3.6.b)	‘residents of Amidya’
<i>ʿeraqnāya, ʿeraqnāye</i>	‘Iraqi(s)’
<i>baḡdānnesa</i> (§ 3.6.b)	‘resident of Baghdad’
<i>baškālnāye</i> ⁷⁷	‘residents of Bashkala’
<i>čalnāya</i>	‘resident of Challa’
<i>hekkarnāya</i>	‘resident of Hakkari’
<i>kurđīnāya, kurđīnāye</i>	‘Kurdistani Jew(s)’
<i>maroknāya, maroknesa, maroknāye</i>	‘Moroccan(s)’
<i>parsnāye</i>	‘Persians’
<i>spīndarnāya, spīndarnāye</i>	‘resident(s) of Spindar’
<i>ṭayarnāya</i>	‘resident of Tiari’
<i>zaxonāya</i>	‘resident of Zakho’
<i>zebarnāya, zebarnāye</i>	‘resident(s) of Zebar’

4.2.9.3. -ūsa, -atūsa

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

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

⁷⁶ Cf. the adjective *ʿanglīzi* ‘English’.

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

<i>urṭūsa</i>	‘fart’
<i>bahwarūsa</i>	‘faith’
<i>bārawanūsa</i>	‘separation’
<i>baxtūsa</i>	‘wifehood’
<i>farqūsa</i>	‘distinction’
<i>fasādūsa</i>	‘corruption’
<i>ganawūsa</i>	‘thievery’
<i>gorūsa</i>	‘manliness’
<i>hawūsa</i>	‘favor’
<i>ḥaramūsa</i>	‘prohibition’
<i>nəxpūsa</i>	‘embarrassment’
<i>qəwyūsa</i>	‘strength’
<i>šarūsa</i>	‘lunch’
<i>šidanūsa</i>	‘craziness’
<i>wa’dūsa</i>	‘promise’
<i>wājəbūsa</i>	‘obligation’
<i>xədyūsa</i>	‘joy’
<i>xorūsa</i>	‘friendship’
<i>xurṭūsa</i>	‘force’
<i>yārūsa</i>	‘camaraderie’

In the case of *axūsa* ‘brotherhood’ and *naṣūsa* ‘fight’ (pl. *naṣwāsa*), it is possible that the vowel *-ū* of what appears to be the abstract *-ūsa* suffix might actually be a reflex of *w* and an anaptyctic vowel (**axwsa* > **axəwsa* > *axūsa*; **naṣwsā* > **naṣəwsa* > *naṣūsa*; § 3.2.2.b).

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

<i>’āgātūsa</i>	‘masterdom’
<i>jirānatūsa</i>	‘neighborliness’
<i>pisyatūsa</i>	‘filthiness’

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

<i>hekkaratūsa</i>	‘residents/region of Hakkari’
<i>karatūsa</i>	‘residents/region of Kara’
<i>pəncatūsa</i>	‘residents/region of Pinianish’

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

⁷⁸ MacKenzie 1981, 1:217; Blau & Barak 1999:110.

⁷⁹ There are traces of the use of this suffix to express plurality also in Qaraqosh. Khan (2002:180–181) cites *xalyuṭa* ‘syrup of cooked dates’, *xwaruṭa* ‘dairy products’, and *yaltuṭa* ‘group of youths’ as referring to tangible entities. For a recent treatment of the development from abstract > collective > plural, see Hasselbach 2007:130–131.

4.2.9.4. -ona, -one

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

<i>'axona</i>	'brother' (pl. <i>'axawāsa</i>)
<i>brona</i>	'son' (pl. <i>brone</i>)

4.2.9.5. -unka, -unke

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

4.2.9.6. -āna, -anta, -āne

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

1. verbs:

<i>mṛaḥmāna</i>	'merciful' (<i>mṛāḥm</i> 'he may have mercy')
-----------------	--

2. nouns and adjectives:

<i>'aryāna</i>	'rain' (Syr ܐܪܝܢܐ)
* <i>urwāna</i>	'leader' (pl. <i>'urwāne</i> ; <i>'urwa</i> 'big')
<i>de'sāna</i>	'sweaty' (<i>de'sa</i> 'sweat')
<i>denāna</i>	'debtor' (<i>dena</i> 'debt')
* <i>milāna</i>	'blue' (pl. <i>milāne</i> ; Syr ܒܝܠܐ)
<i>ṛomāna</i>	'high' (f. <i>ṛomanta</i> ; pl. <i>ṛomāne</i> ; ClAram ܪܘܡܐ)
<i>šəxtāna</i>	'dirty' (<i>šəxta</i>)
<i>šidāna</i>	'crazy' (ClArm ܫܝܕܐ)
* <i>zad'əwāna</i>	'fearful' (pl. <i>zad'əwāne</i> ; * <i>zado/u'a?</i>)
<i>zodāna</i>	'additional' (pl. <i>zodāne</i> ; Ar ܙܘܕܐ)

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

⁸⁰ Nöldeke 1868:107.

⁸¹ For examples of additional nouns with the diminutive suffixes *-unka*, *-unke* in JBetan, see Mutzafi 2008a:109.

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

<i>ʿarwāna</i>	‘kindness’
<i>qorbāna</i>	‘sacrifice’
<i>ramazān</i>	‘Ramadan’
<i>yuqdāna</i>	‘conflagration’

4.2.9.7. *-oya*

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

<i>ʿamoya</i>	‘paternal uncle’ (cf. <i>ʿamta</i> ‘paternal aunt’)
<i>xaloya</i>	‘maternal uncle’ (cf. <i>xalta</i> ‘maternal aunt’)

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

4.2.9.8. *-k*

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

1. with the singular ending *-a*:⁸⁴

<i>ʿaṭarka</i>	‘peddler’
<i>qalunka</i>	‘narghile’
<i>sayyāḍka</i>	‘sayyid, descendant of Muhammad’ (also <i>sayyāḍ</i> , <i>sayyāḍa</i>)

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

2. with the plural ending *-e*:

<i>govke</i>	‘stalls’
<i>pəšūke</i>	‘gnats’
<i>qaraçke</i>	‘gypsies’
<i>qoruške</i>	‘piasters, small coins’

See also *yalunke* ‘children’ (§ 4.2.9.5).

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

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

⁸⁴ Garbell 1965:48.

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

ʿAwrāhamko
ʿAzizko, ʿAzizku
Mahmudko
Mərko
Mošāka, Moška
Najəmko
Noka
Šambiko

4.2.9.9. *-əski*

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

qurdəski ‘Kurdish (language)’

4.2.9.10. *-i*

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

gərāni ‘famine’
kotakki ‘hardship’
tangāwi ‘distress’

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

ʿanglizi ‘English’⁸⁸
ʿašli ‘(good) origin’

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

qurdi ‘Kurdish (language)’
türki ‘Turkish (language)’

⁸⁵ See Mutzafi 2008a:110 for additional languages marked by the suffix.

⁸⁶ MacKenzie 1981, 1:217.

⁸⁷ MacKenzie 1981, 1:218.

⁸⁸ As in *təffaḳ ʿanglizi* ‘an English rifle’. Cf. the noun ‘Englishman’ with the Aramaic gentilic suffix: *ʿanglisnāya*, *ʿanglisnāya*.

4.2.9.11. -li

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

'oşmołli 'Ottoman' (§ 3.6.d)

4.2.10. Compound Nouns

a. Compounds formed with inherited Aramaic elements are

'arbamma < 'arba + 'amma	'four hundred'
'arba'sar < 'arba + *'əsar	'fourteen'
'arbūšeb < 'arba + *b-šabba	'Wednesday'
'əčča'sar < 'əč'a + *'əsar	'nineteen'
'əšta'sar < 'əšta + *'əsar	'sixteen'
baxbāba ⁸⁹ < bax + bāba	'stepmother'
bomāxəd < b-'o + yōmā + xetā	'day after tomorrow'
gob'ena < go + be + 'ena?	'forehead'
palgədlel < *palgeh + d + lele	'midnight'
palgədyo < *palgeh + d + yomā	'noon'
pālpaṇqānoṭ < palg(a) + paṇqānoṭ	'half lira'
pālsā'a < palg(a) + sā'a	'half an hour'
šö'amma < šö'a + 'amma	'seven hundred'
tremma < tre + 'amma	'two hundred'
trūšeb < tre + *b-šabba	'Monday'
!lāhūšeb < !lāha + *b-šabba	'Tuesday'
xamšamma < xamša + 'amma	'five hundred'
xamūšeb < xamša + *b-šabba	'Thursday'
xošeba < *ḥaḍ + b-šabba	'Sunday' (§ 3.14)

b. Loans that are compounds in the donor languages include

'arzuḥāl	'petition (also 'arzuḥal)
čaydanka	'teapot'
čayxāna	'tea house'
flānkas	'so and so'
gehənnam	'hell'
gen'edən	'Garden of Eden'
jəzdān	'purse'
mar'az	'cloth made of fine goat-wool'
pəzağāya (?)	'village noble'
qāymaqam	'local governor'
qólordi	'army corps'
səfarṭora	'Torah scroll'
səfərṭās	'lunch box'

⁸⁹ Realized as [b^haɣ^hb^ha:b^ha].

4.2.11. *Proper Names and Hypocoristics*

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

- '*Aḥmado* (Ar أَحْمَد)
 'Āko (H יֵעֻקֵב)⁹¹
 'Awṛāham, less frequently 'Aṽṛāham, 'Awṛāw (H אַבְרָהָם)⁹²
 'Awraḥamko (H אַבְרָהָם)
 'Azizko, 'Azizku (K < Ar عَزِيز)
 'Isāxar (H יֵשַׁעֲכָר)
 'Ābo (H אַבְרָהָם) (§ 3.3.d)
 'Ammo (H עֲמֵרָם)
 Baṣāle (H בַּצְלֵאל)
 Bənyāme (H בְּנֵימָן)
 Faṭmāye (Ar فَاطِمَة)
 Fray (H אֶפְרַיִם)
 Hārūn (H אַהֲרֹן)
 Hoče (H יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)⁹³
 Home (H אַבְרָהָם)
 Ḥamo (K < Ar مُحَمَّد)
 Ḥayyo (H חַיִּים)
 Magaddi (H גַּדְלִיהוּ)
 Maḥmūdko (K < Ar مُحَمَّد)
 Māno (H מְנַחֵם)
 Maṣlo (H מִצְלֵיחַ)
 Mādo (H מְרַדְּכִי)
 Maxo, Məxwa (H מִיכָאֵל)
 Maṣto (K < Ar مُصْطَفَى)
 Mi'ər, Mərko (H מְאִיר)
 Mošāka, Moška (H מוֹשֶׁה)
 Murdax (H מְרַדְּכִי)
 Najamko (K < Ar نَجْم)
 Nəfto (H נֶפֶתְלִי)
 Noka (H נֹחַ)
 Nuwah (H נוֹחַ)
 Pəto (H פְּנֵחָם)

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

⁹¹ Cf. 'Āqo (Sabar 1974:46).

⁹² Cf. 'Aṽṛāham, 'Aṽro, 'Aṽvi (Sabar 1974:50). See also § 3.23.b.

⁹³ Cf. 'Oče (Sabar 1974:46).

Qāle (H יִזְהַקְאֵל) ⁹⁴
Rašo (K < Ar رَشِيد)
Sise (K *Sisine*, H שׁוֹשֵׁנָה)
Ša‘ya (H יִשְׁעִיהוּ)
Šabbo (H שְׁבַתְאִי)
Šambi, Šambiko (K *Šambo*, H שְׁבַתְאִי)
Šalo (H שְׁלֵמָה)
Šino (H שֵׁם טוֹב)
Yosef (H יוֹסֵף)
Zāwo (H זְבֻלִין, זְבֻלָּן)

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

‘amo ‘Uncle!’
bābo ‘Father!’ (= ‘By God!’)
kəče ‘Woman!’
māmo ‘Uncle!’
quró ‘Boy!’ ⁹⁵

4.3. NUMERALS

4.3.1. Cardinal Numbers 1–10

<i>xā, xā’</i>	‘one’
<i>tre, tre’, terte</i>	‘two’
<i>ṭlāha</i>	‘three’
<i>‘arba</i>	‘four’
<i>xamša</i>	‘five’
<i>’əšta</i>	‘six’
<i>šö’a</i>	‘seven’
<i>tmanyā</i>	‘eight’
<i>’əč’a</i>	‘nine’
<i>’əšra</i>	‘ten’

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

xā ’əšra ’alpe
 ‘about ten thousand’

⁹⁴ Cf. *Ḥasqo* (Sabar 1974:50).

⁹⁵ The ultimate stress is unexpected on this Kurdish loanword (MacKenzie 1981, 1:156). See § 3.23.i.

bābəd xa 'əṣṣa tre'sar yalúnke-le.

'He is the father of about ten, twelve children.'

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

c. A pausal form *xa'* occurs with the meaning 'only one' (as in JBetan⁹⁶):

'e dexun pəšwāle xa'.

'That one of yours (house) remained the only one (still standing).'

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

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

walla 'e Hḥavér^H u-nixəd bābi, tre', qəmlu zəllu.

'By God, that friend and my late father, only the two (of them), up (and) went.' (§ 5.6.17)

'á-ži kemər: hal tre'!

'He also says: "Give (me) only two!"' (§ 5.10.4)

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

karb xa'; ġazab tərte; 'eqo t̄lāha⁹⁷

'anger—one; rage—two; trouble—three'

t̄pārəd jəgra xa'; karb tərte; ġazab t̄lāha⁹⁸

'burning of his wrath—one; rage—two; and trouble—three'

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

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

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

⁹⁶ Mutzafi 2008a:114.

⁹⁷ Cf. **כַּרְבָּא—כָּא, וְגִבְ—תְרִי, וְאִקָּא** (Avidani 1959:38) and **וְאִיקוּ טְלָאָהָא** (Alfiye 1986:47).

⁹⁸ Cf. **גִּזְרֵ סְמִתָּה—כָּא, וְטַפְאֲרִית גִּגְרִי כָּא. גְּדָאָב תְרִי. וְסִהְמָא טְלָאָהָא** (Avidani 1959:39) and **כַּרְבָּא—תְרִי, גִּבְ—טְלָאָהָא** (Alfiye 1986:47).

⁹⁹ See, e.g., Meehan & Alon 1979:177 n. 15; Mutzafi 2008a:114.

however, the number is not clitic, e.g., *tmanyā ḅarāne* ‘eight rams’. Both accentual patterns are also attested for cardinal numbers above ten, e.g., *xamša’sār-metre* ‘fifteen meters’, *ṭṭmane’sar yome* ‘eighteen days’.

4.3.2. Cardinal Numbers 11–20

<i>xade’sar</i>	‘eleven’
<i>tre’sar</i>	‘twelve’
<i>talta’sar</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>’arba’sar</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>xamša’sar</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>’ašta’sar</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>šwa’sar</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>ṭṭmane’sar</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>’ačča’sar</i>	‘nineteen’

4.3.3. Cardinal Numbers—Tens and Hundreds

<i>’asri</i>	‘twenty’
<i>ṭlāsi</i>	‘thirty’
<i>’arbi</i>	‘forty’
<i>xamši</i>	‘fifty’
<i>’ašti</i>	‘sixty’
<i>šō’i</i>	‘seventy’
<i>ṭṭmāni</i>	‘eighty’
<i>’amma</i>	‘hundred’
<i>’ammāhe</i>	‘hundreds’
<i>tremma u-xamši</i>	‘two hundred and fifty’
<i>’arbamma</i>	‘four hundred’
<i>xamšamma</i>	‘five hundred’
<i>šō’amma</i>	‘seven hundred’

The plural of *’amma* ‘one hundred’ (e.g., *’amma dūkāne* ‘a hundred places’) is *’ammāhe* (§ 4.2.3.3):

kma ’ammāhe šanne?
 ‘How many hundreds of years?’ (§ 5.13.4)

Above ‘one hundred’ the noun *’amma* compounds with the numbers from 2–9 (§ 4.2.10) and takes the form *-mma*,¹⁰⁰ e.g.,

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

*tremma*¹⁰¹ *u-xamši kilo*
‘two hundred and fifty kilos’

ʿan xamšamma bāte
‘these five hundred houses’ (§ 5.1.2)

There is an exception:

kalba bər šöʿammāhe kalbe!
‘Son of seven hundred bitches!’

4.3.4. Cardinal Numbers—Thousands and Above

<i>ʿalpa, ʿalpe</i>	‘thousand, thousands’
<i>ʿsri u-tmanya ʿalpe</i>	‘twenty-eight thousand’
<i>malyone</i>	‘millions’
<i>ʿšta malyone</i>	‘six million’

4.3.5. Ordinal Numbers

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

<i>yom ʿawwal</i> ¹⁰²	‘the first day’	<i>náqəl-ži ʿawwal</i>	‘also the first time’
<i>yom tre</i>	‘the second day’	<i>naqəl tré-ži</i>	‘also the second time’
<i>yom ʿlāha</i>	‘the third day’	<i>naqəl ʿlāha</i>	‘the third time’
<i>yom ʿarba</i>	‘the fourth day’	<i>naqəl ʿarba</i>	‘the fourth’ time’
<i>yom xamša</i>	‘the fifth day’		
<i>yom ʿšta</i>	‘the sixth day’		
<i>yom šöʿa</i>	‘seventh day’	<i>naqəl šöʿa</i>	‘seventh time’
<i>yarxəd tre</i>	‘the second month’		
<i>yarxəd ʿarba</i>	‘the fourth month’		
<i>yarxəd ʿšta</i>	‘the sixth month’		
<i>yarxəd tmanya</i>	‘the eighth month’		
<i>yarxəd xadeʿsar</i>	‘the eleventh month’		

¹⁰¹ Rabbi Hashiloni reads תְּרִי אַמָּא דְרַבִּי in the *haggada* (Avidani 1959:38) as *tre ʿammāya darbiye* but later on in the same paragraph he reads תְּרִי אַמָּא וְכַמְשִׁי דְרַבִּי (Avidani 1959:39) as *tre ʿamma u-xamši darbiye*. Cf. in the *Zakho haggada* (Alfiye 1986:47–49): תְּרִי אַמָּא וְכַמְשִׁי וְרַבְתִּי סָא and תְּרִי אַמָּא וְכַמְשִׁי וְרַבְתִּי סָא.

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

4.3.6. Fractions

a. Attested fractions are

<i>palga</i>	‘half’
<i>ruba</i>	‘quarter’

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

<i>pālsā’a</i>	‘half an hour’
<i>pālpaŋqànoṭ</i>	‘half lira’
<i>palgædlel</i>	‘midnight’
<i>palgædyo</i>	‘noon’

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

<i>sā’a u-palge</i>	‘an hour and a half’
<i>tre u-palge</i>	‘two and a half’
<i>šāta-u-palge</i>	‘a year and a half’

4.3.7. Multiplicatives

<i>xá-u-tre</i>	‘double’ ¹⁰³
<i>xá-u-’arba</i>	‘fourfold’
<i>xá-u-šö’a</i>	‘sevenfold’ ¹⁰⁴

4.3.8. Days of the Week

<i>xošeba</i>	‘Sunday’
<i>trūšeb</i>	‘Monday’
<i>ṭlāhūšeb</i>	‘Tuesday’
<i>’arbūšeb</i>	‘Wednesday’
<i>xamūšeb</i>	‘Thursday’
<i>’ərota</i>	‘Friday’
<i>šapsa</i>	‘Saturday’

Note also *lel xošeba* ‘Saturday evening’.

¹⁰³ ‘Double’ and ‘fourfold’ occur in Rabbi Shiloni’s recitation of the *haggada*: *hawūsa xa b-tre xa ’arba* (טובה כפולה ומכפלה). Cf. in the written *haggadot*: הויסא דאפתא ומודאפתא (Avidani 1959:43) and הויסא דאפתא ומודאפתא (Alfiye 1986:53).

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

4.3.9. *Other Expressions of Time*

<i>šāta</i> (pl. <i>šānne</i>)	‘year’
<i>šawa</i> (pl. <i>šawe</i>)	‘week’
<i>yarxa</i> (pl. <i>yarxe</i>)	‘month’
<i>sā’a</i> (pl. <i>sā’e</i>)	‘hour’
<i>sā’a tre</i>	‘two o’clock’
<i>sā’a t̄lāha</i>	‘three o’clock’
<i>sā’a xamša</i>	‘five o’clock’
<i>sā’a ’əḫ’a</i>	‘nine o’clock’
<i>sā’a ’əṣra</i>	‘ten o’clock’
<i>’əstri u-’arba sā’e</i>	‘twenty-four hours’
<i>rūba’-sā’a</i>	‘quarter of an hour’
<i>pālsā’a</i>	‘half an hour’
<i>daqīqa</i> (pl. <i>daqīqe</i>)	‘minute’
<i>tre’sar naqoṣ ’əṣra, ruba’</i>	11:50, 11:45 a.m./p.m.

4.4. VERBS

4.4.1. *Stems*

a. There are three productive stems (*binyanim*) in JChalla: G (*pə’al*), D (*pa’el*), and C (< *’af’el*), as well as a quadriliteral stem Q. The older Aramaic relationship between G and D (factive), and G and C (causative) is still preserved in many verbs, e.g., G *qālu* ‘it may be clean’ vs. D *mqālu* ‘he may clean’, and G *qāṭal* ‘he may kill’ and C *maqṭal* ‘he may have killed’. This inventory of stems is found in other *lishana deni* dialects¹⁰⁵ as well as in other Neo-Aramaic dialects.¹⁰⁶ It contrasts with several Trans-Zab dialects, where there is a binary opposition between two stems, one based on ClAram G, and the other an amalgamation of ClAram D and C.¹⁰⁷

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

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

¹⁰⁶ See, e.g., Maclean 1895:90–105.

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

1. G *d'p* 'fold' (אָפֿוּלדן)¹⁰⁸
2. G *txr* 'remember' (אַתדכר)¹⁰⁹
3. Q *šthr* 'go blind' (אַשטהר)¹¹⁰
4. G *zd'* 'fear' (אַזדוּסן)¹¹¹

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

d. The *t* of the G verb *tfq* 'occur, happen' is a reflex of the geminated *t* of the Ar VIII stem form *'ittafaqa* (وَفِقَ).

4.4.2. G Stem

	Subjunctive	Preterite
<i>grš</i> 'pull'		
1 m.s.	<i>gáršən(a)</i> 'I may pull'	<i>grešli</i> 'I pulled (him)'
1 f.s.	<i>gáršan(a)</i>	<i>grešli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>gáršət(ən)</i>	<i>grešlox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>gáršat(ən)</i>	<i>grešlax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>gāreš</i>	<i>grešle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>garša</i>	<i>grešla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>gáršax(in)</i>	<i>gróšlan(a), gróšleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>garšétun(a)</i>	<i>gróšlexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>garši</i>	<i>grešlu</i>

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

Preterite with f. base (*griša*): *grišāli* 'I pulled her', *grišālox*, *grišālax*, *grišāle*, *grišāla*, *grišālan(a)*, *grišāleni*, *grišālexun*, *grišālu*

Preterite with pl. base (*griši*): *grišīli* 'I pulled them', *grišīlox*, *grišīlax*, *grišīle*, *grišīla*, *grišīlan(a)*, *grišīleni*, *grišīlexun*, *grišīlu*

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

¹⁰⁸ Mutzafi 2008a:343.

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

¹¹⁰ Mutzafi 2008:387.

¹¹¹ Nöldeke 1868:195.

¹¹² Jastrow 1997:360.

Participle	m.s. <i>grīša</i> , f.s. <i>grāšta</i> , c.pl. <i>grīše</i>
Imperative	c.s. <i>groš</i> , ¹¹³ c.pl. <i>grošun</i>
Gerund	<i>grāša</i>

4.4.3. *D and C Stems*

	D Stem <i>pl̥t̥</i> ‘take out’	C Stem <i>pl̥x</i> ‘employ’
Subjunctive		
1 m.s.	<i>mpal̥t̥ən</i> ‘I may take out’	<i>mápl̥xən</i> ‘I employ’
1 f.s.	<i>mpal̥t̥an</i>	<i>mápl̥xan</i>
2 m.s.	<i>mpal̥t̥ət̥</i>	<i>mápl̥xət̥</i>
2 f.s.	<i>mpal̥t̥at̥</i>	<i>mápl̥xat̥</i>
3 m.s.	<i>mpāl̥t̥</i>	<i>mapl̥x</i>
3 f.s.	<i>mpal̥t̥a</i>	<i>mápl̥xa</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>mpal̥t̥ax</i>	<i>mápl̥xax</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>mpal̥t̥etun</i>	<i>mapl̥xetun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>mpal̥t̥i</i>	<i>mápl̥xi</i>

Infrequently also 1 m.s. *mpal̥t̥an* and *mápl̥xan* (§ 4.1.6.c).

Preterite		
1 s.	<i>mpol̥t̥li</i> ‘I took out’	<i>mupl̥xli</i> ‘I employed’
2 m.s.	<i>mpol̥t̥lox</i>	<i>mupl̥xlox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>mpol̥t̥lax</i>	<i>mupl̥xlax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>mpol̥t̥le</i>	<i>mupl̥xle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>mpol̥t̥la</i>	<i>mupl̥xla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>mpol̥t̥lan</i> , <i>mpol̥t̥leni</i>	<i>mupl̥xlan</i> , <i>mupl̥xleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>mpol̥t̥lexun</i>	<i>mupl̥xlexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>mpol̥t̥lu</i>	<i>mupl̥xlu</i>

D Preterite with f. base (*mpul̥t̥a*): *mpul̥t̥āli* ‘I took her out’, *mpul̥t̥ālox*, *mpul̥t̥ālax*, *mpul̥t̥āle*, *mpul̥t̥āla*, *mpul̥t̥ālan*, *mpul̥t̥āleni*, *mpul̥t̥ālexun*, *mpul̥t̥ālu*

with pl. base (*mpul̥t̥i*): *mpul̥t̥īli* ‘I took them out’, *mpul̥t̥īlox*, *mpul̥t̥īlax*, *mpul̥t̥īle*, *mpul̥t̥īla*, *mpul̥t̥īlan*, *mpul̥t̥īleni*, *mpul̥t̥īlexun*, *mpul̥t̥īlu*

C Preterite with f. base: *mupl̥xāli* ‘I employed her’, *mupl̥xālox*, *mupl̥xā-lax*, *mupl̥xālan*, *mupl̥xāleni*, *mupl̥xālexun*, *mupl̥xālu*

¹¹³ See also § 4.4.15.

with pl. base: *muplaxili* ‘I employed them’, *muplaxilox*, *muplaxilax*, *muplaxilan*, *muplaxileni*, *muplaxilexun*, *muplaxilu*

Participle		
m.s.	<i>mpulṭa</i>	<i>múplaxa</i>
f.s.	<i>mpolaṭta</i>	<i>muplaxta</i>
c.pl.	<i>mpulṭe</i>	<i>múplaxe</i>
Imperative		
c.s.	<i>mpālṭ</i>	<i>maplax</i>
c.pl.	<i>mpalṭun</i>	<i>máplaxun</i>
Gerund		
	<i>mpaloṭe</i>	<i>maploxe</i>

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

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

4.4.4. Q Stem

The attested Q verbs in Shabbo’s speech,¹¹⁴ many of which are loanwords, are *rgn* ‘organize’, *šbn* ‘irritate’, *brbz* ‘scatter, disperse’, *bzbz* ‘squander’, *dmbk* ‘pummel’, *drmn* ‘medicate’, *gndr* ‘roll down’, *grgš* ‘drag’, *grgr* ‘be hoarse’, *hlḥl* ‘peremeate’, *hymn* ‘believe’, *krkm* ‘make yellow’, *lxlx* ‘dirty’, *nxxn* ‘mumble threats’, *pčkn* ‘finish’, *pnčr* ‘cause a flat tire’, *prns* ‘manage’, *prpr* ‘writhe’, *prpt* ‘agonize’, *pršq* ‘stretch’, *prrx* ‘make change’, *ptpt* ‘shred’, *qrpč* ‘snatch’, *šfsf* ‘utterly disregard’, *šhrr* ‘free, release’, *šthr* ‘become blind’ (§ 4.4.1.b), *tlfn* ‘telephone’, *wlwl* ‘wail’, *xrxr* ‘have pity’.

Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>mbarbəz</i> ‘he may scatter’
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>mburbəzle</i>
Imperative	m.s. <i>mbarzbəz</i>
Participle	<i>mbúrbəza</i> , <i>mburbazta</i> , <i>mbúrbəze</i>
Gerund	<i>mbarboze</i>

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

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

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

- (*m*)*walwole* ‘wailing’ (§ 5.7.9)
 (*m*)*dambəkle* ‘he pummels him’ (§ 5.6.4)

4.4.5. Inventory of Verbal Forms

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

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

4.4.6. Copula

4.4.6.1. Present Copula

- 1 m.s. (')*iwən(a)*, *wən*
 1 f.s. (')*iwən(a)*, *wən*
 2 m.s. (')*iwət(ən)*, *wət*
 2 f.s. (')*iwət(ən)*, *wət*
 3 m.s. (')*ile*, *-yle*, *le*
 3 f.s. (')*ila*, *-yla*, *la*
 1 c.pl. (')*iwax(in)*, *wax*
 2 c.pl. (')*iwétun(a)*, *wetun*
 3 c.pl. (')*ilu*, *-ylu*, *lu*

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

Rašíd 'áǵa-'ile
 'Rashi is an agha' (§ 5.5.5.)

bas 'āni rāba-ilu
 'but they are many' (§ 5.4.2)

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

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

má-yle, má-yla
 'What is it?'

Cf. the following three allomorphs:

kmá-'ile / kmá-yle / kmá-la
 'How much is it?'

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

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

'āna Hekkarná-wən.
 'I am a resident of Hakkari.' (§ 5.2.3)

jebi mālya-le.
 'My pocket is full.' (§ 5.3.13)

tar'eni b-léle-ži ptíxa-le.
 'And our door is open at night.' (§ 5.2.16)

'ár'a-ži xapči jmótta-la.
 'Also the earth is a bit frozen.' (§ 5.2.12)

řápsa-la 'e-məzgáfte.
 'That mosque is large.' (§ 5.1.7)

'iya 'ādíta-la.
 'This is a custom.' (§ 5.6.6)

qatxe didu zóre-lu.
 'Their glasses are small.' (§ 5.10.11)

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

¹¹⁷ Khan 2002:396.

Qóto-le go gūba.

‘Qoto is at the loom.’ (§ 5.4.3)

kəsyāsa lu gāwa.

‘Hens are on it.’ (§ 5.10.4)

kullu xāšū le l-gūda.

‘All of them, their back is to the wall.’ (§ 5.11.3)

marawāse lu ’əltəx ’əl-’ār’a. ’āya-le go ^Hrəkevet^H.

‘The owners are below, on the ground. He is in the train.’ (§ 5.10.1)

4.4.6.2. Negated Present Copula

1 m.s. *léwən(a), lāwən(a)*¹¹⁸

1 f.s. *léwan(a)*

2 m.s. *léwət(ən)*

2 f.s. *léwat(ən)*

3 m.s. *lewe, lāwe*

3 f.s. *lewa*

1 c.pl. *léwax(in)*

2 c.pl. *létun(a)*

3 c.pl. *lewu*

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

waḷḷa lewe qṭila.

‘By God, he has not been killed.’ (§ 5.7.9)

’Eli! ’āhat lewət mən gūre ’ida gdāre l-kəstox

‘Eli! You are not (one) of (those) men (who) puts (his) hand in his money-bag’ (§ 5.6.21)

sartuk lewe məšxa

‘*sartuk* (cream) is not *məšxa* (cooking oil)’ (§ 5.8.2)

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

áḡa-ži xmāra lewe.

‘And the Agha is not an ass.’ (§ 5.4.6)

ki(’ət) ’āna xorexun xmāra léwəna.

‘You kn(ow that) I, like you, am not an ass.’ (§ 5.3.16)

čú-məndi lewe.

‘It is *nothing*.’ (§ 5.6.6)

¹¹⁸ *lāwən* and *lāwəna* are significantly less frequent than *lewən*, *léwəna*.

4.4.6.3. *Deictic Present Copula*

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

wälle Ben-Guryón dexun, 'aqida dexun, wälle l-axxa.

'Right here is your Ben-Gurion, your (military) leader, he is right here.'

tene wəllu qam tar'eni.

'Figs are right here in front of our door.'

b. There are rare attestations of what appear to be present deictic copular forms *wele*, *wela*, etc., as in JZakho, JAmid, and JBetan:¹²⁰

walḥāṣəl malšən deni máni-le? máni-le? wele kəsleni.

'In short, our slanderer, who is he? Who is he? He is right here with us.'

'ən wela, wela tangāwi 'əllexun, 'axtun kesetun kəsleni. 'ən wela hənna kəslexun wela^Hb-sedər^H, 'axtun lá-ki'ètūlan

'If you are right now, right now in distress, you come to us. If there is, right now, um, with you, (if) it is now okay, you don't know us.'

4.4.6.4. *Past Copula*

1 m.s. *wənwa, (')ənwa*

1 f.s. *wanwa, (')anwa*

2 m.s. *wətwa, (')ətwa*

2 f.s. *watwa, (')atwa*

3 m.s. *wewa, (')ewa*

3 f.s. *wāwa, (')āwa*

1 c.pl. *waxwa, (')axwa*

2 c.pl. unattested

3 c.pl. *wewa, (')ewa*

a. The initial *w* of the Past Copula is sometimes replaced by an initial glottal stop (*wewa* > *'ewa*) after word-final vowels (§ 3.3.c) or elided completely, e.g.,

múfti-'ewa. qāzi-'ewa. kullu šu'āle 'ewa.

'He was the mufti. He was the judge. He was all things.' (§ 5.1.10)

¹¹⁹ Hoberman 1989:33; Mutzafi 2008a:52,57–58 (perhaps from *u* 'and' + *'alla* 'behold' p. 393). It is clearly distinguished in pronunciation from the interjection *walla* 'By God'. See also the adverbial *wal* (§ 4.7.4).

¹²⁰ Polotsky 1967:111; Meehan & Alon 1979:179 n. 22; Hoberman 1989:33,173–176; Mutzafi 2008a:393; Cohen 2008.

ya'ni 'āga d-láxma-ewa.

'That is, he was the "āgha of bread"' (§ 5.5.5)

b. Initial *w* usually occurs after word-final consonants, e.g.,

wakil qāymaqam wewa.

'He was the deputy of the local governor.' (§ 5.9.1)

tlāha jandərme mənnan wewa.

'Three policemen were with us.' (§ 5.13.2)

though it can also be heard after vowels, e.g.,

pa 'ega 'eka wewa 'iya?

'So then where was this?'

qóme-ži kərya wewa, la yarixa.

'His height was short, not tall.' (§ 5.8.12)

c. The Past Copula is infrequently clipped and reduced to enclitic *-wa* (§ 3.17.f), e.g.,

'Éraq-wa ...

'It was Iraq ...' (§ 5.2.6)

gəzra-wa l-tāma.

'There was a pile of chopped word there.' (§ 5.13.11)

la, 'āna^Hmazkír^H-wa.

'No, I was the secretary.'

d. The 2 pl. form of the Past Copula is unattested in the corpus. Cf. JAmid 2 m.s. *witwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wutwa*;¹²¹ JBetan 2 m.s. *wətwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wátūwa*;¹²² CAradh 2 m.s. *witwa* vs. 2 c.pl. *wútu:wa*.¹²³

e. Like the Present Copula, the Past Copula may occur before or after the predicate, depending on what information is given prominence, e.g.,

Qoto wewa šəmməd dide

'His name was Qoto' (§ 5.4.3)

bāb didu 'é-Piro wewa.

'Their father was that Piro.' (§ 1.1.3)

'axnan wewax b-^Hšad^H.

'We were at the side.' (§ 5.3.10)

¹²¹ Hoberman 1989:198.

¹²² Mutzafi 2008a:52.

¹²³ Krotkoff 1982:37–38.

f. So rarely does Shabbo use the past copular forms *wele*, *weli*, etc.,¹²⁴ that, as in the case of JAmid and JBetan, it is likely that they are the result of JZakho influence.¹²⁵

4.4.7. Subjunctive

a. The Subjunctive base developed from the older Aramaic active participle (G *qātəl* < *qātil*, D *mqātəl* < *mqattil*, C *maqətəl* < *maqtil*), to which have been added E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.6), which mark the agent. See, e.g., G *ptx* ‘open’:

- 1 m.s. *pátxən(a)* ‘I may open’
- 1 f.s. *pátxan(a)*
- 2 m.s. *pátxət(ən)*
- 2 f.s. *pátxat(ən)*
- 3 m.s. *pátəx*
- 3 f.s. *patxa*
- 1 c.pl. *pátxax(in)*
- 2 c.pl. *patxétun(a)*
- 3 c.pl. *patxi*

1 m.s. *pátxan(a)* is infrequent. (§ 4.1.6.c).

b. The Subjunctive expresses modality, e.g.,

- mā* ‘*amrənnox?*
- ‘What can I tell you?’ (§ 5.6.2)
- ’atta má-odi b-Qofo? mā lá-odi b-Qofo?*
- ‘What on earth should they do with Qoto?’

c. The Subjunctive may be preceded by *mən* or *məl*, e.g.,

- mən hāwe*
- ‘Let it be!’
- mən řāləq*
- ‘Let him divorce!’
- məl ’āzəl*
- ‘Let him go!’
- mád-gbe ’āmər mən ’āmər!*
- ‘Whatever he wants to say, let him say (it)!’

¹²⁴ E.g., *Čalla wela* ‘it was Čalla’, *zöre welu* ‘they were small.’ When Shabbo does use it, it comes after the predicate as in JZakho (Polotsky 1967:111).

¹²⁵ Hoberman 1989:177–178; Mutzafi 2008a:393.

d. The negative is expressed by *m(ən)-lá*:

'āni m-lā-ḥarmi!

'They shouldn't become impure!'

e. The origin of *mən* and *məl* is unclear.¹²⁶ Cf. the syntagm *mən d-* + Subjunctive (ClAram *מן ד* 'as soon as, after') as in JZakho *mun yā'e* 'as soon as he knows'.¹²⁷ Optional subjunctive particles in other NeoAram dialects include JZakho and JBetan *šud/t* (< *שבוק ד*¹²⁸); Maha Khtaya D-Baz *hal* (< *√yhwl*);¹²⁹ Telkepe *šud/šwoq d-*,¹³⁰ Qaraqosh (*š)d-*;¹³¹ Ṭuroyo *ṭro-* (< *√ṭry* 'allow, leave');¹³² JKoyS *mar* (< *√mr* imperative),¹³³ *ba*, and *dabi*; JArbel *mar*, *da*, and *ba*; JSuleim *mar* and *ba*;¹³⁴ Mlaḥso *mlo* (< *√ml'?*);¹³⁵ *khūsh* (< *√ḥwš*) is also attested in several dialects.¹³⁶

f. The Subjunctive may occur in the protasis of conditional clauses, e.g.,

^Hbe'emét^H 'ən ba'yat, la', xamša'sar yomāsa xet 'āhat la pūwat 'axxa. 'ən la ba'yat-ži 'āwon dīdax u-'əd-gorax b-qdalexun.

'Really, if you want (me to arrange the transfer, then) no, you won't be here in another fifteen days (because I can arrange your transfer). If you don't want (me to arrange it), then you and your husband are responsible.' (§ 5.9.13)

g. The Subjunctive serves in asyndetic constructions where in ClAram an infinitive might have been expected, e.g.,

gəbən 'āzən

'I want to go'

u-'āhat lá-mšət mā'leni 'axlätte.

'And you cannot filch our possessions.' (§ 5.2.3)

wax 'əsyə xāzax dəmmox. kmá-le?

'We have come to see (about) your blood money. How much is it?' (§ 5.5.6)

¹²⁶ The syntagm *mən* (preposition) + active participle is a salient feature of LWArām (JPA, CPA, and SA) where it functions as a predicative accusative of state (*ḥāl*). See Kutscher 1976:51–58.

¹²⁷ Sabar 2002a:220. On *מן ד* and other subordinators in the historical development of Aramaic syntax, see Pat-El 2008.

¹²⁸ Sabar 2002a:275; Mutzafi 2008a:387. Also *dī* (Sabar 1976:XL).

¹²⁹ Mutzafi 2000:315.

¹³⁰ Mutzafi 2008a:387.

¹³¹ Khan 2002:305.

¹³² Jastrow 1985:157.

¹³³ Mutzafi 2004:110, 231. Khan 1999:252 believes *mar* is of Kurdish origin.

¹³⁴ Khan 2004:287.

¹³⁵ Jastrow 1994:51,183.

¹³⁶ Maclean 1901:96.

4.4.8. Past Subjunctive (Subjunctive + wa)

The Subjunctive + *wa* represents a contrary-to-fact condition.¹³⁷

čú-māndi lewu 'anna pāre. 'atta hāwēwāli xa 'emma tremma paṅqāṇoṭe yāwānwālox. 'āna^H sameaḥ^H wānwā hādax.

'This money isn't (worth) anything. Now were I to have about a hundred, two hundred liras, I would give (them) to you. I would have been happy (if it were) like this.' (§ 5.3.12)

'ən (hwe)wāle māšālmāna, 'ida dārewa, dārewa skina go kāse. čāyāqwāle mātūwāle hānna 'afəllu xamšamma šanne hāwewa go^H bet sohar.^H

'Had he been born a Muslim, he would have inserted (his) hand (and) stuck a knife in his stomach. He would have ripped him open, he would have knocked him down, um, even if he had to be in jail five hundred years.'

4.4.9. Present (g/k + Subjunctive)

a. The Subjunctive base with prefixed *g-/k-*¹³⁸ expresses the present tense (general present¹³⁹). In the case of the verbs *'mr* 'say', *'wd* 'do', *'sy* 'come', and *'xl* 'eat', the vowel of the Present differs from the vowel found in the Subjunctive (§ 4.4.9.i).

b. Before voiced consonants one finds *g-* (§ 3.6.f), e.g.,

gbāxən 'I cry'
gdāre 'he puts in'
gzaqri 'they weave'

c. Before unvoiced consonants one finds *k-*, e.g.,

kpeši 'they remain'
kšāme' 'he hears'
ktaxrətta? 'Do you remember it?'

k is sometimes fronted to *k'* (§ 3.4.b) and other times *k > č / _i* in *či'atte* 'you know him' and *lá-či'an* 'I don't know' (§§ 5.6.13; 5.13.3).

¹³⁷ Hoberman 1989:68.

¹³⁸ See Heinrichs 2002:243–257 on the prefixing of *k-/g-* in NeoAram, their distribution in different dialects, and the origin of the particles (the syntagm *-ḥḥ* [*< ḥḥ*] + participle as exemplified by JBA and Mandaic, where it marks the continuous aspect). See also Khan 2002:299; Rubin 2005:129–136; Mutzafi 2008b:420–421; Breuer 1997.

¹³⁹ The continuous (actual) present is expressed by the Copula + *b* + Gerund (§ 4.4.19.b).

d. The prefix assimilates to a following *q* (§ 3.6f), e.g.,

lā-qqarwən 'I do not approach'
šūli qqāḏanne 'I finish my work'

e. The prefix is sometimes difficult to hear before an unvoiced consonant (§ 3.6f).

f. In the case of the verbs I- 'mr 'say', 'sy 'come', and 'xl 'eat', as well as the I-h verb *hwy* 'be', *k-* is heard because historically the prefix was contiguous to an unvoiced consonant:

**k'āmər* > *kemər*¹⁴⁰
 **k'āse* > *kese*
 **k'āxəl* > *kexəl*
 **khāwe* > *kāwe*

This is not the case, however, with the verb 'zl 'go':

**k'āzəl* > *gezəl*

Cf. the verb 'wd 'do' < ClAram עבד, in which *k-* has assimilated to a following originally voiced consonant ('):

**k'āwəd* > *gewəd*

g. *g-/k-* is sometimes absent after the first verb in a series, e.g.,

kesən besa u-menxən kullu.
 'I come home and look at all of them.' (§ 5.11.6)

Hma še^H-gmesétun 'ida dāretun go jebābu.
 'What you bring (is because) you put (your) hand into their pockets.'

Cf. the following passage where *g-/k-* occurs with each verb in the sequence:

tāma 'axnan gzar'ax gmar'ax gmaštax kxazdax šiwe gmesax mən tāma.
 'There we sew, we take to pasture, we irrigate, we harvest, (and) we bring wood from there.'

h. *g-/k-* is obligatory after all negatives, even in a series, lest the verbal forms be understood as modal, e.g.,

*lā-gzonetun lā-gmzabnetun*¹⁴¹ *lā-gzaqretun lā-kəmḥaketun lā-kxadretun.*
 'You don't buy, you don't sell, you don't weave, you don't talk, you don't go around.' (§ 5.11.6)

¹⁴⁰ *gemər* is also attested in JChalla. It is, however, the result of JZakho influence.

¹⁴¹ On the syllabification of this verb preceded by the negative, see § 3.22.d.

la gzāde' mənni u-lá-gnāxəp mənni.

'He doesn't fear me and he isn't embarrassed by me.'

i. As in other *lishana deni* dialects, there is a clear distinction in the thematic vowel between I-' forms (including CIARam ' > NENA ') expressing the present tense and those expressing modality. The former have an initial *e*-vowel, whose origin is unclear, whereas the latter have an *a*-vowel:

<i>kemər</i> 'he says'	vs.	<i>'āmər</i> 'he may say'
<i>gezəl</i> 'he goes'	vs.	<i>'āzəl</i> 'he may go'
<i>kese</i> 'he comes'	vs.	<i>'āse</i> 'he may come'
<i>gewəd</i> 'he does'	vs.	<i>'āwəd</i> 'he may do'
<i>kexəl</i> 'he eats'	vs.	<i>'āxəl</i> 'he may eat'

j. The Present of *b'y* 'want', *gəbən*, *gəbət*, etc. (§ 4.4.28.10) is not formed from the Subjunctive base (*bā'e*) but rather from the old passive participle *b'e*.¹⁴²

4.4.10. Past Habitual (g/k + Subjunctive + wa)

The past habitual is expressed by the prefixing of *g-/k-* and the suffixing of the past tense marker *-wa* to the Subjunctive base, e.g.,

walla mən tāma mən Ştambul kud^H taħanád^H gezaxwa, mesewa məndi gənzabniwa.

By God, from there, from Istanbul, (at) every station which we went to, they would bring something (and) would sell.' (§ 5.10.1)

dəbbāsa 'ətwa. kesewa u-maxərwiwa dukāne... 'ar'āsa.

'There were bears. They would come and destroy places... the fields.' (§ 5.6.16)

^Haz^H kəsleni gyatwiwa. kudlel kesewa^H orħim^H zamriwa ħil palgədlel.

'So they would sit with us. Every night guests would come. They would sing till midnight.' (§ 5.8.17)

'āna ki'ənwa xa šāta-u-palge xa məndi.

'I knew (it was) something (like) a year and a half.' (§ 5.1.13)

4.4.11. Future (*b/p* + Subjunctive)

a. The future is expressed by the prefixing of *b-* (before vowels and voiced consonants) to the Subjunctive base, e.g.,

¹⁴² Mutzafi 2008a:80.

<i>bāzən</i>	‘I shall go’
<i>bāsən</i>	‘I shall come’
<i>bodi</i>	‘they will do’
<i>bda’rən</i>	‘I shall return’
<i>byāwət</i>	‘you will give’

b. *b-* is devoiced to *p-* before unvoiced consonants, e.g.,

<i>pšāke</i>	‘he will complain’
<i>pqaṭ’ən</i>	‘I shall cut’
<i>ppēšan</i>	‘I shall become’

In the case of *pāwe* ‘he will be’, *b > p / _h*: *bhāwe > *phāwe > *pāwe*.¹⁴³

c. *b > m* before a nasal (§ 3.6.a), e.g.,

’āya mmājəblox
‘he will answer you’

la māra: mmaxlət tarefa l-yalunke?
‘She is saying: “Will you feed the children non-kosher meat?”
(§ 5.10.8)

xá-gdāda garšət mənne ’alpa rqa’e mnapli mənnəd dide.
‘(If) you pull one thread from it, a thousand patches will fall from it.’
(§ 5.3.11)

though not always:¹⁴⁴

’ā-ži mhoməнна ko bmāxəl l-yalunke.
‘Also she believed that he will feed the children.’ (§ 5.10.5)

d. *b-/p-* is prefixed also in the other *lishana deni* dialects of JAmid,¹⁴⁵ JZakho,¹⁴⁶ JAradh,¹⁴⁷ and JBetan,¹⁴⁸ though in JDohok, JAradh and in the older texts of JNerwa one finds the free standing בַּד/בֶּת (*bəd/bət*),¹⁴⁹ which is also attested elsewhere in NENA.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴³ Mutzafi 2008a:24.

¹⁴⁴ An example in the Past Prospective is *bnāššətwāle* ‘you would have forgotten it’. Cf. with assimilated *b* in the Past Prospective *mmakipiwāle* ‘they would bend (their head)’.

¹⁴⁵ Hoberman 1989:30.

¹⁴⁶ Sabar 2002a:104.

¹⁴⁷ See the sample text published in Mutzafi 2002:485.

¹⁴⁸ Mutzafi 2008a:54.

¹⁴⁹ Sabar 1984:242.

¹⁵⁰ See, e.g., Maclean 1895:82, Krotkoff 1982:33, Fox 1997:32; Talay 2008:307–309.

4.4.12. *Past Prospective (b/p + Subjunctive + wa)*

The past prospective¹⁵¹ is expressed by the prefix *b-/p-* on forms of the Subjunctive base with the past tense marker suffix *-wa*; it is attested in the apodosis of hypothetical conditional sentences:

pāša, ’an hāwéwāli bamrənwa ’alle.
‘Pasha, if I had (the money), I would have told him.’

It also functions similarly to the Past Habitual, e.g.,

bāziwa b-xurṭūsa go besa pšaqliwa māḏ gbewa.
‘They would go by force into the house (and) they would take whatever they wanted.’ (§ 5.1.12)

m-axxa byātūwa qalunka mayrāxwāle l-tāma.
‘One would sit here (and) would extend the narghile (all the way) over there.’ (§ 5.11.3)

basər hādax ’egā bāsewa rešu mmakipiwāle.
‘Afterwards then they would come (and) they would bend their head.’

bāsewa dax kpānwālu, (b)’oriwa.
‘They would come, as soon as they had gotten hungry they would enter.’ (§ 5.4.2)

4.4.13. *Preterite*

a. The Preterite is formed from the base of the older Aramaic passive participles (G *qṭal-* < ܩܛܐܠ; D *mḡotāl-* < ܡܓܘܛܐܠ; C *muḡtāl-* < ܡܘܓܛܐܠ) to which are attached E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.6), which function as the object, followed by L-suffix pronouns (§ 4.1.4), which function as the agent.¹⁵²

b. It occurs with both transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g., *qṭilili* ‘I killed them’, *šqilāli* ‘I took her’, *kpānnu* ‘they were hungry’, *kəple* ‘he bent over’, *mṭeli* ‘I arrived’.

¹⁵¹ Hoberman uses the term ‘conditional’ (1989:68 “fulfilled consequence of a condition in the past time”); Mutzafi, on the other hand, prefers ‘past prospective’ (2008a:61).

¹⁵² Original *qṭil li* ‘is killed by me’ > ‘he is killed by me’ > *qṭalli* ‘I killed (him)’. On the formation of the Preterite in NeoAram, see Hopkins 1989a.

- c. The Preterite is the most commonly used form in narrating past events, e.g.,

pār gyāni šqilili. bargūze-ži lu qāmi zəllan besa. zəllan besa šlixili. hiwili ʃas dide. zəllu 'an-bargūze. zəlli l-tāma xá-gā xet. mərri...

'I took my money. And we went home (with) the woolen suit on me. We went home, (then) I took them off. I gave them to him. That woolen suit went (to the Agha). I went there another time (and) I said... ' (§ 5.2.9)

waʃla šqilālu təffaḡ. hedi ^Hkané^H dəryālu hənna ^Hkané^H dəryālu go nāsəd dide. ʃiq! waʃla zəlle. baxta qəm̄la har hatxa wəlla.

'By God, they took the rifle. Slowly they stuck the barrel, um, they stuck the barrel in his ear. Bang! By God, he died. The wife got up (and) did just like this.' (§ 5.6.18)

bāb dide skətle zəlle. nixəd bābi-ži nəxle. xá-yoma zəlli 'əlləd pareni l-tāma.

'His father croaked (and) died. Also my late father passed away. One day I went there for our money.' (§ 5.2.1)

- d. For the passive Preterite, see § 4.4.20.e.

4.4.14. Pluperterite (Preterite + Infixed wa)

- a. The Pluperterite is formed from the infixing of the the past tense marker *-wā* between the Preterite base and an L-suffix pronoun.

- b. It expresses background information in the past, e.g.,

hudāyəd pəšwālu-ži kətt-u-māt 'riqālu.

'And the Jews who had remained fled bit by bit.' (§ 5.1.11)

bāb didu 'é-Piro wewa. 'āya séwāle m-go Pəncāye. mən Blejan séwāle.

'Their father was that Piro. He had come from (the area of) Pinianish. He had come from Blejan.' (§ 5.1.3)

- c. It may be used to express the distant past, e.g.,

... 'ako zəlwālu go ^Hgalūt^H. mani 'ā séwāle l-axxa? Nawoxadnesər, ^Hnaxón^H?

'... when they went into exile. Who (was) it (who) had come here? Nawo-chadnezer, correct?' (§ 5.1.1)

flānā-yoma séwāle l-axxa.

'One day he had come here.'

4.4.15. *Imperative*

a. The Imperative in JChalla is a reflex of the older Aramaic imperative. In the G stem the thematic *o*-vowel (< *u) of transitive verbs has replaced entirely the thematic *a*-vowel of older intransitive verbs and of verbs III-guttural and *r*,¹⁵³ with the exception of the Imperative forms of *'mr* 'say': s. *mar*, pl. *marun*. There are two forms, a singular and a plural, e.g., c.s. *ptox* 'open!', c.pl. *ptoxun*. *o* > *u* in the Imperative when there is an object suffix, e.g., *ptuxle* 'open it!' In verbs III-*y* there are three forms: m.s. *xzi* 'say!', f.s. *xze*, c.pl. *xzūn*. A lengthened form of the singular Imperative is attested in Shabbo's speech only with the verb *ḥml* 'wait': *ḥmólana*.¹⁵⁴

b. The suffix *-un* on the plural form is attested already in LAram in Syr, Mand, and JPA.

c. The imperative is negated with the particle *la* + Subjunctive (as in ClAram), e.g.,

lá-mḥākət!
'Don't talk!'

or, unlike in ClAram, by *la* + Imperative:

lá-šti!
'Don't drink!'

These two methods of expressing the negative imperative are attested elsewhere in NeoAram, though in some dialects, e.g., CUrmi, JZakho, and JBetan, *la* + Subjunctive denotes a continued or general action, whereas *la* + Imperative denotes a single action.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ Nöldeke 1868:225–226, but cf. *a* in Ṭuroyo (Jastrow 191985:62) and Mlaḥšo (Jastrow 1994:50). Cf. the thematic *o* vowel of the plural Imperative in JChalla *ptoxun* and JZakho (Sabar 2002a:261) *psoxun* with the *u* vowel in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:64) *pṯūxun* and JAmid (Hoberman 1989:196) *ptuxun*.

¹⁵⁴ The shorter form *ḥmol* also occurs. The suffix *-ən* is also attested in the JNerwa texts: *ṣqōlən* (*šqōlən*). See Sabar 1976:XXXVII and 1984:241.

¹⁵⁵ Maclean 1895:147 relates to CURmia, and Hoberman 1989:70–71 reports that Polotsky finds the same distinction in JZakho. For JBetan see Mutzafi 2008a:84. In JArbel (Khan 1999:282) *la* + Subjunctive is imperfective as against *la* + Imperative, which is aspectually neutral. Both Hoberman 1989:71 and Fox 1997:33 n. 9 do not feel they have enough evidence to show whether this is true for JAmid and Jilu respectively. Khan 2004:322 indicates that both syntagms may express contingent and permanent prohibitions in JSuleim. Cf. Mlaḥšo, where the Imperative is negated by *lo* + Imperative as opposed to Ṭuroyo, where one finds *la* + Subjunctive (Jastrow 1994:51).

d. The reflexive (2nd person L-suffix) or so-called ‘ethical dative’¹⁵⁶ is sometimes suffixed to the forms of the Imperative, as elsewhere in Neo-Aram,¹⁵⁷ e.g.,

<i>hal, hallox</i>	‘give (m.s.)!’
<i>se, selax</i>	‘go (f.s.)!’
<i>soq, soqlax</i>	‘ascend (m.s.)!’
<i>šmo’, šmo’lox</i>	‘hear (m.s.)!’
<i>šqol, šqullox</i>	‘take (m.s.)!’

e. The ‘narrative’ imperative¹⁵⁸ occurs in narrative descriptions:¹⁵⁹

šqalle xa šiwa ’allad dide u-xṭerre hatxa. krox! tāma Tūrkiya-la. godi šar’a
*H*_{naxón}.^H

‘He took a stick to him and beat him like this. He smashed (him) [Lit., ‘Smash!’] There it is Turkey. They enforce religious law properly.’

mətwāli l-’ar’a ’egā krox! ^Hbli rahma(nūt), türkit türkit^H. króx-u-króx-u-
króx-u-króx-u-króx-u!

‘I laid her down on the ground (and) so then I smashed her [Lit., ‘Smash!’] Without mer(cy)—Turkish, Turkish (style?). I smashed her over and over and over again. [Lit., ‘Smash and smash and smash and smash and smash and!’] (§ 5.8.11)

məndelu qāman. məndelu. mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi! ḥel walle
desta, ^Hpastela^H reš ^Hpas ’adamā^H.

‘They threw him down in front of us. They threw him down. They beat him over and over and over again. [Lit., ‘Strike and strike and strike and strike and strike and strike!’] Until he is right now a portion of food, mincemeat, on the face of the earth.’ (§ 5.2.12)

4.4.16. Perfect (Present Copula + Participle)

a. The Perfect is composed of the shorter form of the Present Copula (§ 4.4.6.1) and the Participle (§ 4.4.18), e.g.,

¹⁵⁶ For the vast literature on the function of the ethical dative in Semitic languages, particularly in the different periods of Hebrew, see most recently Halevy 2004 and the bibliography there. In discussing the situation in CURmi, Polotsky 1979:206, 211 cites only verbs of motion with the L-suffixes, which he describes as a reflexive use.

¹⁵⁷ E.g., JZakho (‘i):sálo:xun ‘come!’ (Avinery 1988:216), JAmid ’āhit lā=dūqlux káwod ‘Don’t insist on your honor’ (Hoberman 1989:70). In Qaraq (Khan 2002:350–351) the second person L-suffix expresses greater immediacy; it is the norm for the imperative ’y and attested occasionally on other verbs.

¹⁵⁸ For a treatment of the narrative imperative in Arabic and other languages as well as bibliography, see Henkin 1994.

¹⁵⁹ See Mutzafi 2004:112.

1 m.s.	<i>wən ptixa</i>	‘I have opened’
1 f.s.	<i>wan ptaxta</i>	
2 m.s.	<i>wət ptixa</i>	
2 f.s.	<i>wat ptaxta</i>	
3 m.s.	<i>le ptixa</i>	
3 f.s.	<i>la ptaxta</i>	
1 c.pl.	<i>wax ptixe</i>	
2 c.pl.	<i>wetun ptixe</i>	
3 c.pl.	<i>lu ptixe</i>	

b. There is, however, an occasional example of the longer form of the Present Copula in the Perfect construction:

kullu^H roše^H hənna^H švatim^H ’ilu ’əsyə kəsleni.
 ‘All the heads of, um, tribes have come to us.’ (§ 5.11.3)

bamri^H šotrīm^H-ilu qṭile-llu.
 ‘They will say policemen have killed them.’

c. For the negation of the Present Copula, see § 4.4.6.2.

d. The Perfect construction usually expresses a dynamic present perfect event,¹⁶⁰ e.g.,

’iya nāša^H k-nər’ē^H mən gen’edən le ’əsyə.
 ‘This person apparently has come from the Garden of Eden.’ (§ 5.3.6)

le xdīra go d-an^H šrife^H kullu.
 ‘He has gone around in all of those huts.’ (§ 5.3.4)

’ena la dreta ’əlli.
 ‘She has put her eye on me.’ (§ 5.8.1)

’iya ’idəd hudāye la mṭeta ’əbbəd dide.
 ‘This (is the) hand of the Jews (that) has reached him.’ (§ 5.4.7)

xa julla la mtúta-lli tam qam^H ḥalón.^H
 ‘She has put a piece of cloth there for me in front of the window.’ (§ 5.8.6)

^Hba-’érex^H báz-zodāna m-alpa šanne lu tiwe ’əbbəd Čalla
 ‘more than about a thousand years they have been settled in Challa’
 (§ 1.1.1)

¹⁶⁰ Hoberman 1989:86–90; Mutzafi 2008a:56–59. For a detailed investigation of the uses of the Perfect in CURmi, see Kapeliuk 2008.

e. Not infrequently, however, the Perfect expresses preteriteness,¹⁶¹ noticeably the remote past, e.g.,

be sāwi xa^H tkufá^H l-Kára-ewa. xarāye m-Kāra lu zile l-Šiwa. lu piše l-Šiwa. xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu d'ire-wa l-Čalla. basər hənna... lu zile mən Kāra l-Šiwa. m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu d'ire-wa l-Čalla.

'The family of my grandfather was in Kara for a period. Later they have gone from Kara to Shiwa. They have remained in Shiwa. Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa. After, um... they went from Kara to Shiwa. From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa.' (§ 5.6.7)

kem(ər): hál-u-masaləd bronox hatxa 'āwa. flán-brāta lewa práqta-lle. le dwúqa-lla. hāda(x) le lřixa 'əbba. hāda(x) le křixa 'əbba. le wida 'əlla^H hólá^H. le múndye-lla l-tāma. (b-)xurřūsa gəba—, gbāwa 'āya dāməx mənnəd dida. tar'a la hləqta 'əlləd dide. mā le^H mbukša^H mənna? lewa^H mšuhřərarta^H 'əlle. tar'a lewa ptáxta-lle. b-^H kowaḥ^H tar'a le ptíxa-lle u-hátxa-la. hátxa la breta. ke(mər): lewe nqíša 'əlləd dida.

'He sa(ys): "The upshot of the story of your son was like this. A certain girl hasn't left him alone. He has grabbed her (in order to get the key out of her pocket so that he could open the locked door). For this reason he (went up and) has struggled with her. Like th(is) he has beaten her. He has made her ill. He has thrown her down there. (By) force she want(ed)—, wanted him to sleep with her. She has locked the door on him. What has he asked of her? She hasn't let him go. She hasn't opened the door. By force he has opened the door and that's the way it is. That's the way it happened." He said: "He hasn't touched her." (§ 5.8.19)

walla grešla, lá-ki'm xá-šāta, šāta-u-palge. 'iya kalba bər kalba le 'wida řəzza, 'ar'āsa. řəzza le 'ūda reqa mən^H křar.^H

'By God, it dragged on, I don't know, a year, a year and a half. This son of a bitch has grown rice, (in) fields. He has grown rice far from the village... ' (§ 5.6.15)

f. The Perfect construction may also express a stative/passive present perfect.¹⁶² In most of the cases the Present Copula precedes the Participle,¹⁶³ e.g.,

'eka le qřila?

'Where has he been killed?'

¹⁶¹ As in Jilu. See Fox 1997:86–87. To highlight the use of the form, it is translated, however, as a perfect.

¹⁶² Hoberman 1989:84–89; Hopkins 2002:288–298; Mutzafi 2004:105–109; Mutzafi 2008a:56–57.

¹⁶³ Cf. in JBetan, where the Copula may be preposed or postposed (Mutzafi 2008a:56–57). The normal position of the Copula in the non-perfect constructions is postpositive.

ʔən le q̄tila, ^Hgufāt^H dide. ʔən ʔile ^Hḥay^H, (m)pal̄ṭile.

‘If he has been killed, (let’s see) his corpse. If he is alive, let them bring him out.’ (§ 5.13.6)

xa dūka har kāsox ʔila mreʔta, hudá.

‘Somehow your stomach still hurts, Jew.’ (§ 5.11.7)

walla har tāma le qwira. lewu músyē-lle.¹⁶⁴

‘By God, he is buried right there. They haven’t brought him.’ (§ 5.6.10)

žang la mrupeta

‘rust has come loose’ (§ 5.7.2)

sa ʔida dre go jebābi. ʔāna wən sira. šqol mād gəbət.

‘Come (and) put (your) hand in my pockets! I am tied up. Take whatever you want!’

ʔāna wən piša šəxtāna.

‘I have become dirty.’

... ʔaqlāsi síre-lu? lewu ysire ʔaqlāsi.

‘... are my feet tied up? My feet aren’t tied up.’ (§ 5.8.20)

g. Sometimes the Copula is omitted in the Perfect construction after a preceding Perfect construction, e.g.,

ʔāya le ʔasya, le ^Hmúrgəša^H. ʔasya le wira go ^Htiras mul ḥalón.^H

‘He has come (and) he has noticed. (He has) come (and) he has entered the corn(field) opposite the window.’ (§ 5.8.7)

ʔāna kiʔən ʔAwṛāham le ʔasya mulšəna ʔasəxun.

‘I know Abraham has come (and has) informed on (me) to you.’

(§ 5.8.16)

This is not the case, however, in, e.g.,

ʔlāha jandərme mənnan wewa. ḥmile... lu ḥmile tam manox(e).

‘Three policemen were with us. (They have) stopped. They have stopped there (and are) looking around.’ (§ 5.13.2)

^Hasúr^H-la ^Hli^H baqrənnə čuku yəmya ʔalle.

‘It is forbidden for me to ask him because he (has) sworn to him.’

ḥil yoma gəmya

‘until the sun (has) set’

¹⁶⁴ Cf. the immediately following *la, lu qwíre-lle l-tāma* ‘No, they have buried him there.’

4.4.17. *Pluperfect (Past Copula + Participle)*

The Pluperfect is composed of the Past Copula + Participle and is relatively infrequent in the corpus. It is attested expressing the stative/passive past perfect. The Past Copula may precede or follow the Participle:

waxwa skine
'we had lived'

lá-wənwā gwira. la waḷla lá-wənwā gwira.
'I hadn't married. No, by God, I hadn't married.' (§ 5.8.4)

hudāye pālye-wa. kutxa 'štwāle hudāyəd gyāne.
'The Jews had been divided up. Each one (agha) had his own Jew(s).'
(§ 5.6.1)

kusise u-gopaḷte tālye-wa b-xá-səksa l-tāma
'His hat and his shepherd's stick had been hung on a peg there.' (§ 5.13.5)

4.4.18. *Participle*

a. The Participle is a reflex of the determined forms of the older Aramaic passive participles.

G m.s. *qṭila* 'killed', f.s. *qṭalta*, pl. *qṭile*
D m.s. *mšudra* 'sent', f.s. *mšodarta*, pl. *mšudre*
C m.s. *múqṭala* 'put to death', f.s. *muqṭalta*, pl. *múqṭale*

b. The Passive Participle in D and C in older Aramaic dialects has the thematic vowel *a*, e.g., BiblAram מְקַטֵּל, מְקַטְלָה. The *u*-vowel marking the passive is attested (alongside with forms with an *a*-vowel) in the Yemenite traditions of Biblical Aramaic, Targum Onqelos, and JBA.¹⁶⁵

c. Word order usually distinguishes between the use of the Participle as an adjective and its use as part of the Perfect construction. In the case of the former the Copula is mostly found after the predicate whereas in the latter the copula precedes the Participle.

Cf. *tar'a pṭíxa-le.* vs. *tar'a la ḥlšqta-lle.*
'The door is open.' (§ 5.8.5) 'She has locked the door.' (§ 5.8.8)

Note also the distinction in word order and meaning in the following contiguous sentences:

'axnan wax mbuqre. 'axtun hudāye gzire wetun
'We have inquired. You are circumcised Jews' (§ 5.8.10)

¹⁶⁵ Morag 1988:151,161.

4.4.19. *Gerund*

a. The forms of the Gerund are reflexes of older Aramaic infinitive forms.¹⁶⁶

b. The Gerund is used to express the continuous and actual present in the construction Present Copula¹⁶⁷ + *b* + Gerund, e.g.,

go lōbbi wən bimāra
‘in my heart I am saying’ (§ 5.3.3)

wən bəxzāya nūra le bizāla m-pāsox.
‘I am seeing fire going (forth) from your face.’ (§ 5.3.13)

xmāra hənna le bəgrāša-lla.
‘A donkey, um, is pulling her.’

lewən bəxzāya-lle.
‘I don’t see him.’ (§ 5.8.12)

Usually one finds the shorter form of the Present Copula, though the longer form is also attested, e.g.,

’ile bəṭlāba baxxatəd ’ilāha
‘and he is requesting the mercy of God’

mədore řāba ’ilu bisāya.
‘Many mudirs are coming.’

’ilu ^Hbəšlāta^H l-axxa.
‘They are in control here.’

The distance between the Present Copula and *b* + Gerund in the following sentence shows that syntactically the construction expressing continuous action is still relatively free:

wax reš gāre l-xulūla kulleni kapaneni lu b-əḡdad bərqāda.
‘We are on the roof at the wedding feast, all of us, our shoulders are together, dancing.’ (§ 5.2.5)

c. Unlike the *lishana deni* dialects of the JNerwa texts,¹⁶⁸ JZakho,¹⁶⁹ JAmid,¹⁷⁰ and JBetan,¹⁷¹ there are no examples of *pyš* + *b*- + Verbal Noun

¹⁶⁶ Fassberg 2008.

¹⁶⁷ The Present copula is omitted in *’axnan-... la, l-tāma, tāma go ^Hrəkevet^H yom (wax) b-izāla ta Ṣtambul* ‘We-... no, there, there in the train the day we (are) going to Istanbul’ (§ 5.10.4).

¹⁶⁸ Sabar 1976:XL, Sabar 1983:242.

¹⁶⁹ Polotsky 1967:109; Sabar 2002a:48.

¹⁷⁰ Hoberman 1989:81–82.

¹⁷¹ Mutzafi 2008a:64.

(expressing the past inchoative, e.g., JBetan *dəmme pəšle bəṛṭāxa* ‘his blood began to boil’ Mutzafi 2008a:64).

d. On the Gerund following the verbs ‘*sy* ‘go’ and *ytw* ‘sit’ see § 4.4.21.

e. The prefixed *b-* is usually not audible before labials (*b*, *p*, and *m*),¹⁷² e.g.,

lewe mḥakoye mənni^H yafé məsudár^H.

‘He is not speaking with me nicely (or on a) regular (basis).’ (§ 5.8.15)

báxte-ži la manoxe ‘əbbe.

‘Also his wife is looking at him.’ (§ 5.10.8)

lu plāṭa m-^Hbet sefər^H lewu mšāya...

‘they are graduating from school, (but) they are not able...’

lewa práqa-lli.

‘She isn’t leaving me (alone).’ (§ 5.8.9)

On occasion, however, *b-* is clearly audible, e.g.,

tūla bəbxāya¹⁷³ (m)walwole.

‘She began crying (and) wailing.’ (§ 5.7.9)

le bəmyāsa.

‘He is dying.’

xədda sele bəmzabone čāy.

‘Someone came selling tea.’ (§ 5.10.11)

‘it xa məndi kəslox. ‘áqqara bə’wāra bəplāṭa bə’wāra bəplāṭa. xa məndi ‘it.

‘There is something (funny) about you. So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving. There is something (funny about it).’ (§ 5.9.9)

f. The Gerund is attested as a verbal noun infrequently in the corpus:

mərri: la, la, mxalope let l-axxa.

‘I said: “No, no, there is no exchanging here.”’ (§ 5.2.8)

g. The Gerund may function adverbially, e.g.,

manoxe xāze julləd mani bəš tāza-l(e).

‘Looking around, he sees whose garment is nicer.’ (§ 5.2.5)

manoxe le māra

‘Looking (at Abraham) he is saying’ (§ 5.10.7)

¹⁷² As, e.g., in the standardized literary dialect of Urmi (Nöldeke 1868:225, Polotsky 1991:270) and in Jilu (Fox 1997:32). Mutzafi 2008a:63 describes *b-* as facultative with G infinitives and absent before D and C infinitives.

¹⁷³ In the oral texts from JAmid published by Hoberman *b-bxaya* seems to be attested to the exclusion of *bxāya* (Hoberman 1989:215).

sūn mašohe!

‘Go check (it out)!’

’ána-ži qəmli manox(e).

‘Also I got up to look.’ (§ 5.2.16)

4.4.20. *Passive Voice*

- a. The expression of the passive is uncommon in JChalla.¹⁷⁴
 b. The passive voice may be expressed by an inflected form of ’sy ‘come’ + Gerund:¹⁷⁵

’an ^Hnyarót^H selu mgalgole kəsəl ^Hrašám ’agudót^H.

‘Those papers were transferred to the registrar of companies.’

kullu bāse ksāwa go ^Hmixtāv^H.

‘All of them will be written in a letter.’

’áqqara lire ’é-gora—, byāwən ham ’āya nāša... ’āse l-qəṭla.

‘So many liras that man—, I will also give (in order that) that person... should be killed.’ (§ 5.6.19)

’ən mālēni ’āse l-’ixāla

‘if our possessions should get filched’ (§ 5.2.3)

- c. The passive voice is also expressed by *mṭy* ‘arrive’ + Gerund:

’atta ^Hgam^H mṭelu ’alləd hənna qəṭla.

‘Also now they were, um, killed.’ (§ 5.1.12)

qəṭla replaces the expected Gerund *qṭāla* in the idioms *sele/mṭele l-qəṭla* ‘he was killed’.¹⁷⁶

- d. The expression of the passive voice by the Preterite base + E-suffix is attested only once in the corpus:¹⁷⁷

hiwa xanči ^Hxəm’a^H

‘a bit of butter was given’ (§ 5.8.2)

- e. There are no examples of an inflected form of *pysš* + Participle.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁴ As in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:67–69).

¹⁷⁵ Hoberman 1989:90–91.

¹⁷⁶ Mutzafi 2008a:69.

¹⁷⁷ See also JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:67–69).

¹⁷⁸ See Krotkoff 1982:39. This use is also unattested in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:68).

4.4.21. *Inchoative Aspect*

In the corpus inchoateness in the past is expressed by *ytw + b + Gerund*:¹⁷⁹

walḥāṣəl tūlu bəštá.

‘In short, they began drinking.’ (§ 5.10.11)

tūla bəbxāya (m)walwole.

‘She began, crying (and) wailing.’ (§ 5.7.9)

waḷḷa tūlu mbakoḥe ’āni mābayn gyānu.

‘By God, they began arguing among themselves.’

tūle ^Hmtakone^H pəlaftē.

‘He began fixing his shoe.’

’ā le tiwa ^Hmtakone^H pəlaftē.

‘He has begun fixing his shoe.’

4.4.22. *Negation of Verbs*

Verbal forms are negated by *la*, which is often proclitic to the verb, e.g., *lá-gbən* ‘I don’t want to’, *lá-ktaxrət* ‘you don’t remember’, but at times is free standing, e.g., *la qbílwāle* ‘he hadn’t received’, *la šqalle* ‘he didn’t take’. For the negation of the Imperative, see § 4.4.15.c. For the forms of the negated Present Copula, see § 4.4.6.2.

4.4.23. *Object Markers*

The forms of the L-suffix pronouns, LL-suffix pronouns, and E-suffix pronouns are presented in §§ 4.1.4–6.

4.4.23.1. *Objects Marked by L-Suffix Pronouns*

a. L-suffixes mark the object on forms derived from the Subjunctive base (§ 4.4.7–10) and on the Imperative (§ 4.4.15), e.g.,

byāmaxlox.

‘We will swear to you (m.s).’

kulleni gbe qaṭlilan mandelan ’əbbəd ṣmāye!

‘They want to kill all of us (and) throw us into the water!’

¹⁷⁹ Cf. *pyš + b + Gerund* in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008:64), and *pyš/thl/hrš + b + Gerund* in JAmid (Hoberman 1989:79).

náballe!
‘Take him away!’

ptuxle!
‘Open it!’

šqulla!
‘Take her!’

qbullā!
‘Accept it!’

mqálūle!
‘Clean him!’

b. The *l* of the suffix assimilates to a preceding *n*, *r*, and *t* (§ 3.6.c). *n* of the plural forms of the Imperative and of the 2nd person plural on forms derived from the Subjunctive are syncopeated when L-suffixes are added (§§ 3.18.c; 4.1.6.j).

4.4.23.2. Objects Marked by LL-Suffix Pronouns

LL-suffixes mark objects of the Perfect (§ 4.4.16) and of the Gerund (§ 4.4.19), e.g.,

čú-xa lewe xíla-lle.
‘No one has eaten it.’

tar’a la ḥlólqta-lle.
‘She has locked the door.’ (§ 5.8.8)

lewən míra-llu-ži.
‘I haven’t even told them.’ (§ 5.8.15)

’āni lu zwíne-llu.
‘They have bought them.’

^Htürkit^H le mára-lli.
‘He is speaking Turkish to me.’

ṭamá wetun mačmóye-lle?
‘Why are you extinguishing it?’ (§ 5.4.10)

qǝbla lewa bǝdwáqa-lla.
‘It is not facing (lit., ‘grasping’) the qibla.’ (§ 5.3.5)

4.4.23.3. Objects Marked by Independent Forms of LL-Suffix Pronouns

a. LL-suffixes marking objects of the Perfect and Gerund may be free standing (§ 4.1.5.a), e.g.,

'āni lu q̄ṭile 'alle.
 'They have killed him.' (§ 5.5.6)

'iya ^Hsevə^H 'axnan wax ^Hsbile^H 'alle.
 'We have suffered this burden.'

Cf. the following two contiguous sentences in which one finds in the first an enclitic LL- pronoun, but in the second a free standing form:

lewan xzéta-lle. 'āhat lewat xzeta 'alle?
 'I (f.s.) haven't seen him.' 'You (f.s.) haven't seen him?'

b. Independent LL-suffixes are used to mark the object following forms of the Preterite.¹⁸⁰

kāsan əmre(')la 'əllan mən gəxka.
 'Our stomach hurt us from laughter.' (§ 5.3.6)

hatxa 'üdle 'alle.
 'Like this they did to him.'

mxele 'alle.
 'He hit him.'

mxelu 'əllu.
 'They hit them.'

One also finds objects marked by *'əlləd did-*:

u-^Hm'oyəmlu^H 'əlləd didu
 'and they threatened him'

c. The object of an Imperative may be marked by a free standing LL-suffix instead of the L-suffix (§ 4.4.23.1):

hatxa 'odun 'alle!
 'Like this do (c.pl.) to him!' (§ 5.4.7)

mxalşun 'əlli!
 'Save (c.pl.) me!' (§ 5.6.5)

d. Forms based on the Subjunctive may not take two L-suffixes; instead one finds an L-suffix and a free standing LL-pronoun, e.g.,

mad'ərətte (< mad'əret + le) 'əlleni.
 'You (m.s.) should return him to us.'

¹⁸⁰ They are an alternative to the use of E-suffix pronouns (§ 4.4.23.4).

4.4.23.4. *Objects Marked by E-Suffix Pronouns*

a. E-suffix pronouns function as object affixes in forms of the Preterite. They are added to the base of the Preterite in all persons and are followed by L-suffix pronouns (which mark the subject). In the following paradigm the subject is expressed by the 3 m.s. L-suffix pronoun *-le*:

Object

1 m.s.	<i>nšiqənne</i> (< nšiq + ən + le) 'he kissed me'
1 f.s.	<i>nšiqanne</i> (< nšiq + an + la) 'he kissed me'
2 m.s.	<i>nšiqətte</i> (< nšiq + ət + le) 'he kissed you'
2 f.s.	<i>nšiqatte</i> (< nšiq + at + le) 'he kissed you'
3 m.s.	<i>nšəqle</i> (< nšiq + ø + le) 'he kissed him'
3 f.s.	<i>nšiqāle</i> (< nšiq + a + le) 'he kissed her'
1 c.pl.	<i>nšiqaxle</i> (< nšiq + ax + le) 'he kissed us'
2 c.pl.	<i>nšiqétūle</i> (< nšiq + etun + le) 'he kissed you'
3 c.pl.	<i>nšiqile</i> (< nšiq + i + le) 'he kissed them'

b. The E-suffix pronouns may function as indirect objects, e.g., *widənna^Haruḥā^H* 'She made me a meal' (§ 5.9.8), *məsennax julle* 'You brought me clothes' (§ 5.9.11).

c. One cannot tell from the restricted corpus if there is a difference in III-y verbs between *xzele* 'he saw him' and **xzele(?)* 'he saw them'.

d. The affixing of E-suffix pronouns of all persons obtains also in the JNerwa texts,¹⁸¹ JAmid,¹⁸² and JAradh.¹⁸³ In JZakho¹⁸⁴ and JBetan¹⁸⁵ Preterite forms containing the E-suffixes of the 1st and 2nd persons are replaced by the synthetic structure *qam*¹⁸⁶ + Subjunctive + E-suffix pronoun + L-suffix pronoun,¹⁸⁷ e.g., *qam xāpəqli* 'he embraced me' (JChalla *xpiqənne*), *qam 'amrənnox* 'I told you' (JChalla *mirətti*). In JAmid and JAradh *qam* + Subjunctive may alternate with the E-suffix pronouns in all

¹⁸¹ Sabar 1976:xl.

¹⁸² Sabar 2002a:49.

¹⁸³ Mutzafi 2002:481–482.

¹⁸⁴ Hoberman 1989:36,40; Sabar 2002a:49.

¹⁸⁵ Mutzafi 2008a:86.

¹⁸⁶ Its origin has been explained in several ways: (1) *qdam* (adverb); (2) *qadam/qaddem* (G/D verb); (3) the Participle *qā'im*. For a discussion of the possibilities see Pennacchietti 1997 (who suggests an original grammaticalized form of the Participle *qā'im*) and Rubin 2005:33–34 (who prefers an original G verb).

¹⁸⁷ In the 3rd person in JZakho and JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:86) the Preterite base + L-suffix form (e.g., *murpyāle* 'he released her') may interchange with *qam* + Subjunctive base + E-suffix pronoun + L-suffix pronoun (*qammarpela*).

persons. The structure *qam* + Subjunctive is so rarely attested in JChalla ('e-'*armālsa qam gāwərra* 'he married that widow'; § 5.1.3) that it is clearly the result of JZakho influence.

e. The object E-affixes may be replaced by the independent LL-suffixes (§ 4.4.23.3), e.g., 'he spoke to me' may be expressed by both *mirənne* and *mərre 'alli*.

4.4.23.5. Dummy Objects

Dummy 3 f.s. object affixes¹⁸⁸ are attested on the verbs '*rq* 'flee' (§ 4.4.28.7), '*qdy* 'spend time',¹⁸⁹ and '*xdy* 'rejoice'. Representative examples are 1 c.s. '*riqāli* 'I fled', 2 m.s. '*riqālox* 'you fled', 3 m.s. '*xədyāle 'alli* 'he rejoiced over me', 3 c.pl. '*qədyālu* 'they passed the time' (§ 5.6.6), '*xədyālu 'alleni* 'they rejoiced over us'. It would appear that there are also examples with a dummy 3 f.s. object on the verbs '*rpy* 'C loosen, release, attack', '*mxy* G 'strike, hit', and '*plṭ* D 'take out':

kalbe mrupyālu l-'Awṛāham gəbe qaṭlile. b-íya-'ida u-yā-'ida 'anna nāše mrupyālu 'alləd 'Awṛāham.

'The dogs let Abraham have it, they wish to kill him. When all's said and done, those people let Abraham have it.' (§ 5.7.10)

tar'a ptxli gyāni. məxyāla 'alli xá-gā xeta basri.

'I opened the door myself. She hit me once again from behind.' (§ 5.8.13)

Though one may see in the following three examples a 3 f.s. dummy object on the verbs D '*plṭ* 'take out' and Q '*prtx* 'make change', it appears more likely that the noun *paṇqáñoṭe*, despite its plural suffix, is treated as a feminine singular:

xamši paṇqáñoṭe xá-yoma mpulṭāle.

'One day he took out fifty liras.' (§ 5.10.2)

mpulṭāle xamši paṇqáñoṭe

'he took out fifty liras' (§ 5.10.6)

'egā 'āhat byāli xamši paṇqáñoṭe? pa da-ḥmól. mpartəxənna.

'So now you'll give me fifty liras? (Abraham says:) "So just wait. I will get change for it."' (§ 5.10.2)

¹⁸⁸ On the phenomenon of the dummy morpheme in other dialects, see, e.g., Garbell 1965:76; Hoberman 1989:215,221; Israeli 1998:117–118; Mutzafi 2004:103.

¹⁸⁹ But not when it is transitive ('finish something'), e.g., *šūli qqāḏənne* 'I finish my work'.

4.4.24. *Qym + Verb*

a. A frequent narrative construction in JChalla is a Subjunctive form of *qym* followed by another Subjunctive governing an object, e.g.,

- qemən mpaḷənnə*
‘I (m.s.) up (and) take him out’
- qémana xapqannox*
‘I (f.s.) up (and) hug you (m.s.)’
- qemət gālətti*
‘you (m.s.) up (and) reveal to me’
- qema doqāli xapqāli*
‘she up (and) grabs me (and) hugs me’
- qemi doqile*
‘they up (and) grab him’

b. Significantly less common are constructions with the Preterite or the Imperative, e.g.,

- qəmle mšudraxle*
‘he up (and) sent us’
- qəmlu zəllu*
‘they up (and) went’
- de qū misi!*
‘so up (and) bring (it)!’

c. The origin of the construction *qym + verb* would appear to lie in the ingressive use of *qym* as an auxiliary verb, which is well attested in NeoAram as well as in general Semitic.¹⁹⁰ In JChalla it is used to mark ingressive action, be it in narrating past, present or future action. Cf. the ingressive auxiliary use of *qym* in JBetan, which is restricted to the Preterite.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ See Dobbs-Allsopp 1995. According to Pennacchietti (1997:478), in dialects of Ashita and Upper Tiari, the syntagm expresses the imminent future whereas in dialects of the Mosul area it expresses a past event immediately following a preterite. Mutzafi (2007:353), however, considers the manuscript that Pennacchietti bases his description on to be “a concoction of various Christian NENA dialectal words and forms and is replete with fictitious and hyper-corrected forms, although quite a few other words and forms indeed reflect Ṭyare.”

¹⁹¹ Mutzafi 2008a:376.

d. JChalla *qym* + Subjunctive frequently occurs following a verbal form marking the past:

zälle mjāməʻ denānəd gyāne. qemi qaṭlile.

'He went to gather together his debtors. They up (and) kill him. (§ 5.6.9)

waḷḷa ʻiya ʻaxoni Mədo mpəlle b-ʻidəd didu. qemi doqile.

'By God, this brother of mine, Mido, fell into their hands. They up (and) seize him.' (§ 5.13.1)

walhāşəl waḷḷa Qoto zəllu muselu. qemi qorile.

'In short, by God, they went (and) brought Qoto. They up (and) bury him.' (§ 5.4.11)

mátwāle b-gyāne l-tāma go məzgaftə. qemi dārele balāye ʻəbbəd reş hudāye ta şāqəl mənnu pāre.

'He had died by himself there in the mosque. They up (and) put trouble on the Jews in order to take money from them.' (§ 5.5.8)

4.4.25. Sequences of Verbal Forms

a. A story that took place in the past may be told with alternating verbal forms. The Preterite is the most common, though, as can be seen below, one also finds the Perfect, *qym* + Subjunctive, Present, Future, and Gerund (in the continuous present syntagm), each one expressing a different tense or aspectual nuance. See, e.g.,

mən ʻáx-geb ʻitəm tāma şkaftyāsa ʻurwe ʻurwe. qemi nablile xá-yoməd ʻaryāna... walhāşəl nobəllu l-tāma. nobəllu l-tāma. lu zile xa ʻəsri-nāşe mare xanjāra. kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa. u-zəllu hil zəllu l-tāma. ʻaryāna-le bisāya. tləllu. zəllu şkafta. bodi nūra. zəllu. ʻüdlu nūra. kəmrɪ ta Qoto: ʻāhat mesət şiwe! Qoto musele şiwe. məttüle. drele reş-, ʻüdle nūra. ʻāni nūra muçməlu. xá-gā xet kəmrɪ: ʻtamá wetun maçmóye-lle? kəmrɪ: maʻləqle! ʻāni-, ʻiya, ʻiya mā kəmrɪla, ʻāya gəbe kāyər d-āni ʻəməllu ʻəbbəd^Hsəkkiním. ken^H. walhāşəl xá-gā xet moʻləqle nūra. ʻāni muçməlu nūra. naqəl ʻlāha moʻləqle. muçməlu. waḷḷa m-é-ʻida kəple. kəmrɪ: de-mpóx ʻəbbəd paḷle ta pāyəs hənna ta lāʻəq. waḷḷa kəple reş dide. mundelu qam xanjāra. qemi qaṭlile. şoqile l-tāma u-selu. ʻāşərta.

On this side (of Bet Kare) there are very big caves there. They up (and) lead him one rainy day... In short, they led him there. They led him there. About twenty people (each one) with a dagger have gone. Each one's knife is here (at the side). And they went and by the time they got there rain is falling. They got wet. They went (to) a cave. They will make a fire. They went. They made a fire. They say to Qoto: "You should bring wood!" Qoto brought wood. He put it down. He placed it on—, he made a fire. They extinguished the fire. Once again he (lights the fire, they extinguished it and he) says: "Why are you extinguishing it?" They say: "Light it!" They—, this, what do they call it?—he has to bend down (to light the fire) so that

they *could attack* him with knives. Yes. In short, once again he *lit* the fire. They *extinguished* the fire. A third time he *lit* it. They *extinguished* it. By God, he *bent* over (the fire) from that side. (One) *says* (to Qoto): “Now blow on the coals so that (the fire) will become, um, will catch.” By God, he *bent* over it (the fire). They *attacked* him with a dagger. They *up* (and) *kill* him. They *leave* him there and *came*. (It is) evening. (§ 5.4.9–11)

f. The fluctuation of tenses in narrative, particularly of participial and preterite forms, is known from earlier Aramaic.¹⁹²

4.4.26. Repetitive—Reversive Postverbal Particle

There are a few examples of a clipped form of the repetitive-reversive postverbal Kurdish particle *-wa* (< *hawa*):¹⁹³

ʔn gebat dáʔrat-wa ʔl-Ĉalla—

‘If you (f.s.) want to return back to Challa—’ (§ 5.9.12)

xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʔíre-wa l-Ĉalla... m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu dʔíre-wa l-Ĉalla.

‘Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa... ‘From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa.’ (§ 5.6.7)

ʔáqqara bəʔwāra bəplāṭa bəʔwāra bəplāṭa... ^Hbeʔemét^H séli-wa.

‘So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving... Really, I had come (and gone and come and gone).’ (§ 5.9.9–10)

ʔāya séle-wa dáre-wa qutṁəd jigāre go ʔene

‘He came back to put ashes in his eyes again’ (§ 5.6.12)

4.4.27. Verb Classes

The different verb classes are presented below according to the following order: I-ʔ, I-y, II-ʔ, II-w, II-y, II-geminate, III-ʔ, III-w, III-y. They are followed by doubly weak and irregular verbs: I-ʔ and II-w, I-y and II-w, I-y and III-w, I-y and III-y, II-w and III-ʔ, II-w and III-y, ʔsy, ʔzl, bʔy, hwy, hymn, mnx, mšy, nbl, npl, xyy, yʔy, yhw(l), ytw. When the verb is

¹⁹² Cf., e.g., the following selection in JPA from Ms. Vatican 30 of *Genesis Rabba* (Kutscher 1967:62): *ואלין ואוזן בני תלתה יומין, ועל ארגינטי ומנא קודמיהון ועלין וסחון ואתון*... ליגביה... ‘they go and they heated up the bath for three days, and ʔRGYNTY (a demon) entered (the bathhouse) and mixed it (the water of the bath) before them and they enter and bathed and came to him (Emperor Diocletian). See also the situation in *BibAram* (Rosenthal 1995:59–60).

¹⁹³ On the uses of this particle in NENA, see, e.g., Mutzafi 2004:85–86.

infrequent in the corpus, only attested forms (including those with object affixes) are cited.

4.4.27.1. Verbs I-'

Attested original I-' roots include 'mr (< אמר > 'say' and 'xl (< אכל > 'eat'.

G 'mr 'say'				
	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	'ámrən(a)	kámrən(a)	bámrən(a)	mərri
1 f.s.	'ámran(a)	kámran(a)	bámran(a)	mərri
2 m.s.	'ámrat(ən)	kámrat(ən)	bámrat(ən)	mərrox
2 f.s.	'ámrat(ən)	kámrat(ən)	bámrat(ən)	mərrax
3 m.s.	'āmər	kemər	bāmər	mərre
3 f.s.	'amrat	kəmra	bamra	mərta
1 c.pl.	'ámrax(in)	kámrax(in)	bámrax(in)	mərran, mərreni
2 c.pl.	'amrétun(a)	kəmkrétun(a)	bamkrétun(a)	mərrexun
3 c.pl.	'amri	kəmri	bamri	mərri

The prefix *g-* on forms of the Present, e.g., *gemər*, *gəmri*, is significantly less frequent than *k-*, and thus is most likely the result of JZakho interference.

Imperative	c.s. <i>mar</i> , c.pl. <i>marun</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>mira</i> , f.s. <i>mərta</i> , c.pl. <i>mire</i>
Gerund	'imāra

G 'xl 'eat'				
	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	'áxlən(a)	káxlən(a)	báxlən(a)	xəlli ¹⁹⁴
1 f.s.	'áxlan(a)	káxlan(a)	báxlan(a)	xəlli
2 m.s.	'áxlət(ən)	káxlət(ən)	báxlət(ən)	xəllox
2 f.s.	'áxlat(ən)	káxlat(ən)	báxlat(ən)	xəllax
3 m.s.	'āxəl	kexəl	bāxəl	xəlle
3 f.s.	'axlat	kəxla	baxla	xəlla
1 c.pl.	'áxlax(in)	káxlax(in)	báxlax(in)	xəllan, xəlleni
2 c.pl.	'axlétun(a)	kəxlétun(a)	baxlétun(a)	xəllexun
3 c.pl.	'axli	kəxli	baxli	xəllu

Imperative	c.s. <i>xol</i> , c.pl. <i>xolun</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>xila</i> , f.s. <i>xəлта</i> , c.pl. <i>xile</i>
Gerund	'ixāla

¹⁹⁴ 'xəlli is also attested once. See § 3.17.a.

C 'xl 'feed'

Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>maxlät</i> , 3 c.pl. <i>maxli</i>
Present	2 m.s. <i>gmaxlät</i>
Future	2 m.s. <i>mmaxlät</i> , 3 m.s. <i>bmāxəl</i>

Note the loan from ModH (הִאָּשִׁים):

3 c.pl. *mo'səmānnu* 'they accused me'

' in 'wd 'do, make' and 'wr 'enter' (§ 4.4.28.1) is a reflex of original ' , as is ' in 'lq G '(search and) find', C 'kindle, light', e.g., *k'alqax* 'we earn', *mo'qlāla* 'she lit it'. See also 'rq 'run, flee' (§ 4.4.28.7), 'sy 'come' (§ 4.4.28.8) and 'zl 'go' (§ 4.4.28.9).

4.4.27.2. Verbs I-y

An original I-y root is *yrq* 'become green' (< ירק). Inflected similarly is *yrx* 'be long' (< ארך):

G Present	3 m.s. <i>gyārəq</i> 'he becomes green'
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>yrəxle</i> 'he has become long'
C Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>mayrəxəttā</i> 'you may lengthen her', 3 m.s. <i>mayrəx</i> 'he may lengthen', <i>mayrəxla</i> 'he may lengthen her'; 3 c.pl. <i>mayrəxilu</i> 'they may lengthen them'

Two additional verbs have gone over to I-y: *ysq* 'ascend' (< סלק) and *ysr* 'bind' (< אסר):

G Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>yāsəq</i> 'he may ascend', 1 c.pl. <i>yasqax</i> 'we may ascend', 3 c.pl. <i>yasrilox</i> 'they may bind you'
Present	1 m.s. <i>gyasrənmexun</i> 'I bind you (pl.)', 1 c.pl. <i>gyasraxlu</i> 'we bind them', 3 c.pl. <i>gyasrile</i> 'they bind him'
Future	3 c.pl. <i>byasrileni</i> 'they will bind us'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>səqli</i> , 'I ascended', 3 m.s. <i>səqle</i> 'he ascended', 3 c.pl. <i>sirilu</i> 'they bound them'
Participle	m.s. <i>sira</i> 'bound', <i>ysira</i> , c.pl. <i>sire</i>

There is only one example of a C form:

Preterite 3 m.s. *musqaxle* 'he brought us up'

Note also the loan from ModHeb (יִשָּׂר):

D Future 3 c.pl. (*m*)*myaşrilu* 'they will straighten them'

See also verbs I-y and II-w (§ 4.4.28.2), *y'y* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19), *yhw(l)* 'give' (§ 4.4.28.20), and *ytw* 'sit' (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.27.3. *Verbs II-ʿ*

II-ʿ verbs are reflexes of different verbal roots:

- a. ClAram II-g: *rʿš* C ‘wake up’ (< רנש >)
- b. ClAram II-w: *dʿš* ‘tread on’ (< דרוש? or conflation of Aram דרוש + Ar דעס?)
- c. ClAram II-ʿ: *dʿp* ‘fold’ (< פולד; § 4.4.1.b), *dʿr* ‘return’ (< רחצ), *ʿn* C ‘load’ (< טען)

G <i>dʿr</i> ‘return (intr.)’		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>dáʿrən(a)</i>	<i>dʿərri</i>
1 f.s.	<i>dáʿran(a)</i>	<i>dʿərri</i>
2 m.s.	<i>dáʿrət(ən)</i>	<i>dʿərrox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>dáʿrat(ən)</i>	<i>dʿərrox</i>
3 m.s.	<i>dāʿer</i>	<i>dʿərre</i>
3 f.s.	<i>dāʿra</i>	<i>dʿərre</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>dáʿrax(in)</i>	<i>dʿərrexun, dʿərreni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>dáʿrétun(a)</i>	<i>dʿərrexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>daʿri</i>	<i>dʿərri</i>

Imperative	c.s. <i>dʿor</i> , c.pl. <i>dʿorun</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>dʿira</i> , f.s. <i>dʿarta</i> , c.pl. <i>dʿire</i>
Gerund	<i>dʿāra</i>

C ‘return (tr.)’

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>madʿərənna</i> ‘I may return her’, 2 m.s. <i>madʿərətte</i> ‘you may return him’, 1 c.pl. <i>madʿəraxle</i> ‘we may return him’
Preterite	3 c.pl. <i>mudʿərənnu</i> ‘they returned me’

See also *bʿy* ‘want’ (§ 4.4.28.10) and *yʿy* ‘know’ (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.27.4. *Verbs II-w*

This verb class is made up of reflexes of

- a. ClAram II-b: *dwq* ‘hold’ (< דבק >), *gwr* ‘marry (intr.)’ (< גבר >), *jwt* ‘move’ (< שבש >), *kwš* ‘descend’ (< כבש >), *lwš* ‘wear’ (< לבש >), *nwh* ‘bark’ (< נבה >), *qwr* ‘bury’ (< קבר >), *šwq* ‘leave’ (< שבק >), *twr* ‘break’ (< תבר >), *zwn* ‘buy’ (< זבן >)

- b. ClAram II-*w*: *xwr* ‘be white’ (< חורר)
 c. loanwords: *zwr* ‘go around’

G <i>dwq</i> ‘hold, grasp’		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>dóqan(a)</i>	<i>düqli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>dóqan(a)</i>	<i>düqli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>dóqat(ən)</i>	<i>düqlax</i>
2 f.s.	<i>dóqat(ən)</i>	<i>düqlax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>dāwəq</i>	<i>düqle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>doqa</i>	<i>düqla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>dóqax(in)</i>	<i>düqlan, düqleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>doqətun(a)</i>	<i>düqlexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>doqi</i>	<i>düqlu</i>

Imperative c.s. *doq*, c.pl. *doqun*

Participle: m.s. *dwiqa, dūqa*, f.s. *dwəqta, düqta*; c.pl. *dwiqe, dūqe*

Gerund *dwāqa*

C Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>mādüqlu</i> ‘he may have them seized’, <i>mākušli</i> ‘he may bring me down’, <i>manwəxle</i> ‘he may make him bark’, 3 c.pl. <i>magwəri-la</i> ‘they may marry her off’, <i>makšilu</i> ¹⁹⁵ ‘they may bring them down’
Past Habitual	3 m.s. <i>māzürwāle</i> ‘he would turn him around’, 3 c.pl. <i>mazüriwāle</i> ‘they would turn him around’
Preterite	3 c.pl. <i>mugwərālu</i> ‘they married her off’, <i>mokušlu</i> ‘they brought down’
Plupreterite:	1 s. <i>mugəráwāli</i> ‘I had her married off’
Participle	c.pl. <i>múgwəre</i> ‘married off’

On the contraction of *wi* > *ū/ü*, see § 3.12.b.

See also the doubly weak verbs I-’ and II-*w* (§ 4.4.28.1), I-*y* and II-*w* (§ 4.4.28.2), II-*w* and III-’ (§ 4.4.28.5), II-*w* and III-*y* (§ 4.4.28.6).

4.4.27.5. Verbs II-*y*

This class consists of the following verbs:

- a. ClAram II-*w*: *mys* ‘die’ (< מות; § 3.1.b), *nyx* ‘rest’ (< נוח), *pyš* ‘remain’ (< פוש), *pyx* ‘become cool’ (< פוח), *qym* ‘stand up’ (< קום), *rym* C ‘lift’ (< רום)

¹⁹⁵ For expected *makušklū* or *makwəšilu*.

- b. ClAram geminate: *čym* ‘close’ (< טמם), *kyp* ‘bend’ (< כפף), *pyd* ‘pass by’ (< פגג), *syl* ‘fuck’ (< סלל), *tym* ‘finish’ (< תמם), *xyk* ‘scratch’ (< חכח), *xyp* ‘wash’ (< חפח)
- c. ClAram I-*y*: *lyp* ‘learn’ (< ליל), *qyd* ‘burn’ (< יקד)
- d. loanwords: *čyq* ‘tear out’, *čyr* ‘move around’, *dy* ‘be lost’, *hyl* ‘deseccrate’ (see also § 4.4.27.6), *hys* ‘insert’, *jyb* ‘answer’, *pyč* ‘crush’, *šyh* ‘check’, *zyd* ‘increase’

G <i>pyš</i> ‘remain’		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>péšən(a)</i>	<i>pəšli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>péšan(a)</i>	<i>pəšli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>péšət(ən)</i>	<i>pəšlox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>péšat(ən)</i>	<i>pəšlax</i>
3.m.s.	<i>pāyāš</i>	<i>pəšle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>peša</i>	<i>pəšla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>péšax(in)</i>	<i>pəšlan, pəšleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>pešetun(a)</i>	<i>pəšlexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>peši</i>	<i>pəšlu</i>

Imperative	c.s. <i>poš</i> , c.pl. <i>pošun</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>piša</i> , f.s. <i>pəšta</i> , c.pl. <i>piše</i>
Gerund	<i>pyāša</i>

The imperative forms of *qym* ‘arise’ are c.s. *qū* and c.pl. *qūn*.¹⁹⁶

Of interest is the root *šy* ‘plaster’, which elsewhere shows up in NeoAram as *šy* (< שוע or שעע; § 3.3.d):

G Preterite	3 m.s. <i>šə’le</i> ‘he plastered it’
Imperative	c.pl. <i>šū’ūle</i> ‘plaster it’

In the D stem one finds only the verb *hyr* ‘dare’:

Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>mhāyər</i> , 1 c.pl. <i>mherax</i> , 3 c.pl. <i>mheri</i>
-------------	---

In the C stem, original II-geminate and II-w/y verbs, which have collapsed together into one inflection in G, show different inflections, even in the same verb:

¹⁹⁶ Cf. in other NeoAram dialects *qū(lox)*, *qūmun*, *qūn*, *qū(lōxun)*. See, e.g., Krotkoff 1982:29; Sabar 2002a:278. For a survey of literature on the origin of *qu*, pl. *qumun*, and the imperative suffix *-mun*, see Polotsky 1961:27–29.

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>mākipən</i> ‘I may bend (tr.)’, <i>malpənnox</i> ‘I may teach you’, <i>majbənnə</i> ‘I may answer him’, <i>malpənnə</i> ‘I may teach him’, m.s. <i>marmət</i> ‘you may lift up’, <i>majbətī</i> ‘you may answer me’, 3 m.s. <i>mārəm</i> ‘he may lift up’, 1 c.pl. ^H <i>maxinaxlu</i> ^H ‘we may prepare them’, 2 c.pl. <i>maqimetun</i> ‘you may set up’, 3 c.pl. <i>maḏi’ilu</i> ‘they may miss them’, <i>majbili</i> ‘they may answer me’, <i>malpile</i> ‘they may teach me’
Present	3 m.s. <i>gmākəple</i> ‘he bends him (tr.)’
Past Habitual	3 c.pl., <i>maḏiwa</i> ‘they were making (it) pass by’
Future	3 m.s. <i>mmājəblox</i> ‘he will answer you’
Past Prospective	3 c.pl. <i>mmakipiwāle</i> ‘they were bending it’
Preterite	1 s. ^H <i>moḥəlli</i> ^H ‘I desecrated’, <i>mujbāli</i> ‘I answered her’, 3 m.s. <i>mokəple</i> ‘he bent it’, 1 c.pl. <i>mojəblan</i> ‘we answered him’, 3 c.pl. <i>mokəplu</i> ‘they bent it’
Imperative	c.s. <i>mārəm</i> ‘lift up!’, <i>mājəb</i> ‘answer!’
Gerund	<i>mašoḥe</i> ‘checking’, <i>maḥome</i> ‘lifting up’, ^H <i>maxone</i> ^H ‘preparing’

4.4.27.6. Geminate Verbs

The attested geminate verbs are *tll* ‘get wet’ (< תלל) and *xll* ‘wash (tr.)’ (< חלל):¹⁹⁷

G	Preterite	3 m.pl. <i>tləllu</i> ‘they got wet’
D	Preterite	3 m.s. <i>mxuləlle</i> ‘he washed it’
Gerund	<i>mxassöse-lla</i> ‘renewing her’	

See also *xyy* ‘live’ (§ 4.4.28.18). H *ḥl̄l* ‘desecrate’ shows up as as a II-y root *ḥyl* (§ 4.4.27.5), but also as a geminate root in the Participle in the Perfect construction: *wən mḥúlla-lla* ‘I have desecrated it’.

4.4.27.7. Verbs III-’

a. There are three sources of III-’ verbs:

1. ClAram III-’: *bl* ‘swallow’ (< בלע), *gr* ‘shave’ (< גרע), *šm* G ‘hear’ and C ‘listen’ (< שמע), *mr* ‘be in pain’ (< מרע), *pq* ‘cut’ (< פקע), *qṭ* ‘(קטע), *zd* ‘fear’ (< זוע; § 4.4.1.b), *zr* ‘sow’ (< זרע)
2. ClAram III-g: *pl* ‘divide’ (< פלג)
3. loanword (III-’): *nf* ‘be useful’

See also the C stem of *y’y* ‘know’ (§ 4.4.28.19).

¹⁹⁷ Cf. JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:77–79).

b. ' is often difficult to hear or elided. When questionable it appears in parentheses.

c. $\text{ə} > e/_\text{'}$ (§ 3.11.a), e.g., *gšāmə' > gšāme' 'hears', *šmə'li > šme'li 'he heard'.

Attested forms include

G	Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>zad'ət</i> 'you may fear', <i>qaṭ'atta</i> 'you may cut her', 3 m.s. <i>šāme'</i> 'he should hear', 3 f.s. <i>zadya</i> 'she may fear', <i>marya</i> 'she may hurt', 1 pl. <i>qaṭ'axlu</i> 'we may cut them'
	Present	2 m.s. <i>gzad'ət</i> 'you fear', 3 m.s. <i>gšāme'</i> 'he hears', <i>gnāfe'</i> 'it is useful', 1 c.pl. <i>gzad'ax</i> 'we may fear'
	Future	1 m.s. <i>bzad'm</i> 'I shall fear', <i>pqaṭ'mne</i> 'I shall cut him', 2 m.s. <i>pšām(')ət</i> 'you will listen', 3 f.s. <i>pqatya</i> 'she will cut'
	Preterite	1 m.s. <i>qətyāli</i> 'I cut her', 3 m.s. <i>šme'le</i> 'he heard', <i>qte'le</i> 'he cut', 3 f.s. <i>əmre(')la</i> 'it hurt', 1 c.pl. <i>šme'lan</i> 'we heard'
	Imperative	c.s. <i>šmo'</i> , m.s. <i>šmo'lox</i> , c.pl. <i>šmo'un</i>
	Participle	m.s. <i>šəmya</i> 'heard', <i>zərya</i> 'sown', f.s. <i>mre'ta</i> 'hurt', c.pl. <i>šəmye</i> , <i>qətye</i>
D	Subjunctive	3 m.pl. <i>mpāle(')lu</i> 'they distributed'
	Participle	f.s. <i>mpole(')ta</i> 'distributed', c.pl. <i>mpulye</i>
C	Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>mašm(')ət</i>
	Imperative	c.s. <i>mašmi(')/ mašme(')</i> , c.pl. <i>mašm(')un</i>
	Gerund	<i>mašmoye</i>

The partial merger of verbs III-' with verbs III-*y* is evident, e.g., in the final vowel *i* before ' in the Imperative *mašmi(')* (cf. III-*y* *maxzi* 'show!') alongside *mašme(')*, and in those forms where *y* has replaced historical ', e.g., *zadya* 'she may fear' (< *zad'a), *šəmya* 'heard' (< *smi'a).

See also verbs II-*w* and III-' (§ 4.4.28.5) and *y'y* 'know' (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.27.8. Verbs III-*w*

This class is a reflex of ClAram verbs III-*b*: *gnw* 'steal' (< גנב), *ksw* 'write' (< כתב), *rkw* 'ride' (< רכב), *xlw* 'milk' (< חלב), *xrw* 'be destroyed' (< הרב), *xšw* 'think' (< חשב). On the contraction of the diphthongs leading to the *ū*-vowel in several of the forms, see § 3.14.

G <i>ksw</i> 'write'		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>káswən(a)</i>	<i>ksūli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>káswan(a)</i>	<i>ksūli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>káswət(ən)</i>	<i>ksūlox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>káswat(ən)</i>	<i>ksūlax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>kāsu</i>	<i>ksūle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>kaswa</i>	<i>ksūla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>káswax(in)</i>	<i>ksūlan, ksūleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>kaswétun(a)</i>	<i>ksūlexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>kaswi</i>	<i>ksūlu</i>

Imperative s. *ksū*, pl. *ksūn*

Participle m.s. *ksiwa*, f.s. *ksūta*, pl. *ksiwe*

Gerund *ksāwa*

D Subjunctive 2 m.s. *mqalwətta* 'you may clean her', 3 c.pl. *mqalwilu* 'they may clean them'

Imperative c.s. *mqālu* 'clean!'

C Subjunctive 3 m.s. *maxrūla* 'he may destroy her', *maxrūlexun* 'he may destroy you (pl.)'

Past Habitual 3 c.pl. *maxərwiwa* 'they used to destroy'

Preterite 3 m.s. *muxərwāle* 'he destroyed her', 3 c.pl. *muxərwālu* 'they destroyed her'

Participle m.s. *múxərwa* 'destroyed', c.pl. *múxərwe*

See also *ytw* 'sit' (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.27.9. Verbs III-y

This is the largest of the weak classes and includes

1. ClAram III-y: *bry* 'happen' (< ברי), *çm̄y* 'be extinguished' (< סמי), *dry* 'put in' (< דרי), *gly* 'reveal' (< גלי), *gny* 'set (sun)' (< גני), *ksy* 'cover' (< כסי), *msy* 'wash' (< מסי), *mty* 'arrive' (< מטי), *mly* 'fill' and *mly* 'be sufficient', (< מלי), *mxy* 'strike' (< מחי), *ndy* 'throw down/away' (< נדי), *nšy* 'fight' (< נצי), *nšy* 'forget' (< נשי), *qry* 'call, read' (< קרי), *rpy* 'release, loosen' (< רפי), *sny* 'hate' (< סני), *sxy* 'bathe' (< סחי), *šly* 'pray' (< צלי), *šny* 'move' (< שני), *šry* 'untie' (< שרי), *šty* 'drink' (< שתי), *tly* 'hang' (< תלי), *†y* 'search' (< טעי), *tpy* 'stick, kindle' (< טפי), *try* 'drive' (< טרי), *†šy* 'hide' (< טשי), *xdy* 'rejoice' (< חדי), *xzy* 'see' (< חזי) *zky* 'deserve' (< זכי)

2. loanwords: *d'y* 'pray', *dgy* 'be branded', *jry* 'flow', *kry* 'be short', *lzy* 'hurry', *mhy* 'erase', *qdy* 'spend time, finish', *šky* 'lodge a complaint', *zxy* 'deserve'

G <i>xzy</i> ¹⁹⁸ 'see'		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>xázən(a)</i>	<i>xzeli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>xáyzan(a)</i>	<i>xzeli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>xázət(ən)</i>	<i>xzelox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>xázyat(ən)</i>	<i>xzelax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>xāze</i>	<i>xzele</i>
3 f.s.	<i>xazyā</i>	<i>xzela</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>xázax(in)</i>	<i>xzelan, xzéleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>xāzétun(a)</i>	<i>xzélexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>xāze</i>	<i>xzelu</i>

Imperative	m.s. <i>xzi</i> , f.s. <i>xze</i> , c.pl. <i>xzūn</i> ¹⁹⁹
Participle	m.s. <i>xazyā</i> , f.s. <i>xzeta</i> , ²⁰⁰ c.pl. <i>xazyē</i>
Gerund	<i>xzāya</i>

C Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>maxzənnax</i> 'I may show you'
Past Habitual	1 m.s. <i>maxzənnwa</i> 'I would show'
Imperative	m.s. <i>maxzi</i> 'show!'

Other verbs:

D Subjunctive	1 c.pl. <i>mrāpaxlox</i> 'we may release you'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>mrupyāli</i> 'I released her', 3 f.s. <i>mropənnā</i> 'she released me', 3 c.pl. <i>mrupyālu</i> 'they released her' ²⁰¹
Participle	f.s. <i>mrupeta</i> 'released'; c.pl. <i>mrupye</i>
Imperative	m.s. <i>mrāpilu</i> 'release them!'
C Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>mandənnē</i> 'I may throw him', 2 m.s. <i>mandət</i> 'you may throw', 3 m.s. <i>mazkela</i> 'may he grant her merit', 3 c.pl. <i>mandelu</i> 'they may throw them'
Past Habitual	3 c.pl. <i>mandəwālu</i> 'they used to throw'

¹⁹⁸ On the realization of /x/ as [ɣ] in this root, see § 3.6.g.

¹⁹⁹ Mutzafi 2002:480–481 presents the plural of verbs III-y ending in *-Vwun* as a common feature of *lishana deni* dialects. I do not hear it, however, in the speech of Shabbo. It is found in JChalla only in the imperative of 'sy 'come': *sāwun*.

²⁰⁰ Cf. the f.s. with *i* in other *lishana deni* dialects, e.g., *xzisa* (JZakho), *xziḏa* (JBetan). Polotsky 1961:15–16 suggests that the feminine Participle in some NENA dialects was formed on the analogy of the Preterite. Mutzafi (p.c.) suggests that analogy to verbs III-' (e.g., *gre'ta* 'shaven') may be responsible.

²⁰¹ See § 4.4.23.5.

Preterite	1 c.s. <i>mundeli, mǝndeli</i> ‘I threw’, 3 m.s. <i>mundele, mǝndele</i> ‘he threw’, 3 f.s. <i>mundela</i> ‘she threw’, 1 c.pl. <i>mundyālan</i> ‘we threw her’, 3 c.pl. <i>mundelu, mǝndelu</i> ‘they threw him’, <i>mundyālu</i> ‘they threw her’
Imperative	m.s. <i>mandi</i> , ‘throw!’ <i>mǝndila</i> ‘throw her!’, c.pl. <i>mǝndūle</i> ‘throw him!’
Participle	c.pl. <i>mǝndye</i>
Gerund	<i>mandoye</i> ‘throwing’

See also verbs I-y and III-y (§ 4.4.28.4), II-w and III-y (§ 4.4.28.6), ‘sy ‘come’ (§ 4.4.28.8), *b’y* ‘want’ (§ 4.4.28.10), and *mšy* ‘be able’ (§ 4.4.28.15).

4.4.28. Doubly Weak and Irregular Verbs

4.4.28.1. Verbs I-ʿ and II-w

Two verbs are attested: ‘*wd* ‘do, make’ (< עבד) and ‘*wr* ‘enter’ (< עבר).

G ‘do, make’		
	Subjunctive	Preterite
1 m.s.	ʿódǝn(a)	ʿüdli, wǝdli ²⁰²
1 f.s.	ʿódan(a)	ʿüdli, wǝdli
2 m.s.	ʿódǝt(ǝn)	ʿüdlox, wǝdlox
2 f.s.	ʿódat(ǝn)	ʿüdlax, wǝdlax
3 m.s.	ʿǝwǝd	ʿüdle, wǝdle
3 f.s.	ʿoda	ʿüdla, wǝdla
1 c.pl.	ʿódax(in)	ʿüdlan, ʿüdleni, wǝdlan, wǝdleni
2 c.pl.	ʿodétun(a)	ʿüdlexun, wǝdlexun
3 c.pl.	ʿodi	ʿüdlu, wǝdlu
Imperative	c.s. ʿod, c.pl. ʿodun	
Participle	m.s. ʿwida, wida, ʿüda (§ 3.12.b), f.s. ʿütta (§ 3.6.b), c.pl. ʿwide, wide, ʿüde	
Gerund ²⁰³	ʿwāda, wāda; following the preposition <i>b-</i> : <i>bāda</i>	
C Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>maʿrǝtte</i> ‘you may bring him in’	
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>moʿǝrre</i> ‘he brought him in’, <i>moʿǝrǝnne</i> ‘he brought me in’, 3 c.pl. <i>moʿǝrǝnnu</i> ‘they brought me in’	

²⁰² ʿüdli < *ʿwǝdli. Cf. JZakh ʿuzli (Sabar 2002a:91), JAmid ʿüdli, ʿwǝdli (Hoberman 1989:214), JBetan wǝdli (Mutzafi 2008a:76).

²⁰³ Cf. JZakh ʿwāza (Polotsky 1967:105), JAmid ʿwada (Hoberman 1989:214), JBetan wāḏa (Mutzafi 2008a:76).

4.4.28.2. *Verbs I-y and II-w*

One verb is attested: *ywš* ‘dry up’ (< יבש >)

G Preterite 3 m.s. *ywšle* ‘he dried up’, 3 c.pl. *ywšlu* ‘they dried up’

4.4.28.3. *Verbs I-y and III-w*

See *ytw* ‘sit’ (§ 4.4.28.21).

4.4.28.4. *Verbs I-y and III-y*

Attested verbs are *ymy* ‘swear’ (< ימי >) and *ygy* (< אפי >).

G	Subjunctive	3 m.s. and c.pl. <i>yāme</i> ‘he may swear’
	Present	1 m.s. <i>gyāmən</i> ‘I swear’, 3 m.s. <i>gyāme</i> ‘he swears’, <i>gyāpe</i> ‘he bakes’
	Future	1 m.s. <i>byāmən</i> ‘I shall swear’, 1 f.s. <i>byamyannox</i> ‘I shall swear to you’, 2 m.s. <i>byamət</i> ‘you will swear’, 2 f.s. <i>byamyatti</i> ‘you will swear to me’, 1 c.pl. <i>byamaxlox</i> ‘we shall swear to you’
	Preterite	1 c.s. <i>ymeli</i> ‘I swore’, 2 m.s. <i>ymelox</i> ‘you swore’, 3 m.s. <i>ymele</i> ‘he swore’
	Imperative	m.s. <i>yimi</i> ‘swear!’
	Gerund	following the preposition <i>b-</i> : <i>bipá</i> ‘baking’
	Participle	m.s. <i>yāmya</i> ‘sworn’, c.pl. <i>yāmye</i>
C	Present	1 m.s. <i>gmaymānnox</i> ‘I adjure you’
	Participle	3 m.s. <i>múyāmya</i> ‘adjured’

See also *y’y* (§ 4.4.28.19).

4.4.28.5. *Verbs II-w and III-’*

Two verbs are attested: *šw’* ‘paint, dye’ (< צבע >) and *ṭw’* ‘fall asleep’ (< טבע >):

G	Past Habitual	3 m.s. <i>šāwé’wāle</i> ‘he used to dye’
	Pluperfect	1 c.s. <i>ṭwe’wāli</i> ‘I had fallen asleep’
	Participle	m.s. <i>šwəya</i> ‘dyed’ (§ 3.14)

4.4.28.6. *Verbs II-w and III-y*

Attested verbs are *ṛwy* ‘grow’ (< רבי >), and *ṭwy* ‘roast’ (< טוי >):

G	Present	3 m.s. <i>grāwe</i> ‘he grows’
	Preterite	2 m.s. <i>ṛwelox</i> ‘you grew’
	Participle	m.s. <i>ṛəwya</i> ‘grown’
D	Past Habitual	3 c.pl. <i>mṭāwéwālu</i> ‘they would roast’
C	Preterite	1 c.pl. <i>muṛwelan</i> ‘we raised’

See also *hwy* ‘be, be born’ (§ 4.4.28.12)

4.4.28.7. ’rq (< ערק)

The verb *’rq* is inflected regularly when it means ‘run’, e.g.,

G	Preterite	1 s. <i>’raqli</i> ‘I ran’
	Gerund	<i>’rāqa</i>

When it means ‘flee’, however, it takes a 3 f.s. dummy object, e.g.,

G	Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>’arqanna</i> ‘I shall flee’, 3 m.s. <i>’ārāqla</i>
	Preterite	1 s. <i>’riqāli</i> ‘I fled’, 2 m.s. <i>’riqālox</i> , 3 c.pl. <i>’riqālu</i>
	Perfect	2 m.s. <i>wət ’riqala</i> ‘you have fled’
	Imperative	c.pl. <i>’rūqūla</i>
C	Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>ma’arqatte</i> ‘you may chase him away’, 3 c.pl. <i>ma’arqile</i> ‘they may smuggle him out’
	Preterite	3 m.s. <i>mo’raqle</i> ‘he chased him away’, 3 f.s. <i>mo’raqāle</i> ‘he smuggled her out’, 3 c.pl. <i>mo’raqilu</i> ‘they chased them away’
	Perfect	3 c.pl. <i>lu mō’arqi-lle</i> ‘they have smuggled him out’

4.4.28.8. ’sy (< אתי)

G ‘come’				
	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>’āsən(a)</i>	<i>késən(a)</i>	<i>bāsən(a)</i>	<i>seli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>’āsyan</i>	<i>kāsyan</i>	<i>basyan</i>	<i>seli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>’āsət(ən)</i>	<i>késət(ən)</i>	<i>bāsət(ən)</i>	<i>selox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>’ásyat(ən)</i>	<i>kásyat(ən)</i>	<i>básyat(ən)</i>	<i>selax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>’āse</i>	<i>kese</i>	<i>bāse</i>	<i>sele</i>
3 f.s.	<i>’asya</i>	<i>kasya</i>	<i>basya</i>	<i>sela</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>’āsax(in)</i>	<i>késax(in)</i>	<i>bāsax(in)</i>	<i>selan, séleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>’āsétun(a)</i>	<i>kesétun(a)</i>	<i>bāsétun(a)</i>	<i>sélexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>’āse</i>	<i>kese</i>	<i>bāse</i>	<i>selu</i>

Imperative ²⁰⁴	c.s. <i>sa</i> , c.pl. <i>sāwun</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>'asya</i> , f.s. <i>seta</i> , ²⁰⁵ c.pl. <i>'asye</i>
Gerund	<i>'isāya</i>

Attested forms of C 'bring'²⁰⁶ include

Subjunctive	2 m.s. <i>mesət</i> 'you may bring', <i>mesətte</i> 'you may bring him', 2 f.s. <i>mesyattu</i> 'you may bring them', 3 m.s. <i>mese</i> 'he may bring', <i>meselu</i> 'he may bring them', 2 c.pl. <i>mesētūla</i> 'you may bring her'
Present	3 m.s. <i>gmese</i> 'he brings'
Past Habitual	3 c.pl. <i>mesewa</i> 'they used to bring'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>museli</i> 'I brought', <i>məseli</i> , 3 m.s. <i>musele</i> 'he brought', <i>məsele</i> , 3 f.s. <i>musela</i> 'she brought', 3 c.pl. <i>muselu</i> 'they brought', <i>məselu</i>
Imperative	m.s. <i>misi</i> 'bring!', <i>mīsili</i> 'bring me!', f.s. <i>méselu</i> 'bring them!'; c.pl. <i>mūsūle</i> 'bring him!'
Participle	m.s. <i>musya</i> 'brought', c. pl. <i>musye</i>
Gerund	<i>masoye</i> 'bringing'

4.4.28.9. 'zl (< לזל)

G 'go'	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>'āzən(a)</i>	<i>gézən(a)</i>	<i>bāzən(a)</i>	<i>zəlli</i>
1 f.s.	<i>'āzan(a)</i>	<i>gézan(a)</i>	<i>bāzan(a)</i>	<i>zəlli</i>
2 m.s.	<i>'āzət(ən)</i>	<i>gézət(ən)</i>	<i>bāzət(ən)</i>	<i>zəllox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>'āzat(ən)</i>	<i>gézat(ən)</i>	<i>bāzat(ən)</i>	<i>zəllax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>'āzəl</i>	<i>gezəl</i>	<i>bāzəl</i>	<i>zəlle</i>
3 f.s.	<i>'āza</i>	<i>geza</i>	<i>bāza</i>	<i>zəlla</i>
1 c.pl.	<i>'āzax(in)</i>	<i>gézax(in)</i>	<i>bāzax(in)</i>	<i>zəllan, zəlleni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>'āzétun(a)</i>	<i>gezétun(a)</i>	<i>bāzétun(a)</i>	<i>zəlləxun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>'āzi</i>	<i>gezi</i>	<i>bāzi</i>	<i>zəllu</i>

The following syncopated forms (§ 3.18.d.) of the Future are attested:

1 m.s.	<i>bān</i>
1 f.s.	<i>bān</i>
2 m.s.	<i>bāt</i>
2 f.s.	<i>bāt</i>
2 m.s.	<i>bāl</i>

²⁰⁴ Cf. the different forms of the Imperative of 'come' in the *lishana deni* dialects of JAradh, JBetan, JDohok, and JZakho as listed in Mutzafi 2002:481. See also JAmid *ʔa*, pl. *ʔuwun* (Hoberman 1989:214).

²⁰⁵ On the aphaeresis of initial ' see § 3.17.a.

²⁰⁶ See Mutzafi 2008a:82 nn. 76–77 on vowel assimilations in the forms of this verb.

Imperative ²⁰⁷	m.s. <i>si</i> , f.s. <i>se</i> , <i>selax</i> , c.pl. <i>sūn</i>
Participle	m.s. <i>zila</i> , f.s. <i>zalta</i> , c.pl. <i>zile</i>
Gerund	<i>'izāla</i>

4.4.28.10. b'y (< בעי)

Attested forms of G 'want, desire' include

Subjunctive	1 s. <i>bā'an</i> 'I may want', 2 f.s. <i>ba'yat</i> 'you may want', 3 m.s. <i>bā'e</i> 'he may want', 2 c.pl. <i>bā'etun</i> 'you may want', 3 c.pl. <i>bā'e</i> 'they may want'
Present	1 s. <i>gəbən</i> 'I want', <i>gbənne</i> 'I want him', <i>gbənnax</i> 'I want you', <i>gbənnu</i> 'I want them', 1 f.s. <i>gbannox</i> 'I want you', 2 m.s. <i>gəbat</i> 'you want', <i>gbattan</i> 'you want us', 2 f.s. <i>gəbat</i> 'you want', <i>gbatte</i> 'you want him', 3 m.s. <i>gəbe</i> 'he wants', 3 f.s. <i>gbālox</i> 'she wants you', 1 c.pl. <i>gəbax</i> 'we want', 2 c.pl. <i>gəbetun</i> 'you want', 3 c.pl. <i>gəbe</i> 'they want'
Past Habitual	3 m.s. and c. pl. <i>gbewa</i> 'he/they used to want', 3 f.s. <i>gbāwa</i> 'she used to want'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>b'eli</i> 'I wanted', 1 c.pl. <i>b'elan</i> 'we wanted', 3 c.pl. <i>b'elu</i> 'they wanted'
Participle	c.pl. <i>be'ye</i> 'wanted'

The vowel *ə* of *gəb-* is elided in the Present following a sandhi vowel, e.g., following the negative *la*, e.g., *lá-gbən* 'I don't want', *lá-gbe* 'he doesn't want. On the difference between the base of the Subjunctive and the Present, see § 4.4.9.j.

4.4.28.11. hnnl (< hənna)

The filler *hənna* (§ 4.9.a) may be inflected verbally. Examples include

Subjunctive	3 c.pl. <i>mhannəlili</i> 'they may do, um, to me'
Future	3 c.pl. <i>phannəlilu</i> 'they will do, um, to them'
Preterite:	3 m.s. <i>hənnəlle</i> 'he did, um', ²⁰⁸ <i>hənnəlle</i> , 3 c.pl. <i>hənnəllu</i> , <i>hənnəllu</i> 'they did, um'
Pluperterite	3 m.s. <i>hənnəlwāle</i> 'he had done, um'

4.4.28.12. hwy (< הוי)

Attested forms of G 'be, be born' include

²⁰⁷ The forms of the Imperative are derived from the root *sgy* < *'sg'. See Mutzafi 2005:105–106 and 2008a:379.

²⁰⁸ Cf. *hnulle* (Sabar 2002a:151).

	Subjunctive	Present	Future	Preterite
1 m.s.	<i>hāwən</i>	<i>kāwən</i>	<i>pāwən(a)</i>	<i>hweli</i> 'I was born'
2 m.s.	<i>hāwət</i>	<i>kāwət</i>	<i>pāwət</i>	
3 m.s.	<i>hāwe</i>	<i>kāwe</i>	<i>pāwe</i>	
3 f.s.	<i>hūwa</i>	<i>kūwa</i>	<i>pūwa</i>	
1 c.pl.	<i>hāwax</i>	<i>kāwax</i>	<i>pāwax</i>	
2 c.pl.	<i>hāwetun</i>	<i>kāwetun</i>	<i>pāwetun</i>	
3 c.pl.	<i>hāwe</i>	<i>kāwe</i>	<i>pāwe</i>	

The forms of the 1 f.s. and 2 f.s. are unattested in the corpus. The 3 f.s. forms with *ū* (*hūwa*, *kūwa*, *pūwa*; § 3.15.d) are unattested in other *lishana deni* dialects. Cf. 3 f.s. *hōya* (*hōya*), *kōya* in JZakh, JAmid, and JBetan.²⁰⁹ See § 4.4.9.f for the prefix *k-* on forms of the Present, § 4.4.11.b for the prefix *p-* on forms of the Future, and § 3.2.d and § 4.1.8.l for the relative *d-* > *t-* before forms of the Subjunctive.

There appears to be a fossilized form *welāle* (< *hwewāle*) in

welāle šö`á-brone.

'Seven sons were born to him.' (§ 5.1.3)

4.4.28.13. hymn (< *הימן* < *C אמן*)

Attested forms of Q 'believe, trust' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>mhemnən</i> 'I may believe', <i>mhémnəna</i> , 2 m.s. <i>mhemnət</i> 'you may believe', 3 m.s. <i>mhemən</i> 'he may believe', <i>mhemənnə</i> 'he may believe him', 3 f.s. <i>mhemnat</i> 'she may believe'
Present	1 m.s. <i>lá-gmhèmnəna</i> 'I don't believe', 3 f.s. <i>lá-gmhemna</i> 'she doesn't believe'
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>mhomənnə</i> 'he believed', 3 f.s. <i>mhomənnə</i> 'she believed'
Participle	c.pl. <i>mhumne</i> 'believed'

4.4.28.14. *mnx* (< *נורח?*; < *עניי?*)

Attested forms of C 'look at' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>ménxən(a)</i> 'I may look at', 3 c.pl. <i>menxi</i> 'they may look at'
Present	1 m.s. <i>gmenəx</i> 'I look at', 3 c.pl. <i>gmenxi</i> 'they look at'

²⁰⁹ Polotsky 1967:107; Avineri 1998:226, Sabar 2002a:149, Hoberman 1989:32; Mutzafi 2008a:178,194.

Preterite	1 c.s. <i>monaxli</i> ‘I looked at’, 3 m.s. <i>monaxle</i> ‘he looked at’, 3 f.s. <i>monaxla</i> ‘she looked at’
Imperative	c.s. <i>menax</i> ‘look at!’, c.pl. <i>menxun</i>
Gerund	<i>manoxe</i>

4.4.28.15. *mšy* ‘be able’ (< מצי)

The Subjunctive/Present of the verb is based on the ClAram passive participle **mše* rather than on the ClAram active participle **māše*.²¹⁰ The verb is more often than not attested with a negative:

G Subj/Pres	1 m.s. <i>lá-mšən</i> ‘I am not able’, <i>lá-mšəna</i> , 2 m.s. <i>lá-mšət</i> ‘you are not able’, 3 m.s. <i>lá-mše</i> ‘he is not able’
Past Habitual	1 m.s. <i>mšənwā</i> ‘I was able’, <i>lá-mšənwā</i> ‘I wasn’t able’, 1 pl. <i>lá-mšaxwā</i> ‘we weren’t able’
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>mšəle</i> ‘he was able’
Gerund	<i>lewū mšāya</i> ‘they are not able’

4.4.28.16. *nbl* (< יבל)

Attested forms of C ‘lead away’ include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>nablən</i> ‘I may lead away’, 3 m.s. <i>nābəl</i> ‘he may lead away’, 3 f.s. <i>nabla</i> ‘she may lead away’, 3 c.pl. <i>nabli</i> ‘they may lead away’, <i>nablile</i> ‘they may lead him away’
Preterite	3 m.s. <i>noballe</i> ‘he led away’, 3 c.pl. <i>nobəllu</i> ‘they led away’
Imperative	c.s. <i>nābəl</i> ‘lead away!’, <i>nābəlle</i> ‘lead him away!’
Gerund	<i>nabole</i> ‘leading away’

On the shift *m* > *n* / *_b* see § 3.7.

4.4.28.17. *npl* (< נפל)

Attested forms of G ‘fall’ and C ‘fell’ include

G Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>nāpəl</i> ‘he may fall’, 3 f.s. <i>napla</i> ‘she may fall’, 3 c.pl. <i>napli</i> ‘they may fall’
Future	3 c.pl. <i>mnapli</i> ‘they will fall’
Preterite	1 c.s. (<i>m</i>) <i>pəlli</i> ‘I fell’, 3 m.s. (<i>m</i>) <i>pəlle</i> ‘he fell’, 1 c.pl. (<i>m</i>) <i>pəlleni</i> ‘we fell’, 3 c.pl. (<i>m</i>) <i>pəllu</i> ‘they fell’
C Subjunctive	<i>mampəl</i> ‘it may fell’
Gerund	<i>mampole</i> ‘causing to fall’

²¹⁰ Mutzafi 2008a:83. There is one attestation, however, of *māše*: ‘*ako mən tāma ’āya*

$n > m / _p$ (§ 3.6.d). m appears to be optional before p in the G Preterite (§ 3.17.e).

4.4.28.18. xyy (<׳׳ן)

Attested forms of G 'live' include

Subjunctive	3 m.s. <i>xāye</i> 'he may live', 2 m.pl. <i>xāyetun</i> 'you may live', 3 c.pl. <i>xāye</i> 'they may live'
Future	3 m.s. <i>pxāye</i> 'he will live'
Past Habitual	1 c.pl. <i>xāyaxwa</i> 'we were living'
Participle	m.s. <i>xiya</i> 'lived', pl. <i>xiye</i>
Imperative	m.s. <i>xi</i> 'live!'

4.4.28.19. $y'y$ (<׳ד)

Attested forms of G 'know' include

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>yā'an</i> 'I may know', 2 m.s. <i>yā'at</i> 'you may know', <i>yā'atte</i> 'you may know it', 3 m.s. <i>yā'e</i> 'he may know', 2 c.pl. <i>yā'etun</i> 'you may know'
Present	1 m.s. <i>ki'an</i> 'I know', <i>ki'anne</i> 'I know him', <i>ki'anna</i> 'I know her', <i>ki'annu</i> 'I know them', 1 f.s. <i>lá-č'i'an</i> 'I don't know' (§ 4.4.9.c), 2 m.s. <i>ki'at</i> 'you know', <i>ki'atte</i> 'you know him', <i>č'i'atte</i> 'you know him' (§ 4.4.9.c), <i>ki'attu</i> 'you know them', 3 m.s. <i>ki'e</i> 'he knows', 3 f.s. <i>ki'a</i> 'she knows', <i>ki'āli</i> 'she knows me', 1 c.pl. <i>ki'ax</i> 'we know', <i>ki'axlu</i> 'we know them', 2 c.pl. <i>ki'etun</i> 'you know', 3 c.pl. <i>ki'e</i> 'they know', <i>ki'ele</i> 'they know him'
Future	3 m.s. <i>byā'at</i> 'you will know'
Past Habitual	1 s. <i>ki'anwa</i> 'I used to know', 3 c.pl. <i>ki'ewa</i> 'they used to know'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>y'eli</i> 'I knew', <i>ye'yāli</i> 'I knew her', 2 m.s. <i>y'elox</i> 'you knew', 3 pl. <i>y'elu</i> 'they knew'

A reflex of the original d of the root ׳ד does not appear in any of the attested forms of the G stem (§ 3.18.e), unlike in other *lishana deni* dialects.²¹¹ d is preserved, however, in the C stem.

Attested forms of C 'inform' include

māše ^H*šālət*^H 'When from there he is able to control' (§ 5.11.7). Sabar reports a similar form also in 2002a:223.

²¹¹ See, e.g., in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:81). The absence of a reflex of d in the Preterite seems unique to JChalla. Cf. JAmid *yde'li* (Hoberman 1989:224), JBetan *de'le* (Mutzafi 2008a:81), JNerwa texts *yde'li* (Sabar 1984:277), JZakho *ze'li* (Avinery 1988:232).

Subjunctive	1 c.s. <i>mayd(ʔ)ənnu</i> ‘I may inform them’
Past Habitual	1 c.pl. <i>mayd(ʔ)axwala</i> ‘we used to inform her’
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>muyde(ʔ)li</i> ‘I informed’, 3 m.s. <i>muyde(ʔ)le</i> ‘he informed’, 1 c.pl. <i>muyde(ʔ)lan</i> ‘we informed’, 3 c.pl. <i>muyde(ʔ)lu</i> ‘they informed’

4.4.28.20. yhw(l) (< ל + יהב)

Attested forms of G ‘give’ include

Subjunctive:	1 m.s. <i>yāwən</i> ‘I may give’, 2 m.s. <i>yāwəttā</i> ‘you may give her’, <i>yāwətti</i> ‘you may give me’, <i>yāwəttu</i> ‘you may give them’, 3 m.s. <i>yāʔeli</i> ‘he may give me’, 1 c.pl. <i>yāxle</i> ‘we may give him’, <i>yāxla</i> ‘we may give her’, 2 c.pl. <i>yāwetun</i> ‘you may give’, 3 c.pl. <i>yāwile</i> ‘they may give him’, <i>yāwilu</i> ‘they may give them’
Present	3 m.s. <i>gyāwəl</i> ‘he gives’, 2 c.pl. <i>gyāwetun</i> ‘you will give’
Future	1 m.s. <i>byāwən</i> ‘I shall give’, <i>byāwənnox</i> ‘I shall give you’, <i>byāwənnu</i> ‘I shall give them’ 1 f.s. <i>byāwannox</i> ‘I shall give you’, 2 m.s. <i>byāwət</i> ‘you will give’, 3 m.s. <i>byāwəl</i> ‘he will give’, <i>byāwélexun</i> ‘he will give you’, 1 c.pl. <i>byāxlox</i> ‘we will give you’, <i>byāxlu</i> ‘we will give them’, 2 c.pl. <i>byāwétüle</i> ‘you will give him’
Past Habitual	1 m.s. <i>yāwənwālox</i> ‘I used to give you’, 3 m.s. <i>gyāwəlwa</i> ‘he used to give’
Past Prospective	3 c.pl. <i>byāwīwāle</i> ‘they would give him’
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>hūli</i> ‘I gave’, <i>hiwili</i> ‘I gave them’, 3 m.s. <i>hūle</i> ²¹² ‘he gave’, 3 f.s. <i>hūla</i> ‘she gave’, 2 c.pl. <i>hūlexon</i> , 3 c.pl. <i>hūlu</i> ‘they gave’, <i>hiwaxlu</i> ‘they gave us’
Imperative	c.s. <i>hal</i> ‘give!’, m.s. <i>hallox</i> ‘give!’, <i>hallu</i> ‘give them’, c.pl. <i>halun</i> ‘give!’, <i>hālūle</i> ‘give him’
Participle	m.s. <i>hiwa</i> ‘given’, f.s. <i>hūta</i> , c.pl. <i>hiwe</i>

Note that *āwa* contracts to *ā* (§ 3.15.c) in the 1 c.pl. forms based on the Subjunctive, and that intervocalic *w > ʔ* (§ 3.3.c) in *yāʔeli* ‘he may give me’.

See Mutzafi 2008a:81 on the underlying morphology of this verb. On *əw > ū* in several of the forms, see § 3.14.

4.4.28.21. ytw (< יתב)

Attested forms of G ‘sit’ include

²¹² Cf. *hulle* in JZakho (Polotsky 1967:107) vs. *hūle* in JAmid (Hoberman 1989:224) and JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:81).

Subjunctive	1 m.s. <i>yátwən</i> 'I may sit', <i>yátwəna</i> , 2 f.s. <i>yatwat</i> 'you may sit', 3 c.pl. <i>yatwi</i> 'they may sit'
Present	1 m.s. <i>gyatwən</i> 'I sit', 2 m.s. <i>gyatwət</i> 'you sit', 3 f.s. <i>gyatwa</i> 'she sits'
Past Habitual	3 m.s. <i>gyātúwa</i> 'he used to sit', 3 c.pl. <i>gyatwiwa</i> 'they used to sit'
Future	1 m.s. <i>byatwən</i> 'I sit', 2 m.s. <i>byatwət</i> 'you will sit'
Preterite	1 c.s. <i>tūli</i> 'I sat', 3 f.s. <i>tūla</i> 'she sat', 3 c.pl. <i>tūlu</i> 'they sat'
Imperative	c.s. <i>tū</i> 'sit!'
Participle	m.s. <i>tiwa</i> 'seated', c.pl. <i>tiwe</i>

Attested forms of C 'place, put' include

Preterite	1 c.s. <i>mətwāli</i> 'I placed her', 3 m.s. <i>mətwāle</i> 'he placed her', <i>məttūle</i> 'he placed', <i>mətwile</i> 'he placed them', 3 f.s. <i>məttūla</i> 'she placed'
Imperative	c.s. <i>mattu</i> 'put!', <i>məttūle</i> 'put him!'
Participle	m.s. <i>mətwa</i>
Gerund	<i>məttowe</i>

t is geminated before vowels.²¹³

4.4.29. Modern Hebrew Verbs

a. Many Modern Hebrew verbs entered Shabbo's Aramaic speech after his arrival in Israel in 1951. When the root exists in both older Aramaic and in Modern Hebrew, the influence of the latter may be evidenced by (1) phonology, e.g., the pronunciation of ModH [k] instead of historical [q], ModH [h] instead of NeoAram [x], or [ʕ] where NeoAram [ʔ] is expected; (2) semantics, e.g., a ModH meaning for a root instead of the ClAram meaning of the same root, or ModH neologism or slang. Verbs are fully assimilated to the inflectional patterns of NeoAram, e.g., *'azrənwālox* 'I was helping you', *badkax* 'we may examine', *lu pgi'e* 'they have injured', *maxone* 'preparing', *mən mašmədle* 'he should destroy it!', *m'ušbənne* 'he irritated him', *mnaħalaxlu* 'we manage them', *mšaboħe* 'praising', *mtakniwa* 'they were fixing', *mulšənnə* 'he informed against me', *murgəšli* 'I felt', *muskəmli* 'I agreed', *nas'ax* 'let's travel', *qemi maf'əlilu* 'they up (and) activate them', *wetun kvi'e* 'you have determined', *wetun mšurte* 'you have served', *zxeli* 'I merited'.

b. Loan verbs from ModHeb generally show up in JChalla in the same stem as in Hebrew. Dt and Qt ModH verbs, however, appear in the

²¹³ Mutzafi 2008a:83.

corresponding stem without *t*: התגלגל 'roll around', התוכח 'argue', הסתדר 'manage, get along', התעלל 'torment', and התעסק 'deal with' > D and Q: *m'āsək* 'he deals with', *m'āləl* 'he torments', *mbokəḥlan* 'we argued', *mbakoḥe* 'arguing', *mgalgole* 'rolling around', (*m*)*sadretun* 'you may get along'. The ModHeb C verb העניש 'punish' is inflected in D: (*m*)*'ansile* 'they punish him' and the ModHeb D verb הלל is inflected in C as II-*y* *mohəlli* 'I desecrated' but also in D as geminate *wən mhúlla-lla* 'I have desecrated it'.

c. The following verbal roots are from ModH: 'rgn Q 'organize' (ארגן), 'rz G 'pack' (ארוז), 'ym D 'threaten' (איים), 'šm C 'accuse' (האשים), 'bd (עבד), 'll D 'torment' (התעלל), 'nš D 'punish, fine' (העניש), 'sk D 'deal with' (התעסק), 'šbn Q 'irritate' (עצבן), 'vr G 'pass by, cross over', C 'bring over' (עבר; e.g., ModH *vərri* 'I passed by' vs. NeoAram G *ūrri* 'I entered'; ModH *mu'vərre* 'he brought over' vs. NeoAram C *mo'rənne* 'he brought me in'), 'wf C 'cause to fly = throw out' (העזיף), 'zr G 'help' (עזר), *bdk* G 'examine, investigate' (בדק), *bkh* D 'argue' (התוכח; § 3.1), *bks* D 'request' (בקש), *btl* D 'cancel' (בטל), *d'g* G 'worry' (דאג), *drx* G 'cock a gun' and C 'instruct' (דריך; הדרוך), *dhy* G 'postpone' (דחה), *fl* C 'activitate' (הפעיל), *fsd* C 'lose' (הפסיד), *gdr* D 'fence in' (גדר), *glgl* Q 'roll around' (התגלגל), *gyr* D 'convert' (גיר), *gys* D 'draft' (גיס), *hkr* G 'investigate' (חקר), *hlhl* Q 'permeate' (הלחל), *hlk* D 'divide' (חלק), *hlt* C 'decide' (החליט), *hsl* D 'finish off, eliminate' (חסל), *hyv* D 'obligate' (חיב), *hzk* C 'hold' (החזיק), *k'v* G 'hurt' (כאב), *kftš* G 'jump' (קפץ), *kv'* G 'determine' (קבע), *lxlx* Q 'dirty' (לכלך), *mšx* C 'continue' (המשיך), *ng'* C 'deserve' (הגיע), *ngš* C 'present (trans.)' (הגיש), *nhl* D 'manage' (נהל), *ns'* G 'travel' (נסע), *pg'* G 'injure' (פגע), *pnčr* 'cause a flat tire' (פונצ'ר < 'puncture'), *pzr* D 'distribute' (פזר), *r'd* C 'tremble' (רעד), *r'l* C 'poison' (הרעיל), *rgš* C 'feel' (הרגיש), *rvh* C 'earn' (הרויח), *sbl* G 'suffer, bear' (סבל), *sdr* D 'arrange' (סדר), D 'manage, get along' (הסתדר), *skm* C 'agree' (הסכים), *slh* G 'forgive' (סלח), *smḥ* D 'make happy' (שמח), *smx* C 'authorize' (הסמיך), *spk* C 'manage' (הספיק; NeoAram cognate 'be empty'), *spr* D 'tell' (ספר), *skr* C 'rent out' (השכיר), *sfsf* Q 'disregard utterly' (צפנצף), *šlm* D 'photograph' (צלם), *šbh* D 'praise' (שבח), *šdd* G 'rob' (שדד), *šft* G 'judge' (שפט), *šhrr* Q 'free, release' (שחרר), *škn* D 'settle' (שכן), *šlm* D 'pay' (שלם), *šmd* C 'destroy' (השמיד), *šrt* D 'serve' (שרת), *štf* D 'let participate' (שתף), *šxnx* Q 'persuade' (שכנע; § 3.3.e), *thl* C 'begin' (התחיל), *tkn* D 'fix, repair' (תקן; ClAram *tqn* 'set'), *tkf* C 'attack' (התקיף; ClAram 'strengthen'), *tmx* G 'support' (תמך), *txnn* Q 'plan' (תכנן), *xbd* D 'honor' (כבד), *xrh* C 'force' (הכריח), *xtf* G 'seize' (חטף), *xyn* C 'prepare' (הכין), *yšr* D 'straighten' (ישר), *zbr* C 'explain' (colloquial הזביר < הסביר), *zgr* C 'hand over' (colloquial הזגיר < הסגיר), *zxy* G 'merit' (זכה).

4.5. PREPOSITIONS

Some of the prepositions below have allomorphs with the possessive-relative particle *d* suffixed: *b-/'əbbəd*, *l-/'əl-/'əlləd*, *mābayn/mābaynəd*, *mən/mənnəd*. Several prepositions, with and without suffixed *-d*, are followed by the independent genitive pronoun *did-* with pronominal suffixes: *'əbbəd did-*, *'əlləd did-*, *bārakus did-*, *barqul did-*, *basər did-*, *bāsbasər did-*, *dəpən did-*, *kəsəl did-*, *mənnəd did-*. Four prepositions exhibit reduplication:²¹⁴ *bāsbasər*, *kəsəkəsəl*, *qamqam*, *rešreš*. Prepositions may be followed by *d* (the possessive-relative particle) that is proclitic to a demonstrative (pronoun or adverb; § 4.1.8.j), e.g., *mən d-axxa* 'from here' (but also *m-axxa* and *mən 'axxa*), *xe d-iyā* ^H*degel*^H 'under this flag', *xor d-axxa* 'like here', *xor d-iyā* 'like this', *xor d-anna* 'arabāye 'like those Arabs' (§ 5.1.9).

'əbbəd see *b-*
'əl-, 'əlləd see *l-*
'əltxé(t?) 'under'

This compound preposition is attested only once in *'it xa 'ena 'əltxé(t?) 'əppá* 'there is a spring at the bottom of the hillside' (§ 5.7.5). One cannot be certain if *t* is pronounced or not before the noun *'əppá*. Cf. *txe* and *txet* in the JNerwa texts.²¹⁵

b-, 'əbb-, 'əbbəd

'in, at, on'

Before unvoiced consonants, *b-* is devoiced to *p* (§ 3.6.a) *b-* is more common preceding a noun than its allomorph *'əbbəd*, e.g., *b-dor* 'in a generation', *b-xāše* 'on his back' vs. *'əbbəd 'ida* 'in her hand', *'əbbəd dugle* 'in lies'. Cf. *balāye lu dārye-lla b-reš qdāl Hoče u-Mi'ər* 'they have blamed Hoče and Meir' (§ 5.5.3) vs. *qemi dārela balāye 'əbbəd reš hudāye* 'they up (and) blame the Jews' (§ 5.5.8). The form *bəd*, known from other *lishana deni* dialects,²¹⁶ is unattested in JChalla.

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to the base *'əbb-* (§ 3.20.h), e.g., *'əbbi*, *'əbbox*, *'əbbax*, *'əbbe*, *'əbba*, or to the independent genitive pronoun following *'əbbəd*, e.g., *'əbbəd dide*, *'əbbəd didu*.

badal, m-badal

'in place of'

badal kullu 'in place of all of them', *m-badal haqqox* 'in place of your salary'

²¹⁴ See also the adverb *gārgāra* 'from time to time' (§ 4.7.2). Cf. *bād-badər*, *mānne-mən*, *qām-qam*, *rēša-reš*, and *xéḏa-xeḏ* in JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:121, 125). See also Maclean 1895:175–176.

²¹⁵ Sabar 1984:343.

²¹⁶ E.g., JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:121).

<i>bárukus</i>	‘in front of, opposite’ <i>barakuseni, bárukus dide</i>
<i>barqul</i>	‘in front of, opposite’ <i>barqullexun, barqul dida, barqul ’eni</i> ‘before my eyes’
<i>basər</i>	‘after, behind’ <i>basre, basər dide, basər mənnextun, basər bes didu</i> ‘after their house’, <i>basər xa tar’a</i> ‘after one door’
<i>básbasər</i>	‘right after’ <i>básbasre, básbasru, básbasər dide, básbasər didu</i>
<i>dəpən, l-dəpən</i>	‘next to’ <i>dəpnexun, l-dəpni, l-dəpnox, l-dəpən dide</i>
<i>dax, daxwās-</i>	‘like’ <i>dax</i> occurs before nouns, e.g., <i>dax nāše</i> ‘like people’, and <i>daxwās</i> when bound by pronominal suffixes, e.g., <i>daxwāsa, daxwāseni</i> . It is also attested before a filler: <i>daxwās hənna</i> ^H <i>hayót mtorafim</i> ^H ‘like, um, crazy animals’
<i>dla</i>	‘without’ <i>dla pāre</i> ‘without money’, <i>dla šarwāla</i> ‘without trousers’
<i>go, gaw-</i>	‘in, within’ <i>go</i> is attested before nouns, <i>gaw-</i> when bound by pronominal suffixes and the independent genitive pronoun, e.g., <i>gawexun, gaw dide, gaw dida, go besa</i> ‘at home’, <i>go ’idās didu</i> ‘in their hands’
<i>hīl, hēl</i>	‘until, as far as’ <i>hīl ’atta</i> ‘until now’, <i>hīl tāma mṭelu hīl Məşşər</i> ‘they reached until there, as far as Egypt’, <i>hēl yom basra</i> ‘until the next day’
<i>kəsəl, kəl, kəs</i>	‘to, with, chez’ <i>kəslexun, kəslu, kəsəl dide, kəsəl didu, mən kəsəl, kəsəl Rašid ’āga</i> ‘with Rashid Agha’. The syncopated form <i>kəl</i> (§ 3.18.f) occurs only before nouns, e.g., <i>kəl muxtar</i> ‘with the mukhtar’, <i>kəl xmāse</i> ‘with his mother-in-law’; an apocoated form <i>kəs</i> ²¹⁷ (§ 3.19.f) occurs once: <i>kəs spindarnāye</i> ‘with the residents of Spindar’
<i>kəsəkəsəl</i>	‘right with’ <i>kəsəkəsleni</i> ‘right with us’
<i>l, ’əl, ’alləd</i>	‘to, at, for’ <i>l-</i> usually occurs after vowels, e.g., <i>’ako zəlli l-Čalla</i> ‘when I went to Challa’, <i>zəllu l-tāma</i> ‘they went there’. It is less frequent after consonants, e.g., <i>tam l-é-’al</i> ‘from there on’. It may mark an object, e.g., <i>şraxle l-xet</i> ‘he called to the other’, and it is the basis of the L-suffix

²¹⁷ *kəs* is attested in *lishana deni* dialects, e.g., JZakho (Sabar 2002:187), JBetan (Mutzafi 2008a:357), and the JNerwa texts (Sabar 1984:285).

- pronouns (§§ 4.1.4; 4.4.23.1). There are allomorphs *'əl* and *'əlləd*, which follow both vowels and consonants, e.g., *sāwun 'əlle* 'Come to him!'; *xá-yoma zəlli 'əlləd pareni l-tāma* 'One day I went there for our money.' Like *l-* in ClAram and in NeoAram, the preposition *'əl* also functions as an object marker: *go reš ʔura xá-gā xa'-bərqa le məxya 'əlləd kepa* 'On the top of the mountain suddenly there was lightning that had struck a rock', *šrəxli 'əlləd Šabri* 'I called out to Sabri', *'āna-ži ʔrəpli 'əlləd dida* 'I also attacked her.' It is also the basis of the LL-suffix pronouns (§§ 4.1.5; 4.4.23.2). Pronominal suffixes may be attached to *'əll-* or to *'əlləd* *did-*, e. g., *'əlli*, *'əlləx*, *'əlle*, *'əlla*, *'əllan*, *'əlleni*, *'əlləxun*, *'əllu*, *'əlləd dida*, *'əlləd didu*.
- mābayn, mābaynəd* 'between, among'
mābayneni, mābaynəd didu, mābayn kepe 'among the stones', *mābayn nāše* 'among the people', *mābayn gyānu* 'among themselves', *mābayn d-anna baxtāsa* 'among those women'
- mən, m-, mənnəd* 'from, with'
mən, as well as a clipped form *m-* (§ 3.19.g), occurs before nouns, adverbs, the independent genitive particle *did-*, and other prepositions, e.g., *mən 'aqle* 'with his feet', *mən Mošəl* 'from Mosul', *mən tāma* 'from there', *mən didu*, 'with them', *m-qam gyāni* 'from on me', *m-'ar'a* 'from the ground', *m-'Eraq* 'from Iraq', *m-eka* 'from where?' *n* is geminated when bound by pronominal suffixes, e.g., *mənni*, *mənnəx*, *mənne*, *mənnəna*, *mənneni*, *mənnəxun*, *mənnu*.
- m-badal* see *badal*
m-qam 'due to'
m-qam qaračke 'due to highway robbers'
- qabəl mən* 'before' (spatial)
qabəl mənni
- qam* 'before, in front of, on (clothes)'
qāmi, qāme, qam didu, qam qal'a 'before the fortress', *qam tar didu* 'outside their door', *xa zo'a bargūze le qāmi* 'a (lit., 'pair') woolen suit is on me'
- *qamqam* 'right before, right in front of'
qāmqāman, qāmqāmu
- qurwa* 'near'
qurwəd tāma 'near there', *qurwəd hanukka* 'near Hanukka'
- reš* 'on, at, upon'
rešeni, reš dide, reš didu. reš kāse 'on his belly', *reš ʔura* 'on the mountain'. The *š* of *reš* is voiced *ž* before voiced consonants (§ 3.6.e).

<i>rešreš</i>	‘right above’ <i>rešreš dide</i> ‘right above him’
<i>ta, ʔas, ti</i>	‘to, for’ <i>ta</i> occurs before nouns, e.g., <i>kəmra ta bāba</i> ‘She says to her father’, <i>bāzət ta Čalla</i> ‘you will go to Challa’. <i>ʔas</i> is bound by pronominal suffixes and by <i>did-</i> : <i>ʔāsi, ʔāsox, ʔāsax, ʔāse, ʔāsa, ʔāsan, ʔaseni, ʔasexun, ʔāsu, ʔas didi, ʔas didox, ʔas didax, ʔas dide, ʔas dida, ʔas didan, ʔas dexun, ʔas didu</i> . Infrequently JZakho <i>ʔāl-</i> is heard in Shabbo’s speech, primarily when he is speaking with a JZakho speaker. <i>ti</i> is attested regularly before <i>gyān-</i> and is the result of assimilation of the <i>a</i> vowel to the following <i>y</i> . ²¹⁸
<i>xe, xes-, xa-</i>	‘under’ <i>xe</i> occurs before nouns, e.g., <i>xe d-iyā^H degel^H</i> ‘under this flag’. <i>xes-</i> occurs when bound by pronominal suffixes, e.g., <i>xese, xesu</i> . The allomorph <i>xa-</i> is found only before <i>reš</i> ‘head’: <i>xa-réšəd dide</i> ‘under his head’; <i>m-xa-réšəd dide</i> ‘from under his head’
<i>xor</i>	‘like’ <i>xore, xorexun, xor didu</i>

dla, ʔil/ʔēl, and *qabəl mən* also function as conjunctions (§ 4.6).

4.6. CONJUNCTIONS

<i>ʔafəllu</i>	‘even’ <i>ʔan xeta ʔafəllu mbárbəzi</i> ‘Even those others will scatter’ (§ 5.3.11); <i>ʔafəllu xá-^Hša^{aH} ʔarʔa lótwālu</i> ‘they didn’t have even one inch of land’ (§ 5.1.4)
<i>ʔako</i>	‘when’ <i>ʔako dena xləšle^A xalaš^A</i> ‘When the debt is finished, it’s over’ (§ 5.2.2); <i>ʔako zəlli l-besa mšadrənnu ʔallox</i> ‘When I have gone home I will send them to you.’ (§ 5.2.7)
<i>ʔegā</i>	‘so then, now then’ <i>ʔegā kíʔət-ži mā wáxt-ile?</i> ‘So then you know what time it is?’ (§ 5.2.11); <i>ʔegā lu bənsāqa ʔəgdāde</i> ‘so now they are kissing each other’ (§ 5.3.10)
<i>ʔəlla²¹⁹</i>	‘except, but rather’ <i>la, la Rekanāya ʔəlla Barzaná</i> ‘no, not a resident of Rekan, but rather of Barzan’ (§ 5.5.5); <i>dla b-dor dide, ʔəlla b-dór bābe-ʔāwa</i> ‘not in his generation,

²¹⁸ See also *ti gyāni* (Sabar 2005:199, 208).

²¹⁹ Cf. as an adverb (§ 4.7.4).

- but rather it was in the generation of his father'
(§ 5.1.10)
- 'ən
'if, either'
'ən wət góra-ži, nábəlli 'if you are a man, lead me away'
(§ 5.8.8); ya'ni hudāye 'ən kpənnu, gezi reš dena tiqa
'That is to say, if Jews are hungry, they go for an old
debt (to collect it)' (§ 5.2.2);
- 'ən la
'if not'
'ən čfalle... lu piče-lle. 'ən lá-čfalle... 'if he is startled...
they have crushed him. If he is not startled...'
(§ 5.6.6); qatłáxləxun 'ən lá-hatxa 'We'll kill you if (it is)
not like this' (§ 5.8.2.1); bale, balé 'however' bale 'ahat
mən^Kawlád-e rasúł^K-iwət 'however, you are from the
descendants of the Messenger' (§ 5.3.12); la skətle, bale
pəšle pálgəd-nāša 'he didn't croak, but he became half a
person' (§ 5.6.5)
- čukun, čuku, čunku
'because'
'āna lebi yatwəna čukun lətleni 'I am not able to sit
(with you) because we don't have (enough honor)';
^Hasú^H-la ^Hli^H baqrənne čuku yəmya 'əlle 'It is
forbidden for me to ask him because he (has) sworn to
him'; čunku 'iya zaxút (m-)əlohím lewa 'because this
right is not (from) God'
- dla
'lest'
dlá-'ārəqla 'lest he flee'
- h̄il, h̄el
'until'
u-h̄il 'axnan wax plite m-tāma 'and until we had left
there' (§ 5.1.1); h̄el xləšle 'until he finished' (§ 5.5.7)
- ka-
'when, since'
ka-'égā čāy šətyáleni 'since then we drank the tea'
(§ 5.10.13)
- ko
'because, that, since'
pəšlu ko 'āna dá'rən-wa 'they remained since I would
return back' (§ 5.11.5); mərri ma-yla ^Hsəba^H ko 'āna
bāsən tlā 'I said: "What's the reason that I am going to
hang?"; lá-'amrən ko 'āna gnaxpən mənnox 'I don't say
because I am embarrassed by you.'
- kud dān
'whenever'
kud dān 'ilāha mšodərre xá-mal'ax 'whenever God sent
an angel'
- lākən
'but, however'
zəlli kəsəl dide. lākən basər tré-yome t̄lāhá'-yome m̄teli
l-besa 'I went to him, but after two days, three days, I
came home.'
- mādám
'since, as'
mādám gəbət, sa! 'Since you want (to), come!'; mādám
hādax gora 'iwət 'Since like this you are a man'

<i>qabəl mən</i>	‘before’ <i>qabəl mən ’axnan ’āsaxwa</i> ‘before we used to come’
<i>ta, tad</i>	‘in order to’ <i>’āna gəbən pālpaŋqənoŋ mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta ^Hšamran^H pāri ta barāxa</i> ‘I want a half lira of your money in order to put it in with my money for a blessing (alms)’ (§ 5.3.1.2); <i>^H(m)’anšile^H ta šaqli mənne pāre</i> ‘they punish him in order to take his money away from him’
<i>ta-lá</i>	‘lest’ <i>ta-lá ’āmər</i> ‘lest he say’; <i>ta-lá-’āse balāye b-rešeni</i> ‘lest disaster befall us’ (§ 5.3.2)
<i>u-</i>	‘and’ <i>u</i> is usually proclitic, e.g., <i>’əsri u-šö’á-ma’almine</i> ‘twenty-seven teachers’, though not always, e.g., <i>šíwe-u šíwe-u</i> ‘sticks and sticks and sticks’, <i>xa šö’á-yāle-u xa tmanyá-yāle-u xa ’əşřá-yāle-u xa xamšá-yāle</i> ‘One (had) seven children and one (had) eight children and one (had) ten children and one (had) five children.’ (§ 5.1.4)
<i>-ž(i)</i>	‘also, and, even’ ²²⁰

dla, ħil/ħel, and *qabəl mən* also function as prepositions (§ 4.5).

4.7. ADVERBS

4.7.1. Interrogative Adverbs

<i>’eka</i>	‘where?’ <i>m-eka</i> ‘from where?’; <i>’eka-’ile</i> ‘Where is he?’; <i>’eka-le, ké-le</i>
<i>’imal</i>	‘when?’ <i>ta ’imal</i> ‘until when?’
<i>ke-</i>	see <i>’eka</i>
<i>kma</i>	‘how many?’ <i>b-kma</i> ‘for how much?’
<i>māto</i>	‘how?’
<i>qay</i>	‘why?’ <i>qay wetun qtile xədda?</i> ‘Why, have you killed someone?’ (§ 5.2.1.7)
<i>ṭamā</i> ²²¹	‘why?’

²²⁰ For a detailed description of the functions of this adverb, see Khan 1999:371–378. See now also Cohen 2008b.

²²¹ Shabbo also says *ṭama* under the influence of ModH ṭṭṭ .

4.7.2. *Temporal Adverbs*

<i>'ádlele</i>	'tonight'
<i>'atta</i>	'now'
	<i>'atta-u-l-é-'ál</i> 'from now on, <i>m-atta</i> 'from now'
<i>'ádyo</i>	'today'
<i>Z'ogā^Z</i>	'at that time'
<i>'āšarta</i>	'(in the) evening'
<i>basar hādax</i>	'afterwards'
<i>bənhē</i>	'(in the) morning'
<i>bomāxəd</i>	'day after tomorrow'
<i>čú-gā</i>	'never'
<i>čú-gār</i>	'never'
<i>gārgāra²²²</i>	'from time to time'
<i>dax</i>	'as soon as'
	<i>dax mundyālu l-'ar'a</i> 'as soon as they threw it on the ground' (§ 5.3.8)
<i>ham</i>	'also'
<i>har</i>	'always, still, in any case'
<i>hayāma</i>	'(for a) period of time'
<i>haya</i>	'quickly, early'
<i>kúd-lel</i>	'every night'
<i>kúd-yom</i>	'every day'
<i>kuššat</i>	'every year'
<i>lele</i>	'(at) night'
<i>lel basra</i>	'the night after'
<i>māṭod</i>	'as soon as'
<i>m-zūna</i>	'long ago'
<i>palgədlel</i>	'(at) midnight'
<i>palsā'a</i>	'(for) half an hour'
<i>palgədyo</i>	'(at) noon'
<i>qabəl hādax</i>	'beforehand'
<i>qadome</i>	'tomorrow'
<i>qam hādax</i>	'beforehand'
<i>qamāye</i>	'at first'
<i>šawəd basra</i>	'the week after'
<i>təmmal</i>	'yesterday'
<i>xá-gā</i>	'once'
<i>xá-gā xet(a)</i>	'once again'
<i>xá-behna</i>	'in a moment, suddenly'
<i>xarāye</i>	'later, finally'
<i>yom basra</i>	'the day after'

²²² For a similar reduplication see *bárbara* below and also § 4.5.

4.7.3. *Locative Adverbs*

'axxa	'here' <i>l-axxa</i> , 'here, to here', <i>mən-áxxa</i> , <i>m-axxa</i> 'from here', <i>mən d-axxa</i> 'from here', <i>mən d-axxa u-l-é-'al</i> 'from here on'
'əltax ²²³	'below, beneath' <i>'əltax 'əltax</i> 'way below'
'əl'uwwa	'inside'
čappe	'ida čappe 'to the left (= 'left hand')
l-'ələl	'above'
l-é-'āl	'beyond, further (lit., 'in that direction)'
m-rəqqa	'from afar'
qam tar'a	'outside' (lit., 'before the door')
rašte	'ida rašte 'to the right (= 'right hand')
tāma, tam, 'əl-tāma, 'əl-tám	'there, to there' <i>tam l-é-'āl</i> 'from there on', <i>mənnə u-l-é-'āl</i> 'from there on', <i>m(ən)-tāma</i> 'from there'

4.7.4. *Adverbs of Manner*

'aqqar, 'áqqara	'so much, to such an extent'
'áškara ²²⁴	'openly, publicly'
'əlla	'certainly' <i>pummox paṭḥətte 'əlla, kemər, 'āna qaṭlənnoxx</i> "Should you open your mouth," he says, "I'll certainly kill you." (§ 5.5.9) ²²⁵
baláš	'for free'
balki, balkit	'perhaps'
bárbara ²²⁶	'together'
bas, bassa	'enough' <i>bassa bassa</i> 'more than enough'
bāš	'well, very' <i>Qarani pəšle naxwaš bāš</i> 'Qarani became very ill'
b-əspa	'on loan'
b-dugle	'falsely'
be-dárd	'painlessly'
bəš	'more' <i>bəš-rab</i> 'more', <i>bəš-tor</i> 'better', <i>bəz-zodāna</i> 'more'
b-salāmat	'safely'
b-xurṭūsa	'forcefully'
b-zor	'forcefully'

²²³ Cf. the preposition 'əltxé(t?) 'under' (§ 4.5).

²²⁴ The stress on this word in *lishana deni* dialects usually falls on the penultima. Shabbo appears to have been influenced by the ModH stress on the prepenultima (אֶשְׁכַּרְהָ).

²²⁵ Cf. as a conjunction (§ 4.6).

²²⁶ See *gárgāra* above.

<i>ča</i>	‘c’mon!’ before an imperative: <i>ča méselu xanči m̄āye</i> ‘C’mon (and) bring them some water!’
<i>ču</i>	‘no, not, any’ <i>ču-gā</i> ‘never’, <i>ču-gār</i> ‘never’, <i>ču-xa</i> ‘no one, anyone’, <i>ču-māndi</i> ‘nothing’
<i>de, da</i>	‘so, now, well then’ The particles occur frequently before imperatives, e.g., <i>de ksūn</i> ‘So write!’, <i>da-ħmól</i> ‘So wait!’, <i>de qū misi</i> ‘Now up (and) bring (it)!’, <i>da qū mísili</i> ‘Now up (and) bring (it) to me!’, but not exclusively, e.g., <i>de xilālox</i> ‘Now you’ve had it!’, <i>de-bázi</i> ‘so now they will go!’
<i>dərəst</i>	‘correct, straight, straightaway’
<i>dumāyik</i>	‘at the end’
<i>hā</i>	‘so, then’ It occurs before an imperative: <i>hā šqol haqqox</i> ‘Here take your due!’ (§ 5.10.2)
<i>hādax</i>	‘thus, so’
<i>har hatxa</i>	‘just like this’
<i>hatxa, ’atxa</i>	‘so, such, like this’
<i>he</i>	‘yes’
<i>hedi</i>	‘slowly’
<i>hedi hedi</i>	‘very slowly’
<i>heš</i>	‘yet, still’
<i>ke</i>	‘c’mon!’ <i>ke</i> occurs before an Imperative: <i>ke sa</i> ‘c’mon!’
<i>kátt-u-māt</i>	‘bit by bit’
<i>la, lā, la’</i>	‘no’ <i>lā and la’</i> are infrequent and emphatic.
<i>pa</i>	‘so, then’
<i>řāba</i>	‘much, very’
<i>raħat</i>	‘calmly, relaxed’
<i>təne, b-təne</i>	‘alone, only’
<i>veza</i>	‘so, in such a way, like this’
<i>wal</i>	‘indeed, surely’ <i>wal</i> ^H <i>polátika</i> ^H <i>d-hudāye řāba-la</i> ‘Indeed the craftiness of the Jews is great.’ (§ 5.6.5)
<i>walħāšəl</i>	‘in short’
<i>xa</i>	‘about, approximately’ (before a numeral) <i>xa ’əřa</i> ‘alpe’ ‘about ten thousand’, <i>xa ’əřa tre’sar yalunke</i> ‘about ten, twelve children’
<i>xá-b-xa</i>	‘one by one’
<i>xapči</i>	‘a bit, slightly’ <i>’ár’a-ži xapči jmátta-la</i> ‘also the earth is a bit frozen’ (§ 5.2.12), <i>zəlla xapči</i> ^H <i>l’át</i> ^H ‘it departed a bit slowly’
<i>ya’ni</i>	‘that is to say’

4.8. PARTICLES OF EXISTENCE AND ABILITY

4.8.1. *Particles of Existence*

a. The predicators of existence are

'it / 'itən(a)	'there is'
'ətwā	'there was'
let / létən(a)	'there is not'
lətwā	'there was not'

b. Though deriving from ClAram 'it and let, which according to the phonological rules of JChalla should have developed into 'is and les, the *t* of 'it and its congeners originated in the contact with the *l* of 'ətle, lətle, etc. (§ 3.2.b). Cf. in other *lishana deni* dialects: JZakho 'īs, 'iswā, lēs, laswā vs. 'itli, latli; JAmid 'iθ, 'itli, iθwālan, litle, liθwāle; JDohok 'iθ, leθ /lat, 'əθwā, ləθwā, 'əθli / 'ətli, ləθli / latli; JBetan 'iθ / 'iθən(a), liθ / liθən(a), 'əθwā, ləθwāle, 'ətli, lətli.

c. There is also an example of *lat* before the Copula: *lat 'iwən q̄tīla* 'I have not killed'.

d. The particles of existence with L-pronominal suffixes yield a meaning 'to have' (< 'it + *l*- 'There is to...') and 'not to have' (< let + *l*- 'There is not to...'):

	Present	Past
1 c.s.	'ətli 'I have'	'ətwāli 'I had'
2 m.s.	'ətlōx	'ətwālōx
2 f.s.	'ətlax	'ətwālax
3 m.s.	'ətle	'ətwāle
3 f.s.	'ətla	'ətwāla
1 c.pl.	'ətlān, 'ətleni	'ətwālan, 'ətwāleni
2 c.pl.	'ətlēxun	'ətwālēxun
3 c.pl.	'ətlū	'ətwālū

	Present Negative	Past Negative
1 c.s.	lətli 'I don't have'	lətwāli 'I didn't have'
2 m.s.	lətlōx	lətwālōx
2 f.s.	lətlax	lətwālax
3 m.s.	lətle	lətwāle
3 f.s.	lətla	lətwāla
1 c.pl.	lətlān, lətleni	lətwālan, lətwāleni
2 c.pl.	lətlēxun	lətwālēxun
3 c.pl.	lətlū	lətwālū

4.8.2. *Particles of Ability*

Ability may be expressed²²⁷ by the affixing of the preposition *b-* and pronominal suffixes to the particles of existence:

'it + *b-* 'there is in' > 'be able'
leṭ + *b-* 'there isn't in' > 'be unable'

	Positive Ability	Negative Ability
1 c.s.	<i>'ibi</i>	<i>lebi</i>
2 m.s.	<i>'ibox</i>	<i>lebox</i>
2 f.s.	<i>'ibax</i>	<i>lebax</i>
3 m.s.	<i>'ibe</i> 'he is able'	<i>lebe</i> 'he is unable'
3 f.s.	<i>'iba</i> 'she is able'	<i>leba</i> 'she is unable'
1 c.pl.	<i>'iban, 'ibeni</i>	<i>leban, lébeni</i>
2 c.pl.	<i>'ibexun</i>	<i>lébexun</i>
3 c.pl.	<i>'ibu</i>	<i>lebu</i>

Representative examples include: *'ibi 'āzən* 'I can go', *lebe 'āmər* 'he can't say', *'ən 'ibi 'āna yāwənnə, byāwənnə. 'ən lebi yāwənnə...* 'If I can give it, I will give it. If I can't give it ...', *lebi wən 'əsyā* 'I wasn't able to come'.

Depending on the context, these forms also show the literal meaning, e.g., *'ibe* 'there is in him', *lebe* 'there isn't in him', e.g., *'ibe^H b-gil^H 'əšta šənnə* 'He is six years old'. (§ 5.8.3).

One finds in the past:

Čalla 'štwāba hudāye
 'Challa contained (lit., 'there was in her') Jews.' (§ 5.1.1)

nixəd bābi 'akčən xā-'idəd dide lətwābe
 'My late father, (even if he were fighting with only) one hand, one couldn't best him.' (§ 5.6.4)

4.9. FILLERS

There are several different fillers²²⁸ in Shabbo's speech:

a. *hənnā* 'um.'²²⁹ This filler is ubiquitous:

²²⁷ See also the use of *mšy* 'be able' (§ 4.4.28.15).

²²⁸ See Fox 1997:69 for examples of fillers in Jilu.

²²⁹ Other translations found in the literature are 'whatchamacallit', 'thingamajig', 'that thing', 'what do you call it?'

'āni hənna ^H*fallahīm*^H *wewa*.
 'They were, um, fellahin.' (§ 5.1.6)

'ətwa qāymaqam *'əlləd hənna... la, la, l-Baškala*.
 'There was a local governor at, um... no, no, at Bashkala.' (§ 5.1.7)

kemər hənna: 'āhat lā-mḥakyat!
 'He says, um: "Don't you talk!"' (§ 5.10.5)

Mašiah hənna sāwəd bābox wewa.
 Mashiach, um, was your father's grandfather.' (§ 5.1.9)

hənna is sometimes attested with the copula, e.g., *hənna-le*. The possessive-relative particle *d* may be suffixed to it, e.g., *hənnəd*. Infrequently it takes the pl. form *hənne*, e.g.,

ksūli l-tāma mā^{-H}(h)a-toxnit^H lu wide hənne kurdināye ṭaseni.
 'I wrote there what the plan (was that) they have made, um, the Kurds for us.' (§ 5.12.2)

Shabbo also once attaches a 2 pl. pronominal suffix to the filler:

'axnan hənnexun 'axwa—, 'iyya mā kəmrila^H 'avadīm^H dexun 'axwa
 'We, um, we were—, what do you call it?—"we were your slaves"'

It also forms the basis of the verb *hnnl* 'do, um' (§ 4.4.28.12).

b. *'iya mā kəmrila* 'what do they call it?—' (lit., 'this, what they call it'). This expression too is common:

'iya mā kəmrila 'Eli məndele xabre.
 'What do they call it?—Eli said things.' (§ 5.6.19)

'iya mā kəmrila 'axoni Ḥáyyo-ži zəlle mənne 'anna kutru.
 'What do they call it?—my brother Hayyo also went with him, those two.'

c. *ki'ət* 'you know'. It is less frequent than the previous two fillers:

xá-yoma pəšlu veza, ki'ət?
 'One day they became like this, you know?' (§ 5.11.3)

yoməd^K ḥašr u-našr^K ki'ət, yoməd din
 'ḥašr u-našr, you know, the Day of Judgment' (§ 5.13.15)

d. *y'elox* 'you know' (lit., 'you knew'). This too is less frequent than the first two fillers:

'idəd ḥukum lā-gmāṭewa l-Čalla, y'elox, rəqqa-ewa mənnəd didu
 'the (long) arm of the government did not reach Challa, you know, it was a distance from them' (§ 5.1.9)

e. *ḥāle* ‘and the like’ (lit., ‘its condition’) is attested infrequently:²³⁰

hatxa narm u-ḥāle garməd dide.
‘His bones are so soft and the like.’²³¹ (§ 5.3.6)

hatxa narm u-ḥāle. hatxa narm u-ḥāš.
‘So soft and the like. So soft and good.’

f. Shabbo sometimes uses more than one filler in a sentence, e.g.,

ʔtawāle xa ḥanna ʔiya mā kəmrila ^Hḥagorá^H ʔənglizit).
‘He had an, um, what do they call it?—an English belt.’

walḥāšəl ḥanna ʔiya mā kəmrila Šambi qṭəllu.
‘In short, um, what do they call it?—they killed Shambi.’ (§ 5.6.14)

g. The adverbs (§ 4.7) *walḥāšəl* ‘in short’, *yaʔni* ‘that is to say’, *^Hʔaz^H* ‘then’ and the exclamation *walḷa* ‘by God!’ (§ 4.10) are so frequent in Shabbo’s speech that they approach the status of fillers; with the exception of *yaʔni*, they occur only at the beginning of a clause.

4.10. EXCLAMATIONS AND EXPRESSIONS

Many of the following are borrowings from other languages, in several cases from Arabic through Kurdish:

^Aahlan wa-sahlan^A
‘Welcome!’

ʔalḥāmdəlullā
‘Praise God!’

^Aalḷa karīm^A
‘God is generous!’

ʔāxər
‘Well!’

ʔax-geb tán-geb
‘when all’s said and done’ (lit. ‘here side, there side’)

ʔax-geb tán-geb ṭamāḥa-geb
‘when all’s said and done’ (lit. ‘here side, there side, way over there side’)

ʔāya sāyalla yəmmeni
‘He should fuck our mother!’

²³⁰ Mutzafi reports (p.c.) that this usage is attested in several NeoAram dialects.

²³¹ See s.v. *garma* in the glossary for the meaning of this expression.

'ilāha mānəxle

'May God rest his soul'

'ilāha mazkela

'May God grant her merit!'

'ilāha lá-māzədlu

'May God not increase them!'

'ilāha mayrəx xāye dide u-dexun

'May God lengthen his days and yours!'

'išaʔla

'God willing'

T^c ačāyəb^T

'How strange!'

A^c ala bāb 'aʔla^A

'At God's mercy!'

A^c ala 'eni^A (and its calque in JChalla: go 'eni!)

'At your service!'

K^b bāba ştagfərəʔllā^K

'I ask God's forgiveness!'

bābo

'Father! My God!'

H^b bāru-xábbā^H

'Welcome!'

baxxatəd 'ilāha

'For the mercy of God!'

baxxatəx u-baxxatəd 'ilāha

'For your mercy and the mercy of God!'

baxxatəd didu qur'ān didu u-Maḥammad didu

'For their mercy, their Quran, and their Muhammad!'

b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida

'when it comes down to it, at any rate' (lit. 'in this hand and this hand')

H^b b-séfər-ʔora^H

'(I swear) by the scroll of the Pentateuch!'

b-xudreši

'(I swear) by my head!' (= 'Take my word for it!')

b-xudrešəxun

'(I swear) by your head!'

b-xudreš 'axawāsox u-qur'ān dexun 'əbbəd Maḥammad dexun

'(I swear) by your brothers and your Quran and by your Muhammad!'

^Kçāwəm^K

‘(I swear by) my eye!’

haḷḷa haḷḷa

‘How fortunate!’

hay

‘Hey!’

^Thoš gēldanəz^T

‘Welcome!’

kalba bər kalba, kalba bron kalba

‘Son of a bitch!’

kalba bər šö’ammāhe kalbe

‘Son of seven hundred bitches!’

kalbe yāl kalbe

‘Sons of bitches!’

kaləpsa brāt kalba

‘What a bitch!’

mād hāwe hāwe

‘Whatever will be will be!’

mād zəlla zəlla

‘Let bygones be bygones!’

(m)xabine

‘What a loss!’

qaḥba brāt qaḥba

‘Daughter of a whore!’

qəṭma go reše

‘May he mourn!’²³²

^Tqozzəlqor^T

‘Hell!, Disgusting!’

reš səjjādəd Maḥammad

‘(I swear) by the prayer rug of Muhammad!’

si qlo’!

‘Go to hell!’

ta xāṭər ’ilāha

‘For the sake of God!’

waḷḷa

‘By God!’

²³² Lit., ‘(May) ash be upon his head!’

xmāra bər xmāra
'What an ass!'

xwazí 'āsewa
'Would that he would go!'

Ayā rabbi^A
'Oh my Lord!'

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTS AND TRANSLATION

The following texts are transcriptions of recorded conversations with Shabbo Amrani. His cousin Ahiya Hashiloni was present at all the tapings and occasionally added remarks that are noted in square brackets with the letters [A.H.].¹ Also present at one recording were Yosef (Joseph) Hashiloni [Y.H.],² and Shmuel (Samuel) Barzani [S.B.].³ from Kara. Three dots (...) mark a break in the narrative, diversions in Hebrew, or indistinct and incomprehensible speech. The em-dash indicates cases of anacoluthon, incomplete speech, or significant pause. Parentheses are used for restored vowels and syllables that Shabbo has clipped ad hoc in rapid speech, or uncertain phonemes. His speech is quite free, his sentences often badly formed, and he jumps around incessantly in relating a story. As will be apparent, it is at times quite difficult to follow the logical development of what he has to say.

I have preserved the many fillers and breaks in speech in order to transmit as accurately as possible the difficult staccato style of Shabbo's speech. Explanatory words in parentheses are added without which the text would often be incomprehensible.

¹ He was born in Challa. He speaks primarily JZakho. See § 1.5.

² Cousin of Shabbo and younger brother of Ahiya Hashiloni. He was born in Jerusalem and speaks JZakho.

³ Cousin of Shabbo. He was born in Kara and speaks Jewish Kara.

5.1. THE HISTORY OF JEWS IN CHALLA

- 1 ^Hv-^Haxnan tam 'axwa mād 'āna wən šəmya—, ^Hba-érex^H báz-zodāna m-'alpa šənne lu tiwe b-Čalla. [A.H.: mā?] báz-zodāna m-'alpa šənne. ya'ni mən ^Hyš'i'át^H d-axxa, ^Hyš'i'át^H—, 'ako zəlwālu go ^Hgalút^H. mani 'ā séwāle l-axxa? Nawoxadnesər, ^Hnaxón^H? mən d-é-dor u-ħil 'axnan wax plite m-tāma, Čalla 'ətwāba hudāye.
- 2 xá-dor xamšamma bāte 'ewa. 'an xamšamma bāte, 'sri u-šö'á-ma'almine 'ətwa gaw dida. xamša knəšyāsa-ži 'ətwa, ħil qam qal'a. qam qal'a. (k)tax-rətta? ħil l-é-'ida-ži bāte 'ewa. bāte 'an—, 'e kəndāla. [A.H.: bātəd hudāye.] 'e kəndāla mte'wāle l-Najəmko. ^Hharé^{H4} yalunke zöre l-tāma qoriwālu. ktaxrət? yalunke zöre. 'e xeta. [A.H.: he, he, he.] 'e xeta—. ^Hbet kavarót^H 'ətwa l-é-'əl kəndāl Kərika. [A.H.: he.]
- 3 ^Haz lə'át lə'át^H sele xa—, xa məšəlmāna. Piro ^Zgəmríwāle^Z. Piro. 'ā pəšle—, taxrət ^Zgəmríwāle^Z Piro Sbakyát? taxrət, ^Hnaxón^H? [A.H.: la', la', lá-ki'ən.] lá-ktaxrət. [A.H.: lá-ki'ən.] ta pəzağāye—, ^Zgəmríwālu^{Z5} Piro Sbakyát. bāb didu 'é-Piro wewa. 'ā séwāle m-go Pəncāye. mən Blejan séwāle. šqalle xa baxta ^Halmaná^H mən Bet Kāre. Bet Kāre (k)taxrətta? mən tāma šqalle xá-baxta ^Halmaná^H. 'ətwāla xa xurga... [Y.H.: mar 'agunsa; A.H.: 'arməlsa] he. 'ətwāla xa xurga. 'e-'arməlsa ^Zqam gāwərra^Z. wélāle šö'á-brone. 'e kalba bər kalba!
- 4 'anna, 'anna šö'á-bron(e), əxzi mād 'ətwa! 'anna šö'á-brone lətwālu čú-məndi. ^Hbə-xlál bə-xlál^H čú-məndi ču—, 'afəllu xá-^Hša'al^H 'ar'a lətwālu. séwālu l-tāma ^Hb-tor^H hənna 'iya mā k(əmri)—mahájər. ^Hpalít^H. he. séwālu l-tāma. de mā-'odax? 'ən-šö'a-brone kutxa mpəlle basər dide. 'ilāha la māzədlu! (m)pəllu basər dide. xa šö'á-yāle-u xa tmanyá-yāle-u xa

⁴ Neo-Aramaic *har 'e* is less likely here since it is followed by *yalunke zöre* and not *yalunka zöra*.

⁵ Error for *gəmríwāle*.

5.1. THE HISTORY OF JEWS IN CHALLA

And we were there, as far as I have heard—, more than about a thousand 1
 years they (Jews) have been settled in Challa. [A.H.: What?] More than a
 thousand years. That is to say, since the exodus from here, the exodus—,
 when they had gone into exile. Who (was) it (who) had come here?
 Nawochadnezer,⁶ correct? From that generation and until we had left
 there, there were Jews in Challa.

A generation (ago) there were five hundred houses, these five hundred 2
 houses. There were twenty-seven teachers in it (Challa). There were
 also five synagogues (situated) over towards the fortress. Towards the
 fortress. Do you remember it? Also there were houses over towards that
 side. The houses, those—, that steep slope. [A.H.: The houses of the Jews.]
 That steep slope reached Najimko.⁷ As you know, they used to bury the
 little children there. Do you remember? Little children. And the other.
 [A.H.: Yes, yes, yes.] The other—. There was a cemetery on that side of
 the steep slope of Kerika. [A.H.: Yes.]

Then very slowly came a—, a Muslim. They called him Piro. Piro. 3
 He became—, you remember they used to call him Piro Sbakyat? You
 remember, correct? [A.H.: No, no, I don't know.] You don't remem-
 ber. [A.H.: I don't know.] To the village nobles—, they called him Piro
 Sbakyat. Their father was that Piro. He had come from (the area of) Pini-
 anish. He had come from Blejan. He married a widow from Bet Kare.
 Bet Kare, you remember it? He married a widow ('*almana*) from there.
 She had a stepson... [Y.H.: Say '*agunsa* (deserted wife)! A.H.: Widow
 ('*armalsa*.)] Yes. She had a stepson. He married that widow. He had seven
 sons. That son of a bitch!

Those seven sons, look what there was! Those seven sons didn't have 4
 anything. Nothing at all, nothing at (all)—, they didn't even have an inch
 of land. They had come there as, um, what do they call it?—a refugee.
palit. Yes. They had come there. So what should we do? Each of those
 seven sons followed him. May God not increase them! They followed
 him. One (had) seven children and one (had) eight children and one

⁶ = Nebuchadnezzar.

⁷ The former business partner of Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, Ahiya Hashiloni's father.

ʿəṣṣá-yāle-u xa xamšá-yāle. šöʿá-nāše u-ʿe xéta-ži har mənnu ʿanna tmanyá-brone. walhāšəl de de de de de de zədlu. zədlu ʿanna-nāše. má-odi? mā lá-odi?⁸ lətlu čú-məndi.

- 5 ʿé-waxt, b-é-dor kulla ^Hʿareṣṣ ^Hhənnə Čalla mpole(ʿ)ta ʿāwa. ^Hḥelək ʿaxi tof^H ʿəd-hudāye-ewa. xa ^Hḥelək katán^H ʿit xa məzgaftə l-tāma. xa məzgaftə ʿit. xa ^Hḥelək^H məzgaftə ʿāwa. [A.H.: ʿeka?] g(o)-Čalla. g(o)-Čalla. [A.H.: Čalla? ʿeka go Čalla? məzgaftə ʿeka ^Zwela^Z?...] məzgaftə. he, he, he. go-Ča- [A.H.:^Z ʿāwa^Z? məzgaftə ʿapsa did kiʿənnə?] ʿé-məzgaftə. ʿé-məzgaftə. [A.H.: ʿāya? basər ʿen be malla?] he. basər ʿen be malla. l-é-ʿāl-le Tax Mallāye l-tāma. [A.H.: ʿāya ^Zwela^Z?] ʿāya ^Zwela^Z.⁹
- 6 walhāšəl tāma ʿətwa surāye-ži. ʿətwa surāye. ^Hʿaz^H ʿán-surāye-ži ham ʿāni hənnə ^Hfallahim^{H10} wewa. godiwa hənnə ^Hmʿabdiwa ʿadamót^H hudāye u-^Hmʿabdiwa ʿadamót^H gyānu-ži... ʿanna má-odi? mā lá-odi? mašmi!¹¹ ^Hmtuxnənnu^H ti gyānu šaqli ʿəpər hudāye. (b-)xurṭūsa. šaqli ʿəpər hudāye. [A.H.: mā?] šaqli ʿəpər hudāye.
- 7 hudāye ^Hmuzmənili^H l-é-məzgaftə. ʿapsa-la ʿe-məzgaftə... walhāšəl ^Hmuzmənili^H l-tam xa yom ʿərota u-^Hmʿoyəmlu^H ʿəlləd didu. kəmri: ʿarʿa—, ʿanna—, kulla ʿarʿa gəbe dārətūla b-šəmmeni. godax ^Hḥozé^H-ži. ^Zogā^Z ʿətwa b-é-dor—, ḥukum ʿoşmollī ʿāwa. ʿətwa qāymaqam ʿəlləd hənnə... la, la, l-Başkala. l-Başkala. Başkala. Başkalan¹¹ ʿurxəd ʿlā-yome m-Jólamer¹² l-é-ʿāl-ila.

⁸ Positive-negative formulae are an areal feature (Hopkins p.c.) and are common in NeoAram, e.g., JNaḡada *ma odan ma l-odan* ‘What on earth can I do?’ (Hopkins 1989b:258,274), JZakho *ʿeka bāzax, ʿeka la gēzax?* ‘Where shall we go, where shall we not go?’ (Sabar 2005:216), JBetan *mā ʿoḏax mā la ʿoḏax* ‘What [on earth] should we do and what should we not do?’ (Mutzafi 2008a:252–253), JChalla ^H*ḥkirənnu^H má-ʿətwa má-lətwə* ‘They investigated me (as to) what there was, what there wasn’t. Cf. the use of a different positive-negative formula that serves as an introduction to stories, e.g., in Jilu (Fox 1997:96 *iwa liwa* ‘Once upon a time’ [= ‘There was, there wasn’t’]) and Bohtan (Fox 2007:73 *ətwa lətwə*).

⁹ In imitation of the preceding JZakho form spoken by Ahiya.

¹⁰ Ar > ModH.

¹¹ The Jews of Baškala referred to the place as *Başqalán*.

¹² Cf. JBetan *Julamerg* (Mutzafi 2008a:226).

(had) ten children and one (had) five children. Seven sons¹³ and (with) that other one (Piro) still with them (that makes) eight grownups.¹⁴ Those eight sons. In short, so, so, so, so, so, so, so, they increased. Those people increased. What on earth should they do?¹⁵ They don't have anything.

At that time, in that generation, all the land, um, Challa, was divided. 5
The best part was of the Jews. (In) a small section there is a mosque. There is a mosque. (In) a section there was a mosque. [A.H.: Where?] I(n) Challa. I(n) Challa. [A.H.: Challa? Where in Challa? Where was the mosque?...] The mosque. Yes, yes, yes. In Cha(lla). [A.H.: That one? The large mosque that I know?] That mosque. That mosque. [A.H.: That one? Behind the spring of the mullah's family?] Yes. Behind the spring of the mullah's family. On that side is the 'Mullahs' Quarter'. [A.H.: It was (there)?] It was (there).

In short, there were Christians there too. There were Christians. So 6
those Christians too also they, um, were fellahin. They used to do, um, they would work the fields of the Jews and they would also work their own fields... What on earth should they do? Listen! They planned for themselves that they should take the soil of the Jews. (By) force. They should take the soil of the Jews [A.H.: What?] They should take the soil of the Jews.

They invited the Jews to that mosque. That mosque is large... In short, 7
they invited them there one Friday and they threatened them. They say: "The land—, those—, you should put all the land in our name. We even make a contract." At that time, in that generation—, it was Ottoman rule. There was a local governor at, um... no, no, at Bashkala. At Bashkala. Bashkala. From Bashkala it (is) a three day journey from Jolamerk, it is on the other side.

¹³ Lit., 'people'.

¹⁴ Lit., 'sons'.

¹⁵ Lit., 'What should they do? What shouldn't they do?'

- 8 *walhāsəl má-odax? mā lá-od(ax)? šqəllu mənnu. xanči qtililu. xanči drelu go* ^H*bet sohar*^H. *xanči* ^H*riqālu mən* ^H*paḥad*^H. *xanči pəšlu. nixəd sāwox u-xa xeta, 'e-xéta lá-ki'ən šəmme má-yle, qemi mšadrilu 'əl-Baškala q(am) qāymaqam mən d-an hənna* ^H*etekim 'et hozim mzuyafim u-d-rama'út*^H *ko 'anna lu šqile-lla hənna* ^H*kowaḥ*^H *mən didu. mād 'ətwālu-ži go besa 'āya-ži šqəllu. 'āya-ži zəlle. kud mḥokéle-ži qemi qaṭlile. u-'āni hənnəllu-ži* ^H*muspəklū*^H *'arqila, 'riqālu.*
- 9 *walhāsəl tāma qəmlu mšodərru l-nixəd sāwox xa xéta-ži mənne. lá-ktaxrən šəmme má-yle.* ^H*tiré*^H. [A.H.: *Zsāwoyəd*^Z *bābi. Zsāwoyəd*^Z *bābi. Zsāwoyəd*^Z *bābi.*] *sāwox. Mašiah hənna sāwəd bābox wewa.* [A.H.: *la, Mašiah* ^Z*sāwó-yi*^Z-*le.*] *Zsāwoyox wele*^Z. *qəmlu mšudrilu l-Baškala qam qāymaqam.* ^H*'az*^H *'é-waxt b-é-doṛ 'idəd ḥukum lá-gmāṭewa*¹⁶ *l-Čalla, y'elox, rəqqa-ewa mən-nəd didu. u-kurdināye-ži kalbe bəštor lu mənnu. be-dín-ilu xor d-anna 'arabāye.*
- 10 *walhāsəl walla šodərru be 'āga l-Jólamerg. 'itən tāma xa* ^Z*gəmrile*^Z *Ḥuṣní-'affandi.* ^H*'az*^H *'āya xətən Walyá-bak*¹⁷ *wewa, 'e Ḥuṣní-'affandi. 'āya xətən Walyá-ba(k) l-tāma-ži hənna 'ewa. múfti-'ewa. qāzi-'ewa. kullu šu'āle 'ewa. šodərru l-tāma. u-bāb dide-ži darwéz-'affandi* ^Z*gəmríwāle*^Z. *'anna hudāye mən tāma la da'ri.* [A.H.: *Walyá-bak 'āga did Čalla* ^Z*wele*^Z.] *Walyá-bak,* ^H*gam*^H *bāb dide, dla b-doṛ dide, 'əlla b-doṛ bābe-'āwa. b-doṛ sáwe-'āwa. kullu 'anna... kalbe.* [A.H.: *'āni 'āgawāyəd Čalla* ^Z*welu*^Z.] *he, 'āni 'āgawāyəd*¹⁸ *Čalla.*
- 11 *šodərru kəmri kutru 'āse l-qəṭla. mandelu 'əbbəd məye. mā—, hənna Zāwa deni, ki'ətte. 'e—, məye 'urwa... téreni bāwədwa. walhāsəl walla qemi 'āni qaṭlilu. hudāyəd pəšwālu-ži kətt-u-māt 'riqālu.* ^H*ha-sóf*^H *didu lu mətye hənna be 'Awṛāham, be Nuwaḥ... l-Məššər-ž(i). xa* ^H*məšpaḥá*^H *mənnu zəlwālu l-Məššər. 'atta lu d'ire qam kma šənne l-axxa.*

¹⁶ For expected *gmatyáwa*.

¹⁷ See s.v. in the glossary for the possible origin of this phrase.

¹⁸ Shabbo usually uses the plural form *'āgāye*. He merely repeated the form that Ahiya had just said.

In short, what on earth should we do? They took (the land) from them. 8
 Some they killed. Some they put in prison. Some fled out of fright. Some remained. Your late grandfather and the other one, the other (one) I don't know what his name is, they (the Jews of Challa) up (and) send them to Bashkala before the local governor with those, um, copies and forged contracts and trickery because they (the Kurds) have taken it (the land), um, (by) force from them (the Jews). They also took whatever they had in the house. Also it went. They up (and) kill whoever also spoke. And those who did um, managed to flee, fled.

In short, they up (and) sent there your late grandfather (and) also 9
 the other one (who was) with him. I don't remember what his name is. Look! [A.H.: The grandfather of my father. The grandfather of my father. The grandfather of my father.] Your grandfather. Mashiah, um, was your father's grandfather. [A.H.: No, Mashiah is my grandfather.] He was your grandfather. They up (and) sent them to Bashkala before the local governor. So at that time, in that generation, the (long) arm of the government did not reach Challa, you know, it was a distance from them (the residents of Challa). And as for the Kurds too, even dogs are better than them. They are without religion, like those Arabs.

In short, by God, they sent (them) to the house of the Agha in Jola- 10
 merk. There is one there they call Husni Effendi. So he was the son-in-law of the Vali Bey, that Husne Effendi. He (was), um, the son-in-law of the Vali there. He was the mufti. He was the judge. He was all things. They sent (them) there. And they used to call his father Dervish Effendi. (They sent them there so that) those Jews should not return from there. [A.H.: The Vali Bey was the Agha of Challa.] The Vali Bey, also his father, not in his generation but rather it was in the generation of his father. It was in the generation of his grandfather. All of those . . . dogs [A.H.: They were the aghas of Challa.] Yes, they (were) the aghas of Challa.

They sent (them) saying the two of them should be killed. They should 11
 throw them into the water. What—, um, our Zawa (River), you know it. That—, big (body of) water . . . It would be sufficient for us (here in Israel). In short, by God, they up (and) they kill them. And the Jews who had remained fled bit by bit. The last of them have come, um, the family of Abraham (and) the family of Noah . . . to Egypt. One (other) family had gone with them to Egypt. Now they have returned here (to Israel) a few years ago.

- 12 *walhāsəl hatxa widilu. kətte kətte 'riqālu m-qam didu. məlu šqəllu. mxelu 'əllu. u-kullu ^Hdvarim^H wədlu 'əllu. 'atta ^Hgam^H mṭelu 'əlləd hənna qəṭla. bāziwa b-xurṭūsa go besa pšaqliwa mād gbewa. ^Zgəmriwa^Z... [A.H.: ... l-Məşşər, Šama'ya ^Zwele^Z.] he, he, Šama'ya... walhāsəl ḥil tāma mṭelu ḥil Məşşər. 'āni zəllu 'idəd Pāras-ži zəllu. 'ā—, la-ki'axlu har lá-ki'ax ^Hysod^H didu 'éka-'ile. mā pəšlu? pəšlu ḥel dór... tāma.*
- 13 *'áxtun-ži m-qam didu 'riqálexun, 'anna xeta t—, basər mənnexun 'anna t—, be 'amoyi Zawūlun. 'āni-ži zəllu. pəšlan 'axnan tāma. [A.H.: kma wa'da basər mənnan mpəqlu? xá-šāta?] mani? 'āna ki'ənwa xa šāta-u-palge xa məndi. he, hatxa. 'á-ži nixəd 'amoyi Zawūlun-ži mxéwālu. šodərwālu xa 'Abdi ^Zgəmriwāle^Z. xa Šaləḥko u-xa xeta mšudrilu bārakus dide. 'āya mən Moşəl kesewa. go Galli. Galli ktaxrətə? [A.H.: he, he.] ^Haz^H tāma waḷla mərwāle 'āğa ṭas didu gūlamawás dide: qaṭlétüle Zawūlun.*
- 14 *zəllu l-tāma. 'āni ṭlāha-ewa. ^Hmoḥlətlu^H. xa kemər ta d-e xeta kemər: xa 'áwon-la. tré-ži mxabine b-iyā hudá qaṭlile. māxax xa təffāq l-'aqle. bamrax ta 'āğa lá-^Hmuşləḥlan^H qaṭlaxle. 'riqāle. waḷla xa ^Hkadúr^H drelu 'əbbəd dide u-mxelu 'aqle 'aqle. mən aqle qemi ^Hpaş'ile^H. zəlle 'riqāle zəlle l-Kəri. Kəri u-Maləxta 'ətwa hənna xa ^Hnəkudát^H hənna 'iyā mā kəmrila ^Hmištarət^H 'Eraqnāye l-tāma.*

5.2. THE AGHA TAKES WHAT HE WANTS

- 1 *u-^Haz^H 'āya šqəlwāle—, tmānya ḥarāne xilíwāle. ḥaqqeni lá-hūle. 'āni haḷla haḷla 'ağāye-lu. mare təffāqe-lu. xa šö'i tmāni təffāqe 'ətle. šəmməd dide—, bābe Rašíd 'Áğa-'ewa. 'ā b-gyāne Maḥammāt Ṭāhər 'āğa-'ewa. bāb dide skətle zəlle. nixəd bābi-ži nəxle. xá-yoma zəlli 'əlləd pareni l-tāma. kemər ṭāsi: má-gəbət?*

In short, they made them (dispersed) like this. One by one they fled 12
 from before them. (The Kurds) took their property. They beat them. They
 did all sorts of things to them. Also now they were, um, killed. They (the
 Kurds) would go by force into a house (and) they would take whatever
 they wanted. They would say—. [A.H.: . . . to Egypt, it was Shemaia]. Yes,
 yes, Shemaia. . . . In short, they got as far as there, until Egypt. They also
 went in the direction of Iran. As for him—, we didn't know them, in any
 case we don't know what their origin is. What has become of them? They
 remained till the generation. . . . there.

Also you fled before them, those others w(ho)—, after you those 13
 w(ho)—, the family of my uncle Zebulun. Also they went. We remained
 there. [A.H.: How long after us did they leave? One year?] Who? I
 knew (it was) something (like) a year and a half. Yes, (something) like
 that. Also they (the Kurds) had beaten my late uncle Zebulun. They
 had sent someone called Abdi. They sent after him (Zebulun) a certain
 Şaleḥko and someone else. He had come from Mosul. In Galli. Galli, you
 remember it? [A.H.: Yes, yes.] So there, by God, the Agha had said to his
 servants: “You should kill Zebulun.”

They went there. They were three. They decided. One says to the other: 14
 “One: it's a sin; two: it's also a pity (that) they should kill that Jew. Let's
 shoot at his foot (with) a rifle. We will tell the Agha that we didn't succeed
 in killing him. He fled.” By God, they put a bullet in him and shot him
 in his foot. They up (and) injured him in his foot.¹⁹ He went, he fled, to
 Kiri. There was at Kiri and Malexta, um, an outpost,²⁰ um, what do they
 call it?—the Iraqi police there.

5.2. THE AGHA TAKES WHAT HE WANTS

And so he had taken—, eight rams he had filched. He did not pay us 1
 for them. They, how fortunate, are the aghas! They are rifle owners. One
 has about seventy, eighty rifles. His name—, (by the way) his father was
 Rashid Agha. He himself (the son), was Mahammat Taher Agha. His
 father croaked (and) died. Also my late father passed way. One day I went
 there for our money. He says to me: “What do you want?”

¹⁹ The repetition of *'aqle* (*'aqle 'aqle*) raises the possibility of distributive meaning and that he was shot in both his feet, though it would then be hard to explain how he fled.

²⁰ Lit., ‘point’.

- 2 *mərri: tmanya ɓarāne ʾaxiwélexun*²¹ ʾarbi dināre ʾit rešexun, qurdā! bābox le šqila-llu. ʾāna ^Hmbakšən^H pār gyāni. kemər: ^Kjuwa ke brəsi bihn ċu sar dene kawa. ^Kkiʾət ^Hperús^H má-yla? lá-ktaxrətta kurdi, ^Hnaxón^H? laʾ? [A.H.: laʾ.] yaʾni hudāye ʾən kṙənnu, gezi reš dena tiqa. ʾāna-ži mərri ʾas dide mərri: denəd hudāye hālūle! la kese reš dena tiqa. ʾako dena xləšle ^Axalaš^A.
- 3 *mərri: qurdā, xzi! ʾāna Hekkarnā-wən. u-ʾāhat Be Bādən-wət. u-ʾāhat lá-mšət məleni ʾaxlətte. ʾən məleni ʾāse l-ʾixāla, ʾit ʾāga d-Čalla. ʾit Pəncətūsa. ʾit Karatūsa. ʾāna mare—, mare ^Hkówaḥ^H-ʾiwən, lá-xašwət? jirānatūsa ^Hmašehí ʾahér^H. má-ʾətwa basəmta godila bāž-basəmta. bale ʾən pəšla ʾənyān hənna ʾiya má-kəmri ^Hnakamót^H, ʾāhat lá-mšət ʾalleni.*
- 4 *kemər: si! mā ʾurṯūsəd ʾitən go šallox mándila! wálla-ži hməlli mərri: ɓāš xa qurdāya-le mənni pəzağā mən Čalla. ʾegā drele gopaḥta. mərri: laʾ. la māxətte! la māxətte! šuqle! ʾaxnan hudāye ʾako kṙənnan gezax reš dena tiqa. kemər: he. mərri: ^Hb-sedər^H.*
- 5 *həmóləna! xulūl d-iya Daniyél bər Hoče ʾewa. xa zoʾa bargūze-le qāmi. ^Hnáyłun^H-ži hādax lewe. lu bəjrá. wax reš gāre l-xulūla kulleni kapaneni lu b-əğdad bərqāda. ʾé-Maḥammad Ṭāhər ʾāga sele. ʾāga-le. manoxe xāze julləd mani bəš tāza-l(e). monəxle monəxle monəxle. sele. nixəd bābi u-Hoče u-ʾāni lu ʾəltəx. ʾāni lu bəštá. ʾaxnan ʾiwax reš gāre bərqāda. ʾəryána-le-ži.*
- 6 [A.H.: ʾeka? go Čalla?] *la, go Kāra. Kāra ʾāt lewət xəzya-lla. he. Kāra lewət xəzya-lla ʾāhat. [A.H.: laʾ. lewən...] ʾewa, ʾewa l-Kāra. sele kemər tāsī: máʾalləm! ʾāna-ži mərri: má-lox Maḥammad Ṭāhər ʾāga? ʾanna bargūze gəbe yāwəttu tāsī. ʾānid qāmi. . . [A.H.: Kāra ʾIraq ^Zwela^Z, lewa-). he he. [A.H.: Kāra ʾIraq ^Zwela^Z.] he he ʾÉraq-wa. . .*

²¹ For *xilíwālexun*?

I said: “You’ve filched eight rams. You owe forty dinars, Kurd! Your 2
 father has taken them. I request my money (for the rams).” He says: “*juwa*
ke brəsi bihn ču sar dene kawa.” Do you know what the meaning is? You
 don’t remember Kurdish, correct? No? [A.H.: No.] That is to say, if Jews
 are hungry, they go for an old debt (to collect it). I also said to him: “Hand
 over (your) debt to the Jews! (Jews) don’t come for an old debt. When the
 debt is finished, it’s over. (But this isn’t a debt like that.)”

I said: “Kurd, Look! I am a resident of Hakkari and you are (a resident 3
 of) Be Baden. And you cannot filch our possessions. If our possessions
 should get filched, (then you should remember that) there is an agha of
 Challa (who will look after us). There are those (aghās) from Pinianish.
 There are those (aghās) from Kara. I am—, powerful, don’t you think?
 (As for good) neighborliness (that is) something else. Whatever may be
 pleasant (to start off with), good relations make it even nicer. But if it
 becomes a matter of, um, what do they call it?—revenge, then you cannot
 best us.”

He says: “Go! Whatever fart you’ve got in your pants, release it!” Also 4
 by God, I waited (and) said (to myself): “(It is) good that it is a Kurd (that)
 is with me, a village noble from Challa.” So then (the village noble from
 Challa) beat him with a shepherd’s stick. I said: “No! Don’t hit him! Don’t
 hit him! Leave him! We Jews, when we are hungry, we go (to collect) an
 old debt.” He says: “Yes.” I said: “Okay.”

Wait! It was the wedding feast of this Daniel son of Hoče. I am wearing 5
 a woolen suit. It isn’t nylon (material) like this (that I am now wearing).
 (The participants in the wedding feast) are moving around. We are on the
 roof at the wedding feast, all of us, our shoulders are together, dancing.
 That Mahammat Tahər Agha came. He is the Agha. Looking around,
 he sees whose garment is nicer. He looked around (and) around (and)
 around. He came (near). My late father and Hoče are down below. They
 are drinking. We (on the other hand) are on the roof dancing. Also it is
 rain(ing).

[A.H.: Where? In Challa?] No, in Kara. You haven’t seen Kara. Yes. You 6
 haven’t seen Kara. [A.H.: No, I haven’t. . .] It was, it was in Kara. He came
 (and) says to me: “Teacher!” I said: “What’s with you, Mahammat Taher
 Agha?” (Mahammat Taher says:) “You must give me that woolen suit.”
 The one that (is) on me (Shabbo) . . . [A.H.: Kara was Iraq, it isn’t—.] Yes,
 yes. [A.H.: Kara was Iraq.] . . . Yes, yes. It was Iraq. . .

- 7 'ána-ži... 'ána-ži mərri: qurdā! 'āna ču bargūze lá-gmzabnan. lá-julli-ži šalxənnu m-qam gyāni yāwənnu ta—. kəm(ər): mād pāre gebət byāwənnox. 'āna gyāni-ži 'atta byāwənnu t̄ā(sox). mərri: waḷla gəmrən kulla 'Eraq gyānox yāwəttā t̄āsi, 'āna julle m-qāmi lá-gšalxənnu yāwənnu t̄ā(sox). 'ako zəlli l-besa mšadrənnu 'əllox. waḷla 'iya^H mašəhu 'ahér^H. bale l-axxa? la!
- 8 'áx-geb tán-geb t̄amáha-geb, waḷla kemər: 'āna 'anna bargūze gbənnu. mātō t-(h)ūwa. kmād gebət byāwən. mərre: ^Hb-sedər^H. 'atta 'əd-gyāni pšalxənnu byāwənnu. mərri: la, la, mxalope let l-axxa. 'ako zəlli l-Čalla, 'āna mšadrənnox. kma, kmá-la? mərri tre'sár-dināre. menəx! xāzax! menəx! bargūze qam xəddá-'it?
- 9 'anna Karāye kullu ^Hantíka^H-ilu. kúllu-ži. mani 'ilu? ya'ni gyānu gbela řāba. wət bəxzāya mən didu? la, waḷla let. u-let. u-zəlli l-besa u-mšadrənnox. pār gyāni šqilili. bargūze-ži lu qāmi zəllan besa. zəllan besa šlixili. hiwili řas dide. zəllu 'án-bargūze. zəlli l-tāma xá-gā xet mərri gəbən pār gyāni...
- 10 ^Haz^H 'āni zəllu tūlu go 'urxa dide. xa 'āšərta le bisāya. 'egā bāzən Be-Búwa xa dūka, Be-Búwa ^Zgəmrila^Z. tāma mədor didu gyātu go d-é-^Hazər^H, Be-Búwa. xá-le tiwa go d-iya řarrašta reš 'urxa. xa 'əl-'ída... xa 'əl-'ída. waḷla řrəxlu xá-l-e-xet: de-m-é-(i)da m-é-(i)da sāwun 'əlle! hatxa monəxle. he, xa t̄əffa-ži la mənnu. t̄lāha náše-lu-ži bisāya. 'anna deni. 'āya 'əšta xuláme-lu mənnu. kutxa xa—, xa t̄əffa 'ənglizi-la b-kāpe. 'āya-ži xa reš kutke. hənna ^Hekdāḷ^H-ži-ila b-řanəšta. b-řanəštəd dide.
- 11 'āni 'riqālu xulamawás dide, u-'āya mokušlu m-kawənta. mokušlu m-kawənta. 'an bargūze d-wən mzuḃna-llu řāse, 'āni-lu qāme. 'āni didi 'e(wa) ta xlül Daniyél bər Hoče. walhāšəl waḷla mokušlu. kəmri: hay yəmmox siláleni! hay baxtox səllan! xāsox səllan! yəmməd bābox səllan! 'āhat məl

As for me . . . as for me, I said: “Kurd! I will neither sell any woolen suit 7
nor will I take my clothes off of myself to give them to you.” (Mahammad
Taher sa)ys: “Whatever money you want I will give you. I myself will now
give it (the money) to yo(u).” I said: “By God, I say should you give me all
your very own Iraq, I shall not take off the clothes I am wearing to give
them to (you). When I have gone home, I will send them to you. By God,
this (is) something else (altogether). But here? No!”

When all’s said and done, by God, (Mahammad Taher) says: “I want 8
that woolen suit. However it may be. Whatever you want I will give.”
(Mahammad Taher) said: “Okay. Now I will take them off of myself, I will
give them (to you).” I said: “No, no, there is no exchanging here. When I
have gone back to Challa, I will send (them) to you.” (Mahammad Taher
said:) “How much, how much is it (the price)?” I said: “Twelve dinars.
Look around! Let’s see! Look around! Is there on anyone (else here) a
suit (like this)?”

Those from Kara are all old-fashioned. All of them even. Who are they? 9
That is to say, they pride themselves very much. Can you see (anything as
fine as my suit) with them? No, by God, there isn’t (anything like my suit),
not at all. And (when) I have gone home, I will send you (it).” I took my
money. And we went home (with) the woolen suit on me. We went home,
(then) I took them off. I gave them to him (Mahammad Taher). That
woolen suit went (to the Agha). I went there another time (and) I said (to
Mahammad Taher): “I want my money (since I sent you my woolen suit).”

So they (a group of ambushers out to punish Mahammad Taher for not 10
paying for the woolen suit) went (and) stationed themselves on his path.
Evening is coming on. So then I will go to Be Buwa, a place they call Be
Buwa. Their mudir is stationed there in that area, Be Buwa. One (of the
ambushers) has settled himself in this thicket on the path. One on (this)
side . . . one on (that) side. By God, they shouted to each other: “So from
that side! From that side approach him!” Like this he looked (around).
Yes, they have one rifle. Three men are also coming (towards Mahammad
Taher). Those ones of ours. There are six servants with them. Each one (of
Mahammad Taher’s servants has) an—, an English rifle is on his shoulder.
Also he (Mahammad Taher) (has) one on his knees. Um, also there is a
pistol at the side. At his side.

They, his servants, fled and (the ambushers) brought that one (Mah- 11
ammad Taher) down off the mule (he was riding on). They brought him
down off the mule. That woolen suit, which I have sold him, is on him. It
was mine for the wedding feast of Daniel son of Hoče. In short, by God,
they brought him down (off the mule). (The ambushers) say: “Hey! We

hudāyəd deni baxlätte? de mándüle qāman. 'egā kfət-ži mā wáxt-ile? ḥanúkka-'ile. mā qársa-la l-tāma go ṭūra! 'āšárta-la. pu!

- 12 *šqallu* ^H*makél*^H 'álləd dide. 'üdlu *b-šudra u-šarwāla. bas šudra u-šarwāla. mändelu. qāman. mändelu. mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi u-mxi!* ḥel wälle desta, ^H*pastela*^H reš ^H*pas* 'adamá^H. 'ár'a-ži xapči *jmótta-la. tāma xanči tálga-ži le 'asya. [A.H.: ...^HḤanukká^H.] he.*
- 13 *šäləd dide—, šāle ki'attu má-ylyu? xərxāše. šäləd dide 'átwāle xa ḥanna 'iya mā kəmrila* ^H*ḥagorá*^H 'anglizi(t) 'əd-^H*kašiním*^H ḥanna 'əd-^H*ór*^H. 'anna tre'. 'āya *b-^Həkdáḥ*^H 'āwa. ^H*əkdáḥ*^Hdide. təffaḡ dide. [A.H.: *dabanja.*] sā'əd dide. *dabanja dide. 'an bargüzəd 'āna mzübniwāli ṭāse tre'sar dināre. u-'átwāle* ^H*arnák*^H-ži. šö'a—, šwa'sar dināre *u-palge go* ^H*arnák*^H dide 'ewa.
- 14 'āya *mundelu l-tāma. kəmri: xzi! kalba bər kalba! 'axnan ya'ni qam 'ilāha gnáxpaxin 'əlla šarwāla u-šúdra-ži kšalxáxwālu*²² *qāmox. qemi šoqile l-tāma. šoqile l-tāma 'é-lele. 'āya pəšle l-ta(m). xulamawás dide 'riqālu zəllu. 'anna* ^H*davarím*^H, *kawənta 'anna kullu məselu. 'āya ṭarma šüqlu l-ta(ma), šüqlu l-tāma u-'āni selu.*
- 15 'anna ^H*davarím*^H *məselu u-selu. 'āya pəšle l-ta(m) ḥel yom basra. selu nāše pədlu mən tāma kxāzele 'āya ṭarma-le l-tam. 'egā lašše le m'ubya mād lu máxye-lle 'əbbəd* ^H*maklót*^H. *kulle lašše le piša paq'e paq'e. xa ḥanna go ḥanna 'ewa—.* *qəwya 'éba-le. yəmmə čiqālu-lle.*
- 16 *wallḥāšəl xá-lele 'axnan beseni. tar'eni b-léle-ži ptíxa-le. tək-u tək-u tək, mxelu l-tar'a. máni-le? yəmmi šrəxla 'əlləd dide. kemər: Sise, Sise! tar'a ptuxle! 'Ábo-le. šəmme 'Ábo-le. [Y.H.: ḥukum mxelu 'əlle?] lā. 'ānid lu máxye-lle 'āya. ^Hken^H, 'ānid əmxéwālu 'əlle. lā. d-qbəlwāle* ^H*makót*^H, 'ā

²² For expected *kšalxaxlu*.

fucked your mother! Hey! We fucked your wife! We fucked your sister! We fucked your father's mother! Will you filch the possessions of our Jews? Now throw it (the woolen suit) down before us." So then do you know what time of year it is? It is Hanukka. How cold it is there on the mountain! It is evening. Phew!

They took a stick to him (Mahammat Taher). They did it (to him) in 12
(his) shirt and trousers. (He was) only (in his) shirt and trousers. They
threw him down in front of us. They threw him down. They beat him
over and over and over again.²³ Until he is right now a portion of food,
mincemeat, on the face of the earth. Also the earth is a bit frozen. Some
snow has also fallen there. [A.H.: ... Hanukka.] Yes.

His belt—, you know what a *šale* is? His cummerband. His belt has, 13
um, what do they call it?—an English officers' belt, um, of leather. Those
(are) the only two (weapons on the belt). It was with a pistol. His pistol.
His rifle. [A.H.: *dabanja* (pistol).] His watch. His pistol. That woolen suit
that I had sold him (for) twelve dinars. And he also had a purse. Seven—,
seventeen and a half dinars were in his purse.

That one (Mahammat Taher) they threw down there. They say: "Look! 14
Son of a bitch! We, that is to say, before God we are embarrassed, but we
are taking (your) trousers and shirt off of you." They up (and) leave him
there. They leave him there that night. He remained there. His servants
fled, they went away. (The ambushers) brought (back) all of those things,
(including) the mule. They left that corpse (of Mahammat Taher), they
left (it) there and they came (back).

They brought those things and they came. He remained there (lying 15
there on the ground) till the next day. People came, they passed by there,
they see him. That corpse is there. Now then his body has swollen up
(since) they have beaten it (so much) with sticks. His whole body has
become pieces. A, um, in, um, it was—. It was dreadful. They tore his
mother apart over it.

In short, one night we (are in) our house. And our door is open at 16
night. *Knock, knock, knock*. They knocked on the door. "Who is it?" my
mother called out to him (the one who knocked). He says: "Sise, Sise!
Open the door! It is Abo." His name is Abo. [Y.H.: Did the government
beat him?] No, those who have beaten him, that one (are at the door now).
Yes, those who had beaten him (are at the door). No, he who had received

²³ Lit., 'strike and strike and strike and strike and strike and strike!' (narrative imperative).

pəšle ʃarma go ʃūra. xulamāse ʔriqáwālu. tarʔa ptəxla yəmmi. ʔána-ži qəmli manox(e). ʔÁbo má-yla? le ^Hbərʔáda^H mənnəd zdoʔsəd gyāne.

- 17 *qurdāya má-lox? qay wetun qtile xədda? lā, le māra. ʔe kalba bər kalba xzile! yəmmax sílela(!)²⁴ ʔəlləd dide. lá-kiʔən ^Hháy^H-le ^Ho^H le misa. máni-le ʔe kalba bər kalba? Maḥammad Ṭāhər ʔāga. ʔahá! ʔāga-le-ži. he. má-yla breta? yʔele hənnəd gyāne gunikəd gyāne. šqilāle. téra-ila. tera... godiwa hənna tāma. pəmma pʔíxa-le ʔáqqara. sele qlibāle l-tāma.*
- 18 *xzi! ʔanna bargūze didox flāna yoma m-xlúla qāmoz? ʔáya-ži hánna-ži m-xlúla ʔewa. mərri: ʔewa dídī-lu. kemər: ^Kčhú mən. čhú mən^K yaʔni hudāya. hudāya kemər. ʔiya dabanja. ʔiya xanjar. ʔiya šāla. [Y.H.: dabanja warwar?] he, he. warwar. ^Hken^H. ʔaxnan ^Zgəmrax^Z dabanja.*

5.3. SUFI ABRAHAM, THE PRAYER RUG, AND THE ḤAJJ

- 1 *walhāšəl zəllan ʔəlləd hənna ʔiya mā kəmri-la zónaxin ... ^Hsmixót^H. zonax ^Hsmixót^H. ʔúrreni go xá-dukkanā. šəmməd (d)e-mar dukkanā ḥajji Qádər-le. sele barakuseni. qbilaxle ^Hyafé^H. walhāšəl walla, de! šəmmox má-yle? kemər: šóf(i)-Ibrāhim. ʔAwraḥam pəšle šóf(i)-Ibrāhim. kutxa xa šəmma drele l-gyāne.*
- 2 *walhāšəl de šofi! má-ʔāhāt? nāš d-éka-wət? kəmri dəd Wān. ʔeka bāzət? kemər: bāzən ḥajj. mašmi! bāzət ḥajj? ʔiya səswa bodaxle l-Štambul. ^Hkše^H-báhar bāzən ḥajj. o! kemər: rāba dāʔət ʔaseni, rāba hiwi, dʔāya ʔodət ʔaseni! ʔāzət reš qōr Maḥammad hənna rāba dāʔət ʔaseni ta-lá-ʔāse balāye b-rešeni, heeeee. ^Hhakol b-sedər^H... he he.*
- 3 *ʔegā dbəšle b-ʔidəd ʔAwraḥam muču muču muču. le bə-nšáqa-lla. kulle gəldəd ʔide hənnéle—. mərri: ʔAwraḥam! go—, go ləbbi wən bimāra ʔegā ʔatta ʔidox... ḥil bəštor wāwa. lá-hatxa. walhāšəl túlu barqul ʔəgdāde.*

²⁴ For expected *səlla*?

blows, he (Mahammad Taher) had become a corpse in the mountain. His servants had fled. My mother opened the door. Also I got up to look. “Abo, what is it?” He is shaking from his own fear.

“Kurd, what’s with you? Why, have you killed someone?” “No,” he says. 17
 “See that son of a bitch! Your mother fucked him. I don’t know (if) he is alive or has died.” Who is that son of a bitch? Mahammad Taher Agha. Aha! Moreover he is an agha. Yes. What has happened? He recognized his, um, his gunny sack. He took it. It is a large bag. A large bag . . . they used to make (them), um, (large) there. The mouth (of the gunny sack) opens up so big. He came, he emptied it out there.

“Look! Is this suit yours (from) such and such a day from the wedding 18
 feast (that was then) on you?” This, um, was (from) the wedding feast. I said: “It is mine.” He says: “*čəhú mən. čəhú mən* (My Jew. My Jew.)” That is to say, Jew. “Jew,” he says. “This (is his) pistol, this (is his) dagger, this (is his) belt” [Y.H.: *Dabanja* (is) a pistol?]. Yes, yes. revolver. We say *dabanja* (pistol).

5.3. SUFI ABRAHAM, THE PRAYER RUG, AND THE HAJJ

In short, we went to, um, what do they call it?—to buy . . . blankets. To buy 1
 blankets. We entered a shop. The name of that shopkeeper is Hajji Qader. He came towards us. He received us nicely. In short, by God (he says): “So! What is your name?” (My brother Abraham) says: “Sufi Ibrahim.” Abraham became Sufi Ibrahim. Each one (of us Jews) gave himself a (Muslim) name.

In short, “So Sufi! What are you? Where are you from?” They say 2
 from Van. (Hajji Qader says:) “Where are you going?” (Abraham) says: “I am going on hajj.” (Hajji Qader says:) “Listen! You are going on hajj?” (Abraham says:) “We will spend this winter in Istanbul. When it is spring I am going on hajj.” Oh! (Hajji Qader) says: “Pray a lot for us! Lots of pleading, do a lot of praying for us! You should go to the grave of Muhammad, um, (and) you should pray a lot for us lest disaster befall us.” Yessss. Everything is okay . . . Yes, yes.

So then he stuck (his lips) to Abraham’s hand (and) *smack smack smack* 3
 he is kissing it. All the skin of his hand became um—. I said: “Abraham!” In—, in my heart I am saying so now your hand . . . until it was better. Not like that. In short, they sat opposite each other.

- 4 *sele xa sayyádka-ži. sayyádka le bəxdāra l-^Hnədavá^H. le bəxdāra l-^Hnədəvá^H sayyádka. le xdira go d-an^Hšrife^H kullu. ^Hba-‘érex ‘uláy^H tre paŋqáŋote u-palge pāre daqıqe ti gyāne le tə‘ya. wałła túlu barqul ‘ógdāde. sayyádka šəmme hənna sayyəd Májjid-‘ile. u-‘Ayrāham ‘āya šof(i)-Ibráhim-le. u-‘e xeta hajji Qádər-ile...*
- 5 *walhāşəl musele xa səjjāda. ‘Awrāham mətwāle l-‘ar‘a. har hatxa le bāda səjjāda, ptála-lla hatxa. b-ıya ‘ida le ħmıla réşa-ži. hatxa le ‘wida qam ‘enəd kutru. hatxa le bāda səjjā(da). hā le māra: ‘ıya səjjāda qəbla lewa bədwāqa-lla. he maşmi(!) qəbla lewa bədwāqa-lla. ‘an kutru qurdāye xet, sayyádka u-‘e xet lu manoxe ‘əbbe, mar dukkāna. ‘e səjjāda şqılāle d‘ipāle, şqalle xa xet. ‘á-ži mətwāle l-‘ar‘a. hatxa le bāda ‘əbbəd dida... ‘ıya-ži qəbla lá-düqāla.*
- 6 *xa ‘əşra səjjāde ‘āni har lu manoxe ‘əbbəd dide. ‘ıya—, mā qurdāya-le. hatxa narm u-ħāle garməd dide. ‘ıya nāşa ^Hk-nə‘é^H mən gen‘edən le ‘əşya... ‘Awrāham... he, he. şof(i)-Ibráhim. walhāşəl ‘áxnən-ži, ‘āna, nixəd ‘axoni ‘Awrāham u-nixəd Başālel ‘ıdan pəmman ta la gaxkax. he. kāsən əmre(‘)la ‘əllan mən gəxka. xa səjjāda xe ‘á-ž(i) şqılāle d‘ipāle. xa xet şqalle məttüle l-‘ar‘a. hátxa-le. ‘əl-‘ár‘a. ‘ıya-ži səjjāda lá-gdoqāla.*
- 7 *hənna mar, hənna mar ^Hhanút^H-ži kemər taş dide: şof(i) ‘ıya má-ıwət bāda? kemər: ‘ıt xa Maħámmad-‘āğa m-kəslexun l-axxa le ‘əşya kəsleni. təjjāra ‘ewa. meséwāle səjjāde ‘aşli. səjjāde ^Htoví^H. məţod mandéwālu l-‘ar‘a qəbla gdoqıwāla. ‘anna lewu qəbla—. bābo! kemər: səjjāde mən kəsleni gzoni, lu ‘əşye? məţo qəbla...?*

Also a sayyid came. The sayyid is going around (begging) for a hand- 4
out. He is going around for a hand-out, the sayyid. He has gone around
in all of those huts. About perhaps, two and a half liras²⁵ (oops sorry, I
mean) small change he has sought for himself. By God, they sat opposite
one another. The sayyid, his name, um, is Sayyid Majid. And Abraham,
he is Sufi Ibrahim. And that other one is Hajji Qader...

In short, he brought a prayer rug. Abraham placed it on the ground. He 5
is doing just like this (to the) prayer rug (on) the ground, he is unrolling
it in this way. Also he is standing over it on this side. Like this he has done
(it) before the eyes of the two of them. He is unfolding²⁶ the prayer rug
like this. "Here," he is saying, "this prayer rug is not facing the qibla.²⁷ Yes,
Listen! It is not facing the qibla." Those two other Kurds, the sayyid and
that other one, are looking at him, the shopkeeper. He took that prayer
rug, folded it up, (and then) took another. He also placed it on the ground.
Like this he is doing to it... this one too did not face the qibla.

(After) about ten prayer rugs they still are looking at him. (They 6
think): "This—, what (sort of) a Kurd (Abraham) this is! He is a pleasant
fellow!²⁸ This person apparently has come from the Garden of Eden..."²⁹
Abraham... Yes, yes. Sufi Ibrahim. In short, we too, I, my late brother
Abraham and the late Besalel, the hand (is on) our mouth in order that we
shouldn't laugh. Yes. Our stomach hurt us from laughter. He (Abraham)
took another prayer rug (and) folded it. He took (yet) another one (and)
placed it on the ground. It is like this. On the ground. Nor does this prayer
rug face it (the qibla).

Um, the owner, um, the shopkeeper says to him: "Sufi, what (is) this 7
you are doing?" He (Abraham) says: "There is a Maḥammad Agha of
yours here who has come to us. He was a merchant. He used to bring
genuine prayer rugs. Good prayer rugs. As soon as he would throw them
down on the ground, they would face the qibla. These do not (face) the
qibla—" (The shopkeeper says:) My God! He says: "The prayer rugs come
from us, they buy (them from us?) How the qibla...?"

²⁵ Shabbo has probably anticipated the sum mentioned in § 5.3.9.

²⁶ Lit., 'doing.'

²⁷ Lit., 'the prayer rug is not grasping the qibla,' i.e., when it is unfolded and falls to the ground, it does not point to the qibla in Mecca and thus, according to Abraham, is not ritually satisfactory.

²⁸ Lit., 'His bones are so soft and the like.'

²⁹ They think that Abraham is truly a holy man because of his insistence that in throwing down the prayer rug, the rug should orientate itself in the direction of the qibla.

- 8 *kemər: b-xudrešox ‘aziza! b-é-ħajj ‘āzən ‘əlləd dida. kemər: dax mundyālu l-’ar’a səjjāda qəbla gdoqáwāla. ‘anna lewu bədwāqa-lla. ‘Ayā řabbi!^A māto ‘iya—? ‘iya b-(‘)eni ^Hzaxút^H?” ... walħāšəl pa kullu səjjāde phannəlilu ^H(m)myašrilu^H l-’ar’a barqul qəbla u-mdagli reš didu. kemər: lā, ‘iya mā—, dax mundyālu l-’ar’a, qəbla l-gyāna gdoqáwāla.*
- 9 *‘axnan ‘ida-la pumman. ‘Ayā řabbi^A má-odax? (hā)dax ^Hzmán-‘avār^H. xá- ^Hsmixà^H wax ptáxa-lla, manoxe wa—, bəd’ápa-lla, mattówe-lla l-dúka, bə-šqāla xa xe. ^Hzmán-‘avār^H. de mā—, māto pūwa māto lá-kūwa? xa b-kmá-ila? kemər: kúd-^Hsmixá^H řasexun ‘axtun bāzetun əl-ħajj tre pañqánoře u-palge ^Hpařót^H. ‘iya ^Hhanaxát^H dexun. walħāšəl b-‘iya-’ida u-yá-’ida pəšlan ħil ‘āšərta. hādax ‘á-le bəšqāla ^Hsmixót^H mattowe l-’ar’a. səjjāda zōra b-xá-metər. hatxa . . . he he. hatxa le bāda ‘əbbəd didu. lā, qəbla lewu bədwāqa-lla ‘anna. ‘anna lewu. lewu mənna ħāš.*
- 10 *ħil ‘e sayyədka-ži—, qəmleni . . . ‘āšərta drangésa-la. kemər ta sayyədka—, ‘egā lu bəñšāqa ‘əgdāde. xa xəllu ^Ksar čāwəd^K d-e-xéta. lu tiwe ‘āni barqul ‘əgdād. ‘axnan wewax b-^Hšad^H. xa lu mšaboħe ‘əl-xé, ‘Awřāham u-marəd dukkāna u-’é-sayyədka. sayyəda ^Kawlād-e rasúl^K-ile. ‘āya mən ^Hmišpaħat^H Maħámmat-le. hādax lu ‘wíde-lle. ‘Awřāham bāzəl ħajj gəldəd ‘ide xəllu. he, ‘āya bāl ħajj. he, bale hiwi u-d’āya gbewa řas didu. pəšle, ‘e xeta, sayyədka. kemər řas dide: qəmlan b-’aqle, he mbərbəzax. wax zūne. kutxa mād le zwīna le zwina.*
- 11 *kemər ta sayyədka, kemər: sayyəd, ‘á-ži mərre ^Kaz qurbán sofyé-mən^K. kemər: ‘āna gəbən yāwətti pařpa(ñqañot)—, pəlgəd-lira mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta bařāxa. ħməlle monəxle ‘əbbe. ‘ide drele go jeba xa šāla le*

He (Abraham) says: “Take my word for it, precious one! On this hajj 8
I am going to it (the qibla.)” He (Abraham) says: “As soon as they threw
the prayer rug on the ground, it would face the qibla. These (prayer rugs)
do not face the qibla.” Oh my Lord! How is this—? By virtue of what is
this?” . . . In short, so all the prayer rugs, they will um them, they will
straighten them on the ground facing the qibla and they tell lies about
them. (Abraham) says: “No, this is what—, as soon as they threw it (the
prayer rug) on the ground, it would the face qibla by itself.”

The hand is (on) our mouth (so we shouldn’t laugh). Oh my Lord! 9
What should we do? Like this time passed: we are opening a blanket,³⁰
looking at (it) and—, folding it, putting it back in place, taking another.
Time passed. So what—, what on earth will be? How much does one cost?
(Hajji Qader) says: “Each blanket for you (is) two and a half liras less
(because) you are going on hajj. This (is) your discount.” In short, when
it comes down to it, we remained till the evening. Like this he is taking
blankets (and) putting them down on the ground. A small prayer rug of
one meter. Like this. . . yes, yes. Like this he is doing to them. No, those
(prayer rugs) are not facing the qibla. Those are not. They are not good
with regard to it (the qibla).

And until that sayyid—, we arose. . . it is late evening. (Abraham) says 10
to the sayyid—. So now they are kissing each other. Each declared himself
at the service of the other.³¹ They have sat down opposite each other. We
were at the side. One is praising the other, Abraham and the shopkeeper
and that sayyid. The sayyid is a descendant of the Messenger.³² He is from
the family of Muhammad. They have done like this to him. (Because)
Abraham will go on hajj, they ate the skin off his hand (from kissing it
so much). Yes, he will go on hajj. Yes, indeed, pleading and praying was
necessary for them. He remained, that other one, the sayyid. Abraham
says to him: “We have gotten up on (our) feet, yes, we should go our
separate ways.³³ We have bought (what we wanted). Each one has bought
whatever he has bought.”

(Abraham) says to the sayyid, he says: “Sayyid.” Also (the sayyid) said: 11
“My dear sufi (Abraham).”³⁴ (Abraham) says (to the sayyid): “I want you
to give me a half lir(a)—, a half lira of your money so that I can put it

³⁰ I.e., a prayer rug.

³¹ Calque on Kurdish ‘on the eyes.’

³² I.e., Muhammad.

³³ Lit., ‘scatter’.

³⁴ Lit., ‘I am (your) sacrifice, my Sufi.’

qāme. xá-gdāda garšət mənne 'alpa rǫā'e mnapli mənnəd dide. báz-zodāna mən təkxa, he, báz-zodāna mən təkxa lá-kpeša. 'an xeta 'afəllu mbárbəzi. 'á-ži 'ida drele go jeba 'an pāre le jəm'a-llu ^Hnədavá^H u-drele go 'idás 'Awṛāham.

- 12 *'Awṛáw-ži šqilile monəxle 'əlləd didu. kemər: 'āna gəbən pəlpaŋqənoṭ. 'āna wən bizāla l-ḥajj. rāba pāre 'āna gəbən (m)bázbəzən. rāba pāre-ži 'ətli. bale 'āhat mən ^K'awlád-e rasú^{lK}-iwət. ^K'awlád-e rasú^{lK}, ya'ni mən ^Hmišpaḥat^H Maḥammad 'iwət. 'āna gəbən pəlpaŋqənoṭ mən pārox tad dārənna go pāri ta ^Hšamran^H pāri ta baṛāxa. sayyədka-ži kemər ʔas dide: kma gnapli qāman? čú-məndi lewu 'anna pāre. 'atta hāwéwāli xa 'əmma tremma paŋqənoṭe, yāwənwālox. 'āna ^Hsameaḥ^H wənwa hādax.*
- 13 *kemər: 'āna lá-gbən. 'āna bāzən ḥajj. gəbən barbəzə—, hánna-la, ^H(m)báz-bəzən^H pāre 'āna. jebi məlyə-le. lewən 'āni. bale ham 'āhat—, wən bəxzāya nūra le bizāla m-pāsox. 'āhət wət 'əsyə mən gən'edən. 'āna gəbən ta baṛāxa šaqlən mən pārox, he. dārənna go pāri ta baṛāxa ta ^Hšamrən^H pāri.*
- 14 *pəšla ^Hb-kowaḥ^H mābayn dide 'əd-'Awṛāham. b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida sayyədka le māra: kullu šqullu! 'āna mərri: la... pəlpaŋqənoṭe. waḷḷa ^Hb-sofó šəl davár^H qāyəm sayyədka max—. ^Hmáxrəḥle^H. pār gyāne šqilile. pəlpaŋqənoṭ hūle ʔas dide.*
- 15 *tāma ^Həzór^H šuftiye-le. kud šuftiya 'ətlox hatxa: 'éni-əšti kiloye šö'i kiloye... waḷḷa 'āni mədlu məndi reš 'əgdāde. si zon! kilo tré-qorūše. walḥāšəl 'anna pəlpaŋqənoṭ xamši qorūše-la. 'anna 'əsri u-xamša kiloye šuftiya basya 'əbbu. waḷḷa kúšleni mən dukkāna. 'ərḥəqleni xor m-axxa ^Zhəl^Z reš*

(together) with my money for a blessing (alms).³⁵ (The sayyid) stopped (and) he looked at him. He put his hand in the pocket of certain pants (that) are on him. (If) you pull one thread from it (the pants), a thousand patches will fall from it. No more than the waistband, yes, not more than the waistband remains (from the pants if you pull out one thread). Even those other (threads) will scatter. And he put his hand in (his) pocket (and took) that money (that) he has collected as a hand-out, and he put (it) in the hands of Abraham.

Abraham took them (the money) and looked at it. He says: “I want a 12
half lira. I am going on hajj. I want to distribute a lot of money.³⁶ Also
I have a lot of money. However, you are from the descendants of the
Messenger. Descendants of the Messenger, that is to say, you are from the
family of Muhammad. I want a half lira of your money in order to put
it in with my money for a blessing (alms).” The sayyid also says to him:
“How much (do you think) has come my way? This money isn’t (worth)
anything. Now were I to have a hundred, two hundred liras, I would give
(them) to you. I would have been be happy (if it were) like this.”

(Abraham) says (to the sayyid): “I don’t want (it). I will go on hajj. I 13
want to distrib—, um, I will distribute the money. My pocket is full. I am
not poor. However, also you—, I am seeing fire going (forth) from your
face. You have come from the Garden of Eden. I want to take some of
your money for a blessing. Yes. I will put them (your money together) in
with my money for a blessing so that I keep my money (safe and blessed).”

It was by force (this give-and-take) between him (the sayyid) and 14
Abraham. When it comes down to it, the sayyid is saying: “Take all of
them (the liras)!” I said: “No... (I want only) half liras.” By God, in the
end, the sayyid gets up (and) for—. He forces him. (The sayyid) took (and
gave Abraham) his own money. A half lira he gave him.

There is an area (for selling) watermelons there. Each watermelon 15
you have (is) like this: some sixty kilos, seventy kilos!... By God, they
stretched out something on each other. Go buy (one)! A kilo (for) two
piasters. In short, that half lira is fifty piasters. For them comes a water-
melon of twenty-five kilos. By God, we went down out of the shop. We
moved continually farther away, like from here to the road.³⁷ (Abraham)

³⁵ It is to be given as charity to the poor upon arriving in Mecca.

³⁶ To the poor upon arriving.

³⁷ From the room in Shabbo’s house in which the story was told to the road outside his house.

^Hkviš^H. *le māra: de 'égā mā—, 'āna yəmməd d-iyā hənna sayyədka lá-silāli? kemər: de 'egā sāwun 'ázaxin pālpaŋqànoṭ dide yāxla b-šuftiya.*

- 16 *'āna-ži kəmrən ʔas dide: mā lewət z'ūna-lla—, u-šqila-lla tad dārətta go pārox ta baṛāxa? ki(ʔət) 'āna xorexun xmāra léwəna. 'āna ʔamá baxlən pār gyāni? baxlan pār didu. ko wət šqila-lla ta baṛāxa 'āhat! kemər: ^Hšmor^H hənna ta ^Hšamrax^H l-pārox! mā? 'āya ^Kawlād-e rasūl^K. kemər: 'axtun, kemər: lá-ki'ətun čú-məndi. 'āna ki'ən... 'āna baxlən pār didu. ʔamá baxlən pār gyāni?*

5.4. THE DEATH OF MIGHTY QOTO³⁸

- 1 *wallhāšəl məndid deni 'əšqallu. ^Hbe'emét^H kesewa. 'e hənənəd 'iya mā kəmrī 'ən hāwewa xa qəʔ'a gāla go besa 'á-ži kšaqliwāle. pəšla ^Hsən'a^H mābayneni. 'āni zədlu. xor ʔarəze gmesə tre'sar təlta'sar teške m-əgdāde. hādax zədlu. 'átta-ži lu piše 'āni. wallhāšəl walla mā-odi? hudāye ^Hbe'emét^H gəborim^H-ewa.*
- 2 *bas 'āni ʔāba-ilu. bāsewa dax kpənwālu, (b)'oriwa. qemi hudāye mpāle(')lu l-gyānu. kutxa hudāyəd xədda-le. bāsewa—, 'iya məndi lətə, bāsewa 'iya məndi gəbən. lətleni. de qū misi! hatxa bodax. mǎxəwālu. ^Hbe'emét^H selu 'iya mā kəmrila—. 'ətwa hənna Qoto.*
- 3 *Qoto bāb Šəm'on wewa. [S.B.: ^Hken, naxón, naxón.^H] Qoto bāb Šəm'on wewa. Qoto. mā Qóto-le? hatxa dāwəqle ... Qoto wewa šəmməd dide, 'āna wən šəmya Qoto. wallhāšəl sele. 'ətwāle xa 'āga šəmme Qárani 'ewa. sele Qárani pəšle—. ksesa gəbe, lá-ki'ən, mǎšxa gəbe mād sele. Qóto-le go gūba.*

³⁸ For a slightly different version of this story told on a different date, see Fassberg 2008b.

is saying: “So then what—, did I not fuck the mother of this, um, Sayyid!” (Abraham) says: “So then come on, let’s go (and) spend his half lira on a watermelon.

Also I (Shabbo) say to him (Abraham): “What, have you not bought 16 it—³⁹ and taken it to put it with your money for a blessing?” (Abraham says:) “You kn(ow that) I, like you, am not an ass. Why should I use up my own money? I will use up their money.” (Shabbo says:) “(But) you have taken it for a blessing!” (Abraham) says: “Keep it, um, so that we will keep your money.” (Shabbo says:) “What? (But) he (is) the descendant of the Messenger!” (Abraham) says: “You,” he says: “You don’t know anything.” I know . . . I will use up their money. Why should I use up my own money?”

5.4. THE DEATH OF MIGHTY QOTO

In short, they took something of ours. Really, they would come. That, um, 1 of what do they call it?—if there was an item of kilim rug in the house, that too they would take. There was hatred between us. They increased. Like pigs (these Kurds) bring (into the world) twelve, thirteen young (animals) all together. Like this they increased. And now they have become poor. In short, by God, what should they (the Jews) do? The Jews really were heroes.

But they (the Kurds) are many. They would come, as soon as they 2 had gotten hungry they would enter. They up (and) distribute the Jews for themselves. Each Jewish house was assigned to a particular gang of robbers.⁴⁰ (The Kurd) would come—, this thing he he hasn’t got (so) he would come (and say:) “I want this thing. We don’t have (it). Now up (and) bring (it)! Like this we will do (to you if you don’t)!” He would beat them. Really, they came, what do they call it?—. There was, um, Qoto.

Qoto was the father of Simeon. [S.B.: Yes. Correct, correct.] Qoto 3 was the father of Simeon. Qoto. What (kind of person) is Qoto? Like this he grabs him . . . His name was Qoto, I have heard (about) Qoto. In short, he came. He had an agha (whose) name was Qarani. Qarani came (and) became—. He wants a chicken, I don’t know, he wants cooking oil, whatever came along. Qoto is at the loom. (Qarani) says: “Now up (and)

³⁹ This is a false start.

⁴⁰ Lit., ‘Each one is a Jew of someone.’

kemər: da qū mīsili! 'iya b-xurṭūsa—, qaṭf'a-ži-le go 'ide, ya'ni, lá-mesət, ham mǎxənnox. ham gəbe mesət. ^Htov^H. [A.H.: ham pšāqəl.] he, pšāqəl.

- 4 *walhāšəl 'á-le go gūba. 'á-ži sele kemər: 'āga lətli. kemər: lətlox? ḥmol! 'atta pāwelox! mxele 'əlle. mundele qam qaṭi'a. Qóto-ži 'riqāle. 'ürre l'uwwa. Qaráni 'ürre basre. walla Qoto qāyəm dāwəqle, xor ^Hpax^H dā'əple. mundele qam kulle. hādax 'üdle 'əlləd dide. garma šax la', lá-šuqle go laššəd dide. [S.B.: mǎšəlmāna?] he, he. 'āga-le. 'ā pəzağāya-le. šəmmu lu dərye, la pəzağāye. ^Htov^H.*
- 5 *walhāšəl Qoto pləṭle qam tar'a. kemər: baxxatəd 'ilāha! Qárani qṭilaxle. sāwun mxálšūli mən go 'idás dide! hādax le 'wida l-Qárani: le mṛíča-lle go 'əgdād. pləṭle qam tar'a. šrəxle: baxxatəd 'ilāha! mxálšūli mənnəd qaṭəl! he, he. 'á-ži kemər: de xilālox. ḥmol! ta pešət nāša pešət xwaš hudāya. lewe bəḥmāla l-'aqlə mād le krixə 'əbbe. le mṛíča-lle. mṭle l-tāma. zəlle Qárani. Qárani pəšle naxwaš ḅāš. pəšle naxwaš.*
- 6 *'egā 'āni 'ādətəd dídu-la 'əd-'āga. gəbe kúd-yom 'āzi 'anna t-ilu 'urwānəd hənna reša hənna reš hənna ^Hroš ha-mišpaḥót^H. gəbe 'āzəl yatwi 'əlləd 'oḍəd 'āga ^Hkafé^H d-^Hbokər^H šāte l-tāma. ^Htov^H. xá-yoma Qarani la zəlle, tré-yome la zəlle, ṭlā-yome la zəlle. má-le? kəmri: walla Qárani naxwaš 'ile. naxwaš-le. he. 'āga-ži xmāra lewe. lewe. 'āqəl-ile. kemər: bābo pa, mā naxoš má-yla pa la—? flānā yoma séwāle l-axxa. čú-məndi lətwāle. hādax-ži kemər: walla le zila go hudāye. ^Hyaxól lihyót^H hudāye lu wide l-axxa məndi.*
- 7 *kemər: bābo! sūn tāma! hatxa 'odun 'əlle! 'ən zde'le čfəlle, yā'etun walla hudāye 'idāsu lu mətye 'əbbe. 'ən lá-čfəlle, čú-məndi lewa breta 'əlle. [S.B.:*

bring (it) to me!” This by force—, a stick is also in his hand, that is to say, (Qarani says:) “if you don’t bring (it), I will also beat you. You should also bring (it).” Fine. [A.H.: He will also take it.] Yes, he will take (it).

In short, he (Qoto) is at the loom. And (Qarani) comes (to steal and 4
Qoto) says: “Agha, I don’t have (any).” He says: “You don’t have (any)? Stand still! Now you will have (some)!” He struck him. He attacked him with the stick. And Qoto fled. He entered inside (the house). Qarani entered after him. By God, Qoto up (and) grabs him, like tin (Qoto) bends him (Qarani). He beat him with everything. He did to him like this. He didn’t leave an unbroken bone in his body. [S.B.: (He was a) Muslim?] Yes, yes. He is the Agha. He is a village noble. They gave themselves the name of (village nobles, but they) weren’t the village nobles. Fine.

In short, Qoto went outside. He says: “For the mercy of God! Qarani 5
has beaten us up! Come rescue me from his clutches!” (Qoto) has done like this to Qarani: he has crumpled him up. (Qoto) went outside. He shouted: “For the mercy of God! Rescue me from the beating!” Yes, yes. (Qarani) says (to Qoto): “Now you’ve had it!⁴¹ Wait! (I beat you up) so that you should be a human being, you should be a good Jew.” (Qarani) is not standing on his feet so much has (Qoto) smashed him up. He has crumpled him up. He reached there. Qarani left. Qarani became very ill. He remained ill.

Now it is a custom of theirs with the Agha. They have to go every day, 6
those who are leaders of, um, the head, um, the head, um, the head of the families. He has to go and sit in the room of the Agha to drink morning coffee there. Fine. One day Qarani didn’t go (for the morning coffee), two days he didn’t go, three days he didn’t go. What’s with him? They say: “By God, Qarani is ill. He is ill.” Yes. And the Agha is not an ass. He is not. He is intelligent. He says: “By God, so then, what (is) he ill (with), what’s happened, (after all) he’s not—” On such and such a day he had come here. He had nothing (wrong with him). He says like this: “By God, he has gone among the Jews. It might be that the Jews have done something here.”

(The Agha) says (to the heads of the families): “My God! Go there 7
(to Qarani)! Do like this to him (and poke him)! If he is afraid (and) startled, (then) you know, by God, the Jews, their hands have reached him. If he is not startled, (then) nothing has happened to him.” [S.B.:

⁴¹ Lit., ‘you ate it’ (calque on ModH? Kurdish?).

dərəst.] *dərəst. gezi. de Qárani máŋto-wət? máŋto lewət? bābo naxwaš 'íwəna. 'ā gnáxp-ži 'āni hudāye-lu. lu mdúmbəke-lle. waŋla hatxa xədda, hatxa 'üdle 'əlle. ā! kəmri: 'iya 'idəd hudāye la mŋeta 'əbbəd dide. he.*

- 8 *waŋla Qárani^H mumšəxle^H 'əbbəd^H maħalát^H gyāne. ^Huláy^H xa 'əŋrá-yome mquľqəlle. skətle. zəlle. skətle. zəlle. 'atta 'egā mani hādax le 'wida 'əlle? Qoto hādax le 'wida 'əlle. de. Qóto-ži 'arba xamša lá-mŋe 'əlləd dide. Qoto, má-Qoto-l(e)? hatxa 'anəškəd gyāne kud gorəd hāməl qam dide mandele xamša'sár-metre.*
- 9 *walḥāšəl xá-yoma^H moħlätlu^H gəbe—. kəmri: gəbé nablaxle go Galli, go Galli qaŋlaxle. he, hənna 'iya mā kəmri-la, 'é-Galli mənne u-l-é-'əl xá-māsa 'itən Bet Kāre^Z gəmri-la^Z. Bet Kāre wət 'əsyə-lla? [S.B.: he, ^Hbetaħ^H.] mən 'áx-geb 'itən tāma škaftyāsa 'urwe 'urwe.*
- 10 *qemi nablile xá-yoməd 'əryāna... walḥāšəl nobəllu l-tāma. nobəllu l-tāma. lu zile xa 'əsrī nāše mare xanjāra. kutxa səkkinəd dide l-axxa. u-zəllu ḥil zəllu l-tāma 'əryāna-le bisāya. tləllu. zəllu škafta. bodi nūra. zəllu. 'üdü nūra. kəmri ta Qoto: 'āhat mesət šiwe! Qoto musele šiwe. mətüle. drele reš—, 'üdü nūra. 'āni nūra muçməlu. xá-gā xet kemər: ŋamá wetun maçməyē-lle? kəmri: má'ləqle! 'āni—, 'iya, 'iya mā kəmri-la, 'āya gəbe kəyəp t(a)-āni ḥamlile 'əbbəd^H səkkinim. ken^H.*
- 11 *walḥāšəl xá-gā xet mo'ləqle nūra. 'āni muçməlu nūra. naqəl ŋlāha mo'ləqle. muçməlu. waŋla m-é-'ida kəple. kemər: de-mpóx 'əbbəd palə ta pāyəš hənna ta lā'əq. waŋla kəple reš dide. mundelu qam xanjāra. qemi qaŋlile. šoqile l-tāma u-selu. 'āšərta. kəmri: sāvun! Qóto-'ile l-flāná-dūka. mūsüle ŋarməd dide. le qtila. walḥāšəl waŋla Qoto zəllu musele. qemi qorile. 'āya zəlle. [S.B.: qurru go Čalla?] he. he. go Čalla^H betaħ^H.*

True.] True. They go. (They say to Qarani:) “So Qarani, how on earth are you?” (Qarani says:) “My God! I am ill.” He (Qarani) is also embarrassed that they are Jews (who have beaten him up). They have pummelled him. By God, like this, one (poked him), he did like this to him. “Ah,” they say: “this (is the) hand of the Jews (that) has reached him.” Yes.

By God, Qarani continued with his illness. Perhaps (after) about ten 8 days he kicked the bucket. He croaked. He died. He croaked. He died. So now then who (is it who) has done this to him? Qoto has done this to him. Now Qoto (is so strong that) even four (or) five (people) cannot (best) him. Qoto, what (sort of person is) Qoto? He had such elbows that any man standing next to him (if he nudged him with his elbows) he throws fifteen meters.

In short, one day they decided (saying we) should—. They say: “We 9 should lead him away to Galli to kill him, in Galli.” Yes, um, what do they call it?—that Galli, beyond it on the other side is a village they call Bet Kare. Have you been to Bet Kare? [S.B.: Yes, of course.] On this side (of Bet Kare) there are very big caves there.

They up (and) lead him one rainy day... In short, they led him there. 10 They led him there. About twenty people (each one) with a dagger have gone. Each one’s knife is here (at the side). And they went and by the time they got there rain is falling. They got wet. They went (to) a cave. They will make a fire. They went. They made a fire. They say to Qoto: “You should bring wood!” Qoto brought wood. He put it down. He placed it on—, he made a fire. They extinguished the fire. Once again he (lights the fire, they extinguished it and he) says: “Why are you extinguishing it?” They say: “Light it!” They—, this, what do they call it?—he has to bend down (to light the fire) so that they could attack him with knives. Yes.

In short, once again he lit the fire. They extinguished the fire. A third 11 time he lit it. They extinguished it. By God, he bent over (the fire) from that side. (One) says (to Qoto): “Now blow on the coals so that (the fire) will become, um, will catch.” By God, he bent over it (the fire). They attacked him with a dagger. They up (and) kill him. They leave him there and came. (It is) evening. They say: “Go! It is Qoto in such and such a place. Bring his corpse! He has been killed.” In short, by God, they went (and) brought Qoto. They up and bury him. He died. [S.B. They buried (him) in Challa?]. Yes, yes, in Challa, of course.

5.5. THE MURDER OF A PEDDLER

- 1 *basər hādax brela ġer^Hmikrē^H. ġer^Hmikrē^H kəslexun Kāra. mašmi!* 'āna go ^Hšawā^H wənwa b-é^Htkufā^H. go ^Hšawā^H wənwa. sele xa 'aṭarka 'əlləd Kāra. 'e 'aṭarka mətle go məzgaḡte. qemi dārela hənnəd dide qəṭəl dide [A.H.: 'əl-hudāye] u-qdāl Hoče nixəd xəmyāni. lá-ki'ən mani xéta-ži. mən-nexun Karāye. [S.B.: 'aṭarka mətle go məzgaḡte?] he, he mət wāle go məzgaḡte. de mašmi!' mət wāle. 'áqəlu mpəllu. mani lu qṭile-lle 'aṭarka? mani lewu qṭile-lle? hudāye lu qṭile.
- 2 *l(!)-é-məzgaḡte xe bes be-Hóče-wa l-tāma. go palgus māsa, ^Hnaxón^H?* [S.B.: 'āwa qam tar beseni.] he 'əlla! jwāb mṭele l-nixəd bābi. nixəd bābi-ži ḡməlle. kemər: mā 'iya qurdá? xləšwālu kullu? hudāya le zila 'aṭarka qṭile-lle go hənna 'iya mā kəmrila go məzgaḡte?
- 3 *waḡla qəmle səqle kəsəl 'āğa, səqle ta hādax. kas didu maryá-rešeni. ^Hmvu-dadím^H lá-waxwa. kemər 'āğa: ḡāl-u-masale hátxa-la. 'á-ži kemər: 'āhat m-éka-wət šəmya? kəmr: 'āna l-tāma (wə)nwa. balāye lu dārye-lla b-reš qdāl Hoče u-Mi'ər u-lá-ki'ən mani xeta. lu məxye 'əllu ko lu zile lu qṭile l-e 'aṭarka go məzgaḡte. 'á-ži kemər: mā 'iya hādax brela? qurdāye xləšlu? 'āğa mərre: he! hudāye 'āzi go məzgaḡte qəṭli?*
- 4 *kemər 'āğa: mani le 'wida-lle? xədda-, Rašo Be-Zamərná. (k)taxrətte?* [S.B.: māṭo ktaxrənne?] 'əlla xzi! waḡla [S.B.: 'atta lá-ktaxrənne.] hənna 'iya mā kəmrila, Ḥajji 'Aḡmad-ži šrəxle 'əlləd kma ^Hbaḡurím^H mənnəd hənna

5.5. THE MURDER OF A PEDDLER

After this another incident (of persecution of Jews) took place, another 1
 incident by you (in) Kara.⁴² Listen! I was in the army during that period.
 I was in the army. A peddler came to Kara. That peddler died in the
 mosque. They up (and) place (the responsibility of), um, his death [A.H.:
 on the Jews] and (on) Hoće, my late father-in-law. I don't know (on)
 whom else either. With you residents of Kara. [S.B.: The peddler died
 in the mosque?] Yes, yes, he had died in the mosque. Now listen! He had
 died. They fell from their senses.⁴³ Who on earth has killed the peddler?
 (The Kurds decided that) the Jews have killed (him).

That mosque was there below the house of Hoće's family. In the middle 2
 of the village, correct? [S.B.: It was there outside our house.] Yes, where
 else (would it have been)? The news reached my late father. My late father
 stopped. He says: "What sort of Kurd (is) this (who has been killed)? Are
 all of them (the Kurds) exempt from suspicion⁴⁴ (that only the Jews are
 left to blame)? A Jew has gone (and) killed the peddler in, um, what do
 they call it?—in a mosque?"

By God, (Shabbo's father) up (and) appealed⁴⁵ to the Agha (Hajji 3
 Aḥmad), he appealed to him over this. They (Hajji Ahmad and his family)
 are angry on our behalf.⁴⁶ We were not isolated. The Agha says: "The
 upshot is like this." Also he says: "From where have you heard?" (Shabbo's
 father) says: "I was there. They have blamed⁴⁷ Hoće and Meir and I don't
 know whom else. They have beaten them because (the Jews have) gone
 (and) have killed that peddler in the mosque." And he (the Agha) says:
 "What is this (that) has happened like this? Are the Kurds exempt from
 suspicion (that they should now blame the Jews)?" The Agha says: "Hey!
 Should Jews go into a mosque to kill?"

The Agha says: "Who is the one who has done it?" (Shabbo's father 4
 answered:) "Someone (named) Rasho from Be-Zamor." Do you remem-
 ber him? [S.B.: How should I remember him?] But look! By God [S.B.: I
 don't remember him now.], um, what do they call it?—and Hajji Ahmad
 summoned some young men from, um, from the family, his household.

⁴² This comment was directed to Samuel Ben-Yosef from Kara.

⁴³ A calque on Kurdish?

⁴⁴ Or 'all of them are finished' or 'they finished all of them', i.e., have they finished with all of them that they now turn to the Jews?

⁴⁵ Lit., 'he went up.'

⁴⁶ Lit., 'their stomach hurts over us.'

⁴⁷ Lit., 'they have put trouble on the neck of...'

mənnəd^H *mišpaḥā*^H, *be didu. xa Şalāḥko*-’ewa, ’e *Maqşu d-godət bahşe u-xa xeta. kemər: bāba! sūn Bé-Zamòr! marun ta Raşíd*-’āğā: *xāzax dəmməd d-é*-’aṭarka *kmá*-ile ta ’āna *yāwənnə. ya’ni* ’iya...

- 5 *walhāşəl* ’amrētüle-’zi: *xāzax. hōnne-āwa* ’an *hudāye. hudāyēni-lu*... *lu qṭile-lle* ’aṭarka, *pa dəmma gnāpəl* ’allan *gəbe* ’axnan *dəmma yāwaxle*. ’e *hudāya t-ile nəxṛāya l-tāma, māni-le?* *kəmri* ’ā-’zi *hənnə Zebarnāya-le. hudāyəd Barzāna*. [S.B.: *Rekanāya*.] *la, la Rekanāya* ’əlla *Barzanā. kemər: ’āni-’zi* ’amawaseni, *yāl* ’amawaseni-*lu. farq lewa. ’ā-’zi har déni-le hudāya. walhāşəl qəmlu mşodərru kəsəl Raşíd* ’āğā. *Raşíd* ’āğā-’ile, *lewe hənnə*... ’āya *qəmlə zəlle*⁴⁸ *kəsəl dide*. [S.B.: *naxón*... *lahma gyāwəlwa*]... . *he, he, laxma řaba gyāwəlwa. ya’ni* ’āğā *d-lāxma-ewa*.
- 6 *walhāşəl qəmlə zəlle l-tāma. ’axtun mani wetun?*... ’axtun *mani wetun?* ’axnan *pəzağāyəd Čalla. yāl* ’amawəsəd *Ḥajji ’Aḥmad* ’iwax. *wax* ’əsyə *xāzax dəmmox. kmá-le?* ’āhat—, *hənnə* ’e ’aṭarka *lu qṭile-lle. hudāye déni-lu. hudāyəd Kāra hudayēni-lu* ’əd—, *hənnə Čalla. ’āni lu qṭile* ’əlle. *xāzax kmá-yle dəmme dide ta ’axnan-’zi yāwaxle. wax* ’əsyə *məsyə-llox dəmma. ^Hto^H. b-’iya-’ida u-yā-’ida, bāba ştağfərlā. ’āya kərmanj-ewa. ’anna deni* ’aširátte-*lu. ’āğāye-lu. ^Haz^H*... *Mirko u-hənnə ’Isāxar u-Hoče* ’anna *lu zile lu qṭile* ’aṭarka *go məzgaŋte?* ^Hto^H. *b-sedər^H*.
- 7 *walhāşəl* ’ax-geb *tán-geb le b-dárd-u-balāye Rašo. má-^Havəl^H?* *walhāşəl kemər: ’āna ^Hmbakşən* ’ət *sliḥā^H. kəmri: lewət b-^Hsliḥā^H. ’āhat wət ^Hmó’şə-ma^H-llu* ’əbbəd *qəṭləd* ’aṭarka *go məzgaŋte. mā?* *qurdāye lu xlişe? hudāye-’zi go məzgaŋte qatli nāşe?* ’imal *la breta* ’iya *xədda? hay kalba bər kalba. ḥmol!* ’əlla ’aqlāsox *gəbe qat’axlu* ’əllox ’āhat. *b-’iya-’ida u-yā-’ida* ’əbbəd *şoḥad u-’ax-geb tán-geb ya’ni b-hiwiye u—*... *ḥəl xləşle mənnəd Ḥajji ’Aḥmad. u-’əxre* ... *pəşla b-Rāšo. ’āna lewən mira u-lá-ki’ən ^Hşəmu’ót^H. karāye lu mire u-lá-ki’ənwa.*

⁴⁸ Error for the plural ’āni *qəmlu zəllu*.

One was Salihko, (a second was) that Maqsu about whom you talked, and (there was) another one. He says: “By God! Go to Be-Zamor. Say to Rashid Agha: ‘Let’s see how much the blood money of that peddler is that I should pay it.’ That is to say, this...”

In short, also you should say to him: “Let’s see. It was um, those Jews. 5 They are our Jews... they have killed that peddler, then the blood money falls on us (and) it is necessary for us to pay the blood money. That Jew who is a foreigner there, who is he?” They say: “He is, um, a resident of Zebar. A Jew from Barazan.” [S.B.: A resident of Rekan]. No, not a resident of Rekan but rather of Barazan. (The Agha Hajji Aḥmad) says: “They are our uncles, our cousins. There is no difference. He too is still ours, the Jew.” In short, they up (and) sent to Rashid Agha... Rashid is an agha, he is not, um... he up (and) went to him. [S.B. He used to give bread.]... Yes, yes, he used to give a lot of bread.⁴⁹ That is, he was (known as) the agha of bread.

In short, he up (and) went there. (Rashid Agha says:) “Who are you?... 6 Who are you?” (The three representatives of Hajji Aḥmad say:) “We are the village nobles of Čalla. We are the cousins of Hajji Ahmad. We have come to see (about) your blood money. How much is it? You—, um, they have killed that peddler. They are our Jews. The Jews of Kara are our Jews, of—, um, Čalla. They have killed him. Let’s see how much is his blood money that we pay it. We have come (and) brought you blood money.” Fine. When it comes down to it, I ask God’s forgiveness! He was a Kurd. Those are our tribes. They are Aghas. So... Mirko and, um, Issachar, and Hoče, those have gone (and) killed a peddler in a mosque? Fine. Okay.

In short, when all’s said and done, Rasho is pained and troubled. 7 But what? In short, he (Rashid Agha) says: “I request forgiveness.” They (the representatives of Hajji Aḥmad) say: “You aren’t forgiven. You have accused them (the Jews) of killing the peddler in the mosque. What? Are the Kurds all exempt from suspicion (that they should begin accusing Jews)? Jews should kill people in a mosque? When has such a thing happened? Hey! Son of a bitch!” (The representatives say:) “Stop! We should certainly cut off your feet.” When it comes down to it, (it was concluded) with a bribe and, when all’s said and done, that is to say, with pleas and ... until he finished (the deal) with Hajji Ahmad. And shit... remained on Rasho (from the incident). I have not said and I don’t know (the) rumors. Residents of Kara have told (me) and I didn’t know.

⁴⁹ I.e., he would give the Jews food if they needed it.

- 8 ^Hax 'axar^H masale mpučkənālu, walla 'aṭarka nobəllu qurru. muşlāya-ewa. u-nobəllu qurru u-'āni-ži mənnəd ^Haḥarayút mšaharərilu^H. mət̄wāle b-gyāne l-tāma go məzgaŋte. qemi dārela balāye 'əbbəd reš hudāye ta šāqəl mənnu pāre. [A.H.: ^Hs'irīm la-'azazél^H.] he, he, he.
- 9 wallhāşəl walla šqalle, šqalle mənnəd hənna mənnəd dide pāre mād gbele. u- mbokəşle ^Hsliḥā^H-ži reš hənnəd ^Haşmát mó'səmwāle^H hudāye. kemər xá-gā xeta: pummox paṭṭətte 'əlla, kemər, 'āna qaṭlənnox. čú-məndi xeta lá-godən 'əllox ^Hḥatixát^H kalba bər kalba. 'āhat ^Hmá'səmət^H hudāyeni 'əbbəd dugle? hudāye lu bizāla bəqtāla qurdāye? qurdāye lu bəqtāla hudāye! 'āhat wət bimāra hudāye ^Hkvar^H lu zile bəqtāla hənna qurdāye. b-īya-masale, 'īya l-axxa xləşla.

5.6. THE BEATING AND KILLING OF JEWS

- 1 hā mṭelan 'əlləd qəṭləd Qoto.⁵⁰ qemi qaṭlile. muyde(')lu kəmri: wax qṭile-lle flānā-dūka. sūn mūsūle ṭarməd dide! basər hādax 'īya mā kəmri-la kúd-dūka-u-dūka ko dax kpənwālu kalbe bāsewa. kutxa bāzəlwa. hudāye pəlye-wa. kutxa 'ətwāle hudāyəd gyāne. 'é-(i)ya məndi gəbən, 'īya məndi.
- 2 ^Hesək muthəlle^H b-nixəd sāwi. 'ətwāleni 'axnan 'ərxe l-tāma. 'ətwālan besa. 'ətwa 'ar'āsa. mā 'amrənnox? 'əqqara 'akčən məzzəd reşox. kullu šqilwālu. mpu... l-gyānu. [A.H.: 'aqāre] he, he. wallhāşəl sele xədda ^Zgəmrīwāle^Z Məşto. nixəd sāwi-le go gūba le bəzqāra. sele kemər ṭas dide. məttūle go tar'əd besa.

⁵⁰ See § 5.4.

But after they wrapped up the story, by God, they took the peddler 8
away (and) buried him. He was a resident of Mosul. And they took
him away and buried him, and they also absolved them (those Jews) of
responsibility. (The peddler) had died by himself there in the mosque.
They up (and) blame the Jews⁵¹ in order to take money from them. [A.H.:
Scapegoats.]. Yes, yes, yes.

In short, by God, he (Rashid Agha) took from, um, from him (Ḥajji 9
Aḥmad) money, whatever he wanted. And he requested forgiveness for,
um, the accusation with which he had accused the Jews. (Ḥajji Aḥmad)
says another time: “Should you open your mouth,” he says, “I’ll certainly
kill you. I will do nothing less to you, (you) piece of a son of a bitch. You
accused our Jews falsely? The Jews are going (around) killing Kurds? (On
the contrary), Kurds are killing Jews! You are saying Jews have already
gone killing, um, Kurds. With this matter, this here is finished.”

5.6. THE BEATING AND KILLING OF JEWS

So (now) we have reached the killing of Qoto. They up (and) kill him. 1
They announced saying: “We have killed him (in) such and such a place.
Go bring his corpse!” After this, what do they call it?—in every single
place, since as soon as they got hungry, the dogs (the aghas) would come.
Each one would go. The Jews had been divided up.⁵² Each one (agha) had
his own Jew(s). That (agha says:) “I want this thing, (I want) that thing.”

The affair began with my late grandfather. We had a mill there. We had 2
a house. There were lands. What can I tell you? (We had) as much as the
hairs on your head! (The aghas) took all of them. They di(vided it up) for
themselves. [A.H.: landed property.] Yes, yes. In short, one came whom
they called Misto. My late grandfather is at the loom weaving. (Misto)
came (and) says to him(“Give what you have for me!”). He placed it
outside the house.⁵³

⁵¹ Lit., ‘put trouble on the head of the Jews’.

⁵² The aghas would divide up the Jews among themselves. Each agha would be responsible for the safety and protection of his Jews, who in turn owed him their allegiance. See Brauer & Patai 1993:223–227.

⁵³ I.e., give me my dues. In return for the agha’s protection, the Jews had to give him whatever he demanded.

- 3 'ətwālu xa ^Hginəd^H bəšle. bəšle-ži lu—, ʃima hatxa ^Hyafé^H. məsele, məttüle ... go tar'a. 'é-Məšto. lá-pedetun mən d-áxxa-ži. nixəd sáwi-ži kemər ʃas dide kemər: 'āğa, kulle mənni šqəllexun. 'áxxa-ži let xa dūkəd xapči šətyəd gyāni maštən 'əlla.
- 4 šqalle gopalta u-mxele l-sāwi. 'āya. sáwi-ži 'ürre l'uwwa. 'ürre. básbasre-wa. 'riqāle m-gora. lá-mxele-lle bəš. walla 'ida drele 'əl-šádər dide. sāwi ^Zgəmrənnox^Z: dəbba 'ətwa. dāwəqla hatxa. maḥməlla 'əbbəd xá-'i(da)... he, he, he, he, he. [A.H.: bəš-romāna ^Zwele^Z mən nixəd bābox?] mani? ^Hbetaḥ^H. nixəd bābi 'akčən xá-'idəd dide látwābe. wallāšəl mo'ərre l'uwwa. mo'ərre l'uwwa. (m)pəlle 'əlləd d-iyā Məšto 'egā (m)dambəkle. hādax 'üdle l-Məšto. Məšto mṛəčle 'əgdāde.
- 5 plətle qam tar'a. sāwi kemər: baxxatexun! sāwun! mxalšun 'əlli m-idəd Məšto! wal ^Hpolátika^{H54} d-hudāye řāba-la. wallāšəl selu nāše ta xāṭəreni. hudāye-lu. māl didu wetun šqile-lle. hátxa-ži lá-od. kemər: de b-xá-gā xeta lāyəp hatxa lá-'āwəd, 'əlla xá-gā xeta pqaṭ'ənne. ^Havál^H le 'ūda 'əlləd dide lá-mše 'egā 'āzəl b-urxa, yāsəq 'əl-bésa. walla Məšto-ži zəlle. Məšto mpəlle. pəšle 'á-ži ʃarma pəšle. la skətle, bale pəšle pəlgəd-nāša.
- 6 'egā... xá-yoma tré-yome kxāzewa 'āğa kullu 'anna 'urwānəd didu lewu bizāla kəsle bənhe šāte ^Hkafé^H. 'iya 'ādāta-la. (m)bāqərwa: flān nāša, flān-kas ké-le? ʃamá lewe 'əsyā? bābo! lewe ^Hmargiš tov^H. 'ā mərre: sūn hatxa 'odun 'əlle! 'ən čfəlle... [A.H.: hudāye.] lu piče-lle. 'ən lá-čfəlle, 'āhat—,

⁵⁴ Apparently *politika* < MHeb פוליטיקה.

They had an onion garden. Onions fetch a good price. (My grandfa- 3
ther) brought it, he placed it . . . at the gate. That Misto. (He says:) “Don’t
even pass by here!” My late grandfather says to him: “Agha, you took all
of it from me. There isn’t here even a place (where) I can (stretch out and)
moisten a bit of my own yarn.”⁵⁵

(Misto) took a shepherd’s stick and struck my grandfather. That (was 4
what he did). And my grandfather came inside. (Misto) came in. He was
right after him. (My grandfather) fled from the man. (Misto) didn’t strike
him hard. By God, (my grandfather) put his hand on his (Misto’s) chest.
I (will) tell you (a story about) my grandfather. There was a bear. (My
grandfather) grabs him like this. He stops it with one ha(nd) . . . Yes, yes,
yes, yes, yes. [A.H.: Was he taller than your late father?] Who? Of course.
My late father, (even if he were fighting with only) one hand, one couldn’t
best him.⁵⁶ In short, (my grandfather) brought him inside. He brought
him inside. He fell upon this Misto (and) then he pummels him. He did
like this to Misto. He has crumpled Misto up.

(Misto) went outside. My grandfather says: “For your mercy! Come! 5
Save me from the hands of Misto!” Indeed, the craftiness⁵⁷ of the Jews is
great. In short, people came on our behalf. They are Jews. (My grandfa-
ther says to Misto:) “You (Kurds) have taken their possessions. Don’t do
such a thing!” (My grandfather) says: “So then next time he should learn
not to do such a thing, but next time I will cut him (down to size).” But
he (my grandfather) has done (such) to him (that) (Misto) isn’t able then
to walk in the road, to go up home. By God, Misto went. Misto fell (to his
sickbed). He became, he became a corpse. He didn’t croak, but he became
half a person.

So then . . . (for) one day, two days, the Agha was noticing (that) all 6
those nobles of theirs were not coming to him in the morning to drink
coffee.⁵⁸ This is a custom. He would ask: “Where is such and such a
person, so and so? Why hasn’t he come?” (They say:) “My God! He
isn’t feeling good.” (The Agha) said: “Go do like this to him!”⁵⁹ If he
is startled . . . [A.H.: (It’s) the Jews]. (The Jews) have crushed him. If he

⁵⁵ The long threads for weaving were laid out on the ground, moistened, and then left out in the sun to dry.

⁵⁶ Lit., ‘My late father, the size of one of his hands, he couldn’t.’

⁵⁷ Lit., ‘politics.’

⁵⁸ Several of these elements appear in § 5.4.

⁵⁹ I.e., poke him with your finger.

- ćú-məndi lewe. 'it xa ^Hsəba^H xeta. hatxa qəḏyālu mənnəd didu ḥil kullu mburbəzlu.
- 7 be sāwi xa ^Htkufá^H l-Kāra-ewa. xarāye m-Kāra lu zile l-Šiwa. lu piše l-Šiwa. xarāye m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu d'ire-wa l-Čalla. basər hənna... lu zile mən Kāra l-Šiwa. m-Šiwa xá-gā xet lu d'ire-wa l-Čalla. mā? kulle məndi didu šqəlwālu. ćú-məndi lá-šüqwālu ṭāsu. 'ən xədda hāwewāle xa šālla-u... kšaqlíwāla mənne. be-dín wewa.
- 8 walḥāšəl tam l-é-'āl 'iya mā kəmrila qṭəllu hənne 'Áko bər Pəto, 'āna ktaxrən. ^Hša'ír^H-wa (k)taxrətte? [A.H.: lá-ktaxrən, la'.] 'āya qṭəllu Spindarnāye. qṭəllu Spindarnāye. [S.B.:... mani wewa?] 'Áko, 'Áko. Ya'qov ^Zgəmri^Z. Yá'qo-we(wa) šəmme. ^Zgəmriwāle^Z 'Áko. 'āya qṭəllu. basər dide qṭəllu bāb Šmū'el [A.H.: yalunke lətwāle.] mani? [A.H.: Pəto.] ^Hḥūš^H mənne lətwāle ćú-məndi. 'āya b-təne 'ewa. 'āya b-təne 'ewa. ćú-xa xe lətwāle. 'āya hənna 'āya zəlle.
- 9 basər hədax qṭəllu Šambi, Šambi-ži reš päre. 'ətwāle denāna. zəlle mjāmə' denənəd gyāne. qemi qətlile. bāb Šlomo. he, he bāb Šlomo. [A.H.: 'amoyəd yəmmi.] he, 'amoyəd yəmmox. walḥāšəl 'á-ži... nixa. 'á-ži qemi qətlile. [A.H.: ^Zdamməd qam qətlile^Z...] 'āya-ži zəlle. [A.H.: ^Zqam xāzele^Z go xa wādi u-hənna xa qəṭra reše. zəllu m-hənna mesele...]
- 10 waḷla har tāma le qwira. lewu mūsye-lle... [A.H.: kulla misa 'á-ži qurru tāma.] la, lu qwíre-lle l-tāma. šüqwālu l-ṭṭəmane'sar yome nixa qam šəmša, hənna 'iya mā kəmrila ḥel doktor məselu mən Wān reš dide. mən Wān doktor sele reš dide. la pəšwāle, la pəsra u-la ćú-məndi ^Hḥūš^H mən garne lá-pəšwāle. kulle pəšrəwāle qam šəmša. walḥāšəl... har Šambi qṭəllu.
- 11 'iya nixəd 'Eli 'ətwāle brona. 'iya—, Guli. [A.H.: Yoḥānan.] Yoḥānan. 'āya brəwāle bāziwa 'əlləd hənna ^Hbriṭ^{H60} dide. qəmle lel xošəba ktaxrən...

⁶⁰ Cf. the JNeoAram *bariṭ mīla (Sabar 2002:115).

isn't startled, you—, it is nothing. (Then) there is another reason (for his absence). In such a way they passed the time with him⁶¹ until they all dispersed.

The family of my grandfather was in Kara for a period. Later they have gone from Kara to Shiwa. They have remained in Shiwa. Later once again they have returned back to Challa from Shiwa. After, um... they have gone from Kara to Shiwa. From Shiwa once again they have returned back to Challa. What? (The aghas) had taken all their things. They had left nothing for them. If someone had (e.g.,) a pair of pants and... they would take it from him. They were without religion.

In short, from there on, what do they call it?—they killed, um, Ako son of Pito, I remember. He was young, you remember? [A.H.: I don't remember, no.] As for him, the residents of Spindar killed him. The residents of Spindar killed (him). [S.B.: ... Who was it?] Ako, Ako. They call him Ya'qov (Jacob). Yaqo was his name. They called him Ako. That one they killed. After him they killed the father of Samuel [A.H.: He didn't have children.] Who? [A.H.: Pito.] Apart from him, he didn't have anything. He was alone. He was alone. He had nothing else. He, um, he died.

After that they killed Shambi, Shambi also over money. He had debtors. He went to gather together his debtors. They up (and) kill him. The father of Shlomo. Yes, yes, the father of Shlomo. [A.H.: My mother's uncle.] Yes, your mother's uncle. In short, he too... died. He too, they up (and) kill him. [A.H.: When they killed him...] He too died [A.H.: They found him in a certain wadi with, um, a boulder on him. They went from, um, they bring him...]

By God, he is buried right there. They didn't bring him (there). [A.H. Every dead person they buried there.] No, they have buried him there. They had left the deceased for eighteen days in the sun, um, what do they call it?—until they brought a doctor for him from Van. From Van a doctor came for him. Nothing had remained, neither flesh nor anything (else) apart from his bones had remained. All of him had melted in the sun. In short... they also killed Shambi.

This late Eli had a son. This—, Guli.⁶² [A.H.: Yochanan.] Yochanan.⁶³ He had just been born (and) they were going to, um, his circumcision.

⁶¹ Shabbo erroneously says 'with them'.

⁶² 'Eli's wife.

⁶³ 'Eli's son.

[S.B.: 'eka bréwāle 'āwa?] mani? [S.B.: Yoḥānan.] Yoḥānan, Bétanūre. [S.B.: 'ā Bétanūre.] he, he l-Bétanūre. mā hənne 'Eli [A.H.: mā bréwāle^Zo^Z Raḥamím, 'axón 'Eli?] [S.B.: nāxwāle.] 'āya nāxwāle. zalle^Hm'ušbənne^H xa kalba. y'elox? kalba qəmle gyāne məxyāle 'əlle. kulle naxír dide xəlwāle 'əlle. ^Haz^H düqle^H kalevet^H u-... mətle. [S.B.: lā.] ^Hbe'emét^H. 'āna ^Hhistóriya^H d-kullu ki'ənna... ^Hhistóriya^H d-kullu ki'ənna.

- 12 [A.H.: 'āna ki'ən, (k)taxrən, (k)taxrən^Zqam doqile^Z l-askar. zəlle drele qutma go 'ene ta gyāne məštāhər...] he, he. 'āya u-Başələl kutru düqiwālu. masale pəšla. 'āya séle-wa dāre-wa qutməd jigāre go 'ene ḥil 'ene... xzi! 'ilu 'ūde 'askar go—, 'anna lu wide 'askar go Túrkiya. 'āni hənna xanči mənnu lu wide go 'Eraq. xzi! māto šəmme u-'ar'a rəqqa-lu m-əgdād! go Túrkiya ^Hḥukím^H u-'Eraq hādax 'ərqa⁶⁴-lu m-əgdāde.
- 13 go Túrkiya nāše-lu. la, lá-hāwe, hənna, ^Hba'ayót^H lá-od—. lá-godi ^Hba'a-yót^H. [A.H.: máni-lu go 'Iraq?]. . . l-axxa 'itən Ša'ya, či'ətte.⁶⁵ wət ^Hgyísa^H-lle 'āhat. 'āya le 'wida go 'Eraq. xaloyi Šālom le 'wida go 'Eraq. [A.H.: ^Htoṽ^H, 'āni ^HIrāqim^{HZ}welu^Z.] la, 'egā^Zgəmrənnox^Z. mənne—, ^Hhəvdél^H 'ile 'əbbəd^Hḥuká. ken^H. mənne^Hḥuká^H. [A.H.: Šālom nəxle.] he le nixa...]
- 14 wallḥāšəl hənne 'iya mā kəmri-la Šambi qəllu. ^Hbe'emét^H nixəd bābi-, xá-yoma düqlu... nablilu l-^Hbet sohar^H. 'áx-geb tán-geb qurdāye-lu. zəllu ḥūlu šohād. kəmri: 'ā^Hzakén^H-ewa. xe 'avrāza le nixa. da 'jiza wət dwiqa 'āhat. kemər: le misa. ^Htoṽ^H 'āya zəlle. ^Hbe'emét^H nixəd bābi mpəlle xe ^Hḥaverím^H gyāne. 'āni d-ətle qurdāye ^Hḥaverím^H. wallḥāšəl xədda... qəlwāle nixəd Šambi. qəlwāle xa qurdāya mənne mas gyāne-zi. walla nixəd bābi qāyəm meselu 'é-məšpaḥà. kemər: 'imal tol babexun parqétüle? mərre: 'axnan gzad'ax mən ḥukum 'áx-geb tán-geb tamāha-geb. bābi kemər:

⁶⁴ Apparently an error for rəqqa.

⁶⁵ See § 3.4.b n. 10.

I remember he got up on Sunday night... [S.B.: Where had he been born?] Who? [S.B.: Yochanan.] Yochanan (in) Betanure. [S.B.: Ah, Betanure.] Yes, yes, in Betanure. What (about), um, Eli? [A.H.: When was that Rahamim born, Eli's brother?] [S.B.: He had died.] He had died. He went (and) irritated a dog. Did you know? The dog up (and) hurled himself at him. (The dog) had eaten off all his nose. Then he caught rabies and... died. [S.B.: No.] Really. I know the history of everyone ... I know the history of everyone.

[A.H.: I know, I remember, I remember they seized him for the army. 12 (Eli) went (and) put ashes in his eyes so that he would go blind...] Yes, yes. He and Besalel, the two of them, they (the army) had seized them. The affair remained. He came back to put ashes in his eyes again until his eyes... Look! They have done military service in—, those have done military service in Turkey. They, um, a few of them have done (military service) in Iraq. Look! What distance from each other are the heavens and the earth! In Turkey and (in) Iraq the laws are such a distance from each other!

In Turkey they are (decent) human beings. No, there shouldn't be, um, 13 don't do—. They don't make problems. [A.H.: Who are in Iraq?] ... here there is Shaya, you know him. You recruited him (for police service).⁶⁶ He did (military service) in Iraq. My maternal uncle Shalom did (military service) in Iraq. [A.H.: Fine, (but) they were Iraqis.] No, so then I tell you. With—, there is a difference in the constitution. Yes. With the constitution. [A.H.: Shalom died]. Yes, he has passed away...

In short, um, what do they call it?—they killed Shambi. Really. As for 14 my late father—, one day they seize (some Kurds)... They take them away to prison. When all's said and done, they are Kurds. They went (and) gave a bribe. They say: "He (the victim) was an old man. He has passed away at the bottom of the hard climb." (A policeman says to one of the arrested): "(You're not going to be charged with murder since) you grabbed a sick person." (The policeman) says: "He has died." Fine. He died. Really, my late father fell in (with a good bunch) of friends. Those friends he has (are) Kurds. In short... someone killed the late Shambi. A Kurd from his own village had killed him. By God, my late father up (and) brings them, that family (of Shambi). He says: "When will you avenge (the death) of your father?" (A member of the family) said: "When all's said and done,

⁶⁶ Ahiya was in charge of police recruitment during part of his police service.

ħukum?^H ‘al ‘aħarayuti^H. ‘e xéta-ži^H bišúa‘ ‘avodá^H har ‘axtun gyānexun. kəmri bāš-ila.

- 15 walla grešla, lá-ki’ən xá-šāta, šāta-u-palge. ‘iya kalba bər kalba le ‘wida řazza, ‘ar’āsa. řazza le ‘ūda reqa mən^H kfar ba-‘érax^H xor mən kəslexun Pišgát Zə’év ‘aqqar rəqqa mənnəd māsa. ‘āya... [A.H.: ‘eka^Z wele?^Z go Byadre?] la, la’, la’, la’. xá-māsa kəmri la Marūfa. Pəñčāye... ‘āya u-baxte [A.H.: ‘āna wən hüya go Pəñčāye, ki’ət?] ‘āhat? [A.H.: he. lá-ki’ət bā(bi) zəlwāle xá-šāta tre šənne go Pəñčāye^Z wele^Z bābi].^H tov, mxubád^H wewa. kullu dukāne gbéwāle ‘āya.
- 16 ^Haz^H walla le wida ‘ar’āsa. ‘egā kəsleni ‘ətwa dahbe kesewa u-maxərwiwa. hənna—, bəřāze ‘ətwa. dəbbāsa ‘ətwa. kesewa u-maxərwiwa dukāne [A.H.: ‘ar’āsa], ‘ar’āsa. he. ‘āya le zila reš hənna—, řāba ‘ar’āsa le ‘wida řazza. ‘ā le—, ^Hkšāmər^H ‘əlləd didu qam bəřāze. bəřāze kesewa. ‘ətwa^H təlamím. ‘az^H kxapriwālu. ‘ətlu xor, xor skine... ‘əllu. řā‘ewa l-kərme. ‘āni kəxli kórme-ži.
- 17 walhāšəl ‘āya-le l-tāma. walla ‘e-^Hħavér^H u-nixəd bābi, tre’, qəmlu zəllu. le reš qaprāna dmixa ‘āya u-baxte u-‘ətle təffař-ži ‘ətle xa-réšəd dide. ‘an xet dlá-təffař. walla hedi zəllu. təffař qemi šaqlila m-xa-réšəd dide. bābi kemər: baxta lá-qařlétüla. həšyar hāwetun. baxta lá-qařlétüla. lá-dāretun dəmmāhe zodāne qdāl gyānexun. həšyar hāwetun. ‘ən baxta mħokela, marun: ^Htov^H ‘āya zəlle, ‘axnan pšaqlaxlax. ‘āhat la gpešat hādax hənna ^Hm‘ugenet^H mā^Z gəmrilā^Z? [A.H.: baxtāsa naqoše^Z welu^Z.] he. baxtāsa-ži naqoše-wa. ‘āya zəlle hüle ... ^Hlo řašúv^H.

we are afraid of the government.” My father says: “The government? It’s my responsibility. But apart from that, carrying out the work is only up to you.” They say: “It’s fine.”

By God, it dragged on (until revenge was exacted for the murder of Shambi), I don’t know, a year, a year and a half. This son of a bitch (the murderer) has grown rice, (in) fields. He has grown rice far from the village (of Challa), about as far as Pisgat Zeev from you (in Ma’ale Adummim⁶⁷), about that far from the village. He... [A.H.: Where was he? In Byadre?] No, no, no, no. A village they call Marufa. (An area known as) Pinianish. He and his wife. [A.H.: I was born in Pinianish, do you know?] You? [A.H.: Yes, don’t you know my fat(her) had gone away (and) for a year or two was in Pinianish?] Fine. (Your father)⁶⁸ was respected. (People) liked him everywhere.

So, by God, he (the murderer) has worked the fields. Now then there were wild animals with us (which) would come and destroy. Um—, there were pigs. There were bears. They would come and destroy places [A.H.: the fields], the fields. Yes. He has gone concerning, um—, many fields he has cultivated with rice. He has—, is guarding them from the pigs. The pigs would come. There were furrows. Then they they would dig them up. They had (tusks) like, like knives... They would hit with them to search for worms. They also eat worms.

In short, he (the murderer) is there. By God, that friend and my late father, only the two (of them), up (and) went (to avenge the murder). He (the murderer) and his wife were asleep on (top of) a hut and he has, he has a rifle under his head. Those others (the friend and Shabbo’s father were) without a rifle. By God, they went slowly. They up (and) take the rifle from under his (the murderer’s) head. My father says: “Don’t kill the woman. You should be careful. Don’t kill the woman. Don’t make yourselves responsible for more bloodshed.⁶⁹ You should be careful. If the wife speaks, say: ‘Fine, he is dead, but we will take you (with us). You won’t remain like this,’ um, a deserted wife (*m’ugenet*), what do they call it?” [A.H.: Women were few.] Yes, also women were few. He went (and) he gave ... It’s not important.

⁶⁷ I.e., from where Ahiya lives in Ma’ale Adummim to Pisgat Ze’ev, which is a distance of several kilometers.

⁶⁸ Ahiya’s father, Jacob, was a well-respected rabbi in the area. See § 1.5.

⁶⁹ Lit., ‘Don’t put more guilt of bloodshed on your own necks.’

- 18 *waḷḷa šqilālu təffaḡ. hedi ^Hkané^H dəryālu hənna ^Hkané^H dəryālu go nāsəd dide. ʔiq! waḷḷa zəlle. baxta qəmla har hatxa wəḍla. kemər: gyānax lá-qṭulla! 'āna ^Hmuxán^H-iwən qadome bomāxəd 'āna mnablənnax. ^Havál zehu^H. waḷḷa baxta zəlla. sele jəwāb ta nixəd bābi. kəmri: waḷḷa wax qṭilelle. šəmməd dide hənna 'Abd Raḥmanko wewa. xa ʔaṛāza 'ewa ^Zgəmrənnox^Z ...*
- 19 *waḷḷa 'āya u-nixəd bābi u-nixəd 'Eli mjohəd wālu l-Bétanüre. mašmi' l-íya ^Hsiḡá! ^Zqam qəṭlile^Z 'e nāša ... he, Bétanüre. bābi zəl wāle l-Bétanüre 'əlləd hənna kud kma yarxe gezəlwa 'əl-tāma qam šlosa, ^Hkol miné dvarím^H-u, 'iya mā kəmri, 'Eli mən dele xabre. mən dele xabre. kemər: lewət bāda ču-məndi l-tāma, 'ax-geb tən-geb. 'əqqara lire 'é-gora—, byāwən ham 'āya nāša... 'āse l-qəṭla. 'Eli byāwəl. [S.B.: mani 'āse l-qəṭla?] 'é-məšəlmānəd nixəd bābi muqṭalle. [A.H.: 'Eli m-eka 'ətwāle?]*
- 20 *de mašmi'! [A.H.: ^Hyatúm^H.] bābi 'əḡməlle monəxle 'əbbe kemər: 'Eli. kemər: mā? kemər: xzi ḡabibi! 'āna, kemər: 'āhat daxwás 'ile xalóx, xalóyile-ži, ... har 'e... hənna soti brāt 'amód d-e Šambi 'āwa. xās Šino wāwa. Šino (k)taxrətte. xās Šino, 'āni yāl 'amawása-ewa. Šambi u-Šino, 'āni yāl 'amawása-ewa. xá-mišpaḡà-'ilu. waḷḷa 'āya kemər: xzi! ... he be ḡanúkka-lu.*
- 21 *walḡāšəl kemər ʔas dide kemər: xzi! 'āt byāwət lire. kemər: he. kemər: 'āna lá-gməḡmnəna. kemər: 'it ^Hhavdél^H mābayn mḡakesa u-'wādəd ^Hp'ulá^H ... he, mābayn ^Hbišūa' 'avodá^H u-mḡakesa, 'anna—, 'it rāba ^Hhavdél^H. rəqqa-lu m-əḡdāde. 'Eli! 'āhat lewət mən ḡüre 'ida ḡdāre l-kəstox u-'āna k'ən-ži lətləx. 'egā ʔamá mḡākət? bāse yoma 'é-masale pqaṭya. k(emər):*

By God, (my father and his friend) took the rifle. Slowly they stuck 18
the barrel, um, they stuck the barrel in his (the murderer's) ear. Bang! By
God, he died. The wife got up (and) did just like this (grabbed a rifle, and
threatened to shoot herself). He says: "Don't kill yourself! I am ready to
take you away tomorrow, the day after tomorrow. But that's it." By God,
the woman went off (with them). My late father got his own back (for the
murder of Shambi).⁷⁰ They say: "By God, we have killed him." His name
was, um, Abd Rahmanko. I tell you, he was a pig. . .

By God, moreover, my late father and the late Eli had quarreled in 19
Betanure. Listen to this conversation! They killed that person (Abd Rah-
manko). . . Yes, (in) Betanure. My father had gone to Betanure to, um,
every few months he would go there for prayer,⁷¹ all sorts of things and,
what do they call it?—Eli said things.⁷² He said things. (My father) says
(to Eli): "When all's said and done, you are not doing anything there.
So many liras that man—, I will also give (in order that) that person. . .
should be killed. Eli will give (money for the revenge)." [S.B.: Who should
be killed?] That Muslim whom my father had killed. [A.H.: From where
did Eli have it?]⁷³

Now listen! [A.H.: (Eli was an) orphan.] My father stood, looked at him 20
(and) says: "Eli." He says: "What?" (My father) says: "Look, my friend!
I," he says, "just as he is your maternal uncle, so too is he my maternal
uncle . . . since that. . . um, my grandmother was the daughter of the
paternal uncle of that Shambi." She was the sister of Shino. You remember
Shino. The sister of Shino, they were cousins. Shambi and Shino, they
were cousins. They are one family. By God, he says: "Look! . . . yes, they
are the Hanukka family."

In short, (my father) says to him (Eli), he says: "Look! You will give 21
liras (for the revenge)." (Eli) says: "Yes." (My father) says: "I don't believe
(it)." (My father says): "There is a difference between talking and doing
the job. . . yes, between performing the work and talking, those—, there
is a big difference. They are are a distance from each other. Eli! You are
not (one) of (those) men (who) puts (his) hand in his⁷⁴ moneybag, and
I also know you don't have (any money). Now why are you talking? The

⁷⁰ Lit., "The response came to my late father."

⁷¹ Because there were not enough men for a prayer quorum (מניין) in Challa.

⁷² I.e., he spread rumors.

⁷³ I.e., the information that Shabbo's father had been involved in revenging the murder of Shambi.

⁷⁴ Lit., 'your'.

'āna 'atta byāwanna. 'Éli-le-ži šxina. 'ilāha mānəxle. šaxina 'ewa. lá-mḥakesa.

- 22 'áx-geb tán-geb bābi lá-mḥokele. kemər: 'Eli, ^Hkodəm kol^H pšām(°)ət. 'āna 'atta lá-^Zgəmrən^Z čú-məndi. pšām(°)ət xa yoma. wallḥāšəl walla 'Eli šme'le. nixəd bābi basər hādax zəlle l-tāma. kemər: kma lire 'āhat mārwālox? 'arbi lire byāwət? 'əšti lire byāwət? u-misi xamša. da xāzax. qū misi xamša. 'an xet kullu tāsox. wallḥāšəl walla zəlle məšəlmāna. baxtəd dīde-ži xa xeta šqilāle. 'āya zəlle.

5.7. ABRAHAM GETS DRUNK

- 1 masaləd 'Āko. 'Āko qṭəllu. ^Hbe'emét^H dəmməd dide qāyəm šāqəlle. selan masaləd 'əd-'Awṛāham. 'Awṛāham. 'axnan zəllan 'Amədyā 'āna-wən u-'āya u-xá-məšəlmāna. zəllan nobəllan pošta, ^Hdowar^H. nobəllan ^Hdowar^H. [S.B.: mən Čalla?] mən Čalla he. nobəllan ^Hdowar^H he, ta 'Amədyā. ^Hdowar^H gyānu zəlle kəl qāymaqam, ^Hdowar^H gyānan msulmālan. kəmri: qadome 'āsetun šaqletun ^Htšuvá^H. 'ədyo let. ^Hb-sedər^H 'ədyo let. 'axnan zəllan.
- 2 ^Hbrít^H-ila go xá-besa 'əl-'Amədyā. muzmənaxlu l-tāma. lu musye tre tá-nəke, 'araqin mənəd 'Arādən. 'Arādən xəzyālox... [S.B.: la', bale wən šəmya.] he, he. surāye l-tāma. [S.B.: 'anna surāye, ^Hnaxón^H.] 'egā 'araqin-ži. mā 'aráqin-le? kullu drely go d-anna tánəke... lu músye-ll—, žang la mrupeta... má-le-ži qéṭa-le. qéṭa-le. walla zəllan. lá-prəqlu mənnan hudāye... wallḥāšəl muzmənaxlu. zəllan ^Hbrít^H. tāma lu 'wide ^Hsə'udá.^{H75}
- 3 basər ^Hsə'udá^H muselu 'araqin. 'Awṛāham déni-ži 'ida drele 'əbbəd dida bəštāya 'araqin. šaxónta-la. xumma. [S.B.: 'Awṛahám bər Noka?] he, he, 'Awṛāham bər Noka. 'āna-wən u-'āya u-xa məšəlmāna. [S.B.: 'Awṛahám

⁷⁵ Cf. the JNeoAram forms *sī'ōda*, *sa'ūd/da* (Sabar 2002a:242).

day will come (and) that matter will be decided.” (My father sa)ys: I will now give it (money for the murder).” Eli is hot(-headed). May God rest his soul. He was hot(-headed). No doubt about it.⁷⁶

When all’s said and done, my father didn’t talk. He says: “Eli, first of all 22
you will hear (what I have to say). I now am not saying anything. One day you will hear.” In short, by God, Eli heard. My late father, after this (that Shambi’s murder was avenged), went there. He says (to Eli): “How may lira did you say it was? Will you give forty liras? Will you give sixty liras? (Get up now and) bring five (liras)! Now we’ll see (if you’ll actually do it). Get up (and) bring five (liras) and the rest (of the money) is all for you.” In short, by God, the Muslim (who murdered Shambi) died. Somebody else took his wife. She (indeed) went off.

5.7. ABRAHAM GETS DRUNK

(And now) the matter of Ako. They killed Ako. Really, he up (and) spills⁷⁷ 1
his blood. We’ve come (now) to the matter of Abraham. Abraham. We went to Amidya: I am (there) and he and a Muslim. We went (and) brought *posta*, ‘mail’. We brought mail. [S.B.: From Čalla?] From Čalla, yes. We brought mail, yes, to Amidya. Their mail went to the local governor, our mail we delivered. They say: “Tomorrow you should come take the return mail. Today there isn’t (any).” Okay, today there isn’t (any). We left.

There is a circumcision ceremony in a house in Amidya. They invited 2
us there. They have brought two large tin cans, arrack from Aradhin. You saw Aradhin... [S.B.: No, but I’ve heard (about it).] Yes, yes. Christians (were) there. [S.B.: Those (were) Christians, correct.] So then arrack also (is there). What arrack is it? They put all (sorts of things) in those large tin cans... (that) they have brought—, rust has come loose (and is floating about inside)... What’s more, it’s summer. It’s summer. By God, we went. The Jews didn’t leave us (alone)... In short, they invited us. We went (to) the circumcision ceremony. They made a festive meal there.

After the festive meal, they brought arrack. And our Abraham put his 3
hands on it (the large tin can), drinking the arrack. It is hot. (There is oppressive) heat. [S.B.: Abraham son of Noka?]. Yes, yes, Abraham son of Noka. I am (there), and (so is) he, and a Muslim. [S.B.: Abraham

⁷⁶ Lit., ‘no talk’.

⁷⁷ Lit., ‘takes’.

šatāya wewa?]. ^Hmā-še—^H, kšātewa, bale 'egā réše-ži lá-gpāyāšwa l-dūke. [S.B.: mar: šaxina-le.] he, he, he. walhāšəl štele. məšəlmāna-ži túrki 'ā le māra-lle: lá-šti! lá-šti! 'āhət lá-mšet šātət! 'á-ži lu musye, lu músye-lle məšəlmāna-ži. wíde-lle^H aruḥá lə-ḥúd. 'ət ha-'emét^H. 'á-ži le tiwa mənenni.

- 4 xanči 'āna šteli 'araqin. šaxina. mani 'ibe sātele? qéta-ži. ču ^Hkerah^H let. ču talga let. [A.H.: gdārēwāle go 'ena ^Zxapča^Z]. mā 'ena? 'ena 'éka-la? xá-yoma, xá-yoma geziwa ḥil gmātewa l-'ena... walhāšəl waḷla štelan. štelan u-xəllan.
- 5 čanyāsa šqililan. 'āna zəlli. pošta gyāni šqilāli, ^Htšuvá^H mən qāymaqam. selan. bāzax. 'āxər 'Awṛāham le bəgxāka ... ham (m)pəlle. ham nāpəl. he. xúmma-le-ži. 'it xa 'ena 'əltxé(t?) tappá ^Zgəmrila^Z-, kāni Karačke ^Zgəmrila^Z. kušlan ḥil tāma. ^Hkim'át^H 'urxəd pālsā'a-la. ^Hyridá^H-ži 'ila. kúšlana 'əltax 'əltax. kušleni ḥel tāma. 'Awṛāham le mənnan.
- 6 waḷla 'Awṛāham kemər: 'āna lá-kesən. tamá la kesət, 'Awṛāham? kemər: ^Hbe'emét^H 'āna lá-kesən. qadome hənna 'ədyo xamūšeb 'ile. 'əróta-ži l-axxa pāwən. yom šapsa hənna-la—, godi ^Hməsibá^H rapsa. kemər: pšātax 'araqin. 'āh! kemər: dunya čú-məndi-le.
- 7 'axnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa, ḥabibi! 'axnan lewax nāšəd d-axxa. 'axnan mən Túrkiya 'iwx. 'āni 'ilu go 'Eraq. 'atta 'axnan pošta pšaqlaxla. 'āhat lətlox kvar ^Hzaxút^H l-axxa, pešət l-axxa. ^Hzaxút^H d-é-pošta 'āhat iwət 'əsyā l-axxa. la. 'áx-geb tán-geb tamáha(-geb) b-séfer-ṭora. 'Awṛāham m-kāni Karačke mxéle 'əlla ḥil saqle 'əl-'Amódya.
- 8 mašmi?! [A.H.: skira?] he. saqle kemər: 'āna la kesən. 'āna-ži—, 'ətwāleni 'əzla, 'əzla šəwya. xa hənna 'ətwa Mašlo bron d-é-Yosefšawāya. 'āya 'ətwāle hənna šāwewa 'əlləd Bétanüre-ži. 'əzla—, šúqa-le l-Bétanüre. 'āna u-məšəlmāna mxelan 'əlla. zəllan Bétanüre. zəllan Bétanüre. 'əzleni šqəllan.

was a drinker?] Whatever (he could get), he would drink, but then he would lose control.⁷⁸ [S.B.: Say: “He is hot(-headed)!”] Yes, yes, yes. In short, he drank. The Muslim is speaking to him Turkish: “Don’t drink (from rusty tins)! Don’t drink! You can’t drink (that stuff!)” They also have brought him, they have brought him, the Muslim, too. They have made him a separate meal. (I am telling you) the truth. He too has sat down with us.

I drank a bit of of arrack. (It is) warm. Who is able to drink it (in this heat)? (It is) summer. There is no ice. There is no ice. [A.H.: They used to put (the arrack) in a spring (of water) for a bit (till it cooled down).] What spring? Where is there a spring? One (whole) day, one (whole) day they used to walk until they would reach a spring... In short, by God, we drank. We drank and we ate.

We took the (mail) satchels. I went. I took my own mail, return mail from the local governor. We came (to collect the mail and then) we will go. Well! Abraham is laughing... and he fell. And he falls (because he is drunk). Yes. And it is hot. There is a spring at the bottom of the hillside they call it—, the spring of Karachke they call it. We went down there. (It is) a path of almost half an hour. It is a descent. We went way down. We went down until there. Abraham is with us.

By God, Abraham says: “I am not coming.” (Shabbo says:) “Why aren’t you coming, Abraham?” He says: “Really, I am not coming. Tomorrow, um, today is Thursday. I shall be here Friday. Saturday there is, um—they make a big party.” He says: “We will drink arrack.” “Ah,” he says: “Nothing is happening (anyway) in the world (so I can stay).”

(Shabbo says:) “We are not people from here, my friend! We are not people from here. We are from Turkey. It is they (who are) in Iraq. Now we will take the mail. You (Abraham) no longer have a right here, to remain here. You have come here by right of that mail. No. When all’s said and done, (I swear) on the Torah scroll.” From the spring of Karachke Abraham hit it (the road) until he went up to Amidya.

Listen! [A.H.: (Abraham was) drunk?] Yes. (Abraham) went up (to Amidya) saying: “I am not coming. And I—.” We had yarn, dyed yarn. There was, um, a Maslo son of that Joseph the dyer. He had, um, he used to dye for Betanure also. Yarn—, there is a market (of it) in Betanure. I and the Muslim hit (the road). We went (to) Betanure. We went (to) Betanure.

⁷⁸ Lit., ‘but his head would not remain in its place.’

'é-lele pəšlan tam. dməxlan tam. bənhe qəmli sā'a 'əşra [S.B.: yom 'ərota.],
he, yom 'ərota, sā'a 'əşra ^Hkvar^H bésa-(wa)xwa-(')xnan.

- 9 baxte sela ^Hməskena^H 'Asmāre, kəmra: ké-le 'Awṛāham? mərri: waḷla le
zila l-'Amədyā kšāte 'araqin. le piša. 'āya ^Hməskena^H murpyāla l-bəxya.
kəmra: le qṭila. 'axtun letun mára-lli. kəče, waḷla lewe qṭila. 'á-le zila
šāte 'araqin. 'áx-geb tán-gəb taṃáha-geb waḷla lá-mhoməнна 'əlla. tūla
bəbxāya (m)walwole.
- 10 'Awṛāham pəšle l-'Amədyā. yom xošeba mxele 'əlla. sele l-Kāra mən 'Amə-
dyā... de-mášmi?! 'egā tāma 'é-'urxa 'aqqar mayrəxla. mən Kāra yom
trūšeb mxele 'əlla. 'it xa 'urxa Razoke ^Zgəmri^Z [S.B.: ki'əнна, ki'əнна.]
ki'ətta. b-é-'ida səqle ḥil sele reš 'enəd Səgrazoke. 'ərbəd Spindarnāye lu l-
tāma. ḫlāhá-'arba-qəṭ'e. mā—, tāma kalbe la mrāpelu⁷⁹ 'əlləd 'Awṛāham.
mašmi?! kalbe mrupyālu⁸⁰ l-'Awṛāham gəbe qatḷile. b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida
'anna nāše mrupyālu 'əlləd 'Awṛāham. 'Awṛāham xá-p-təne-le. xa tre
čanyása-ži lu b-xāše. 'áx-geb tán-geb waḷla qemi 'odile be-čára. m-é-'ida
selu tmanya... 'an Pəncāye 'Aṽṛāham (m)poləṭlu m-go 'idás didu.

5.8. THE ATTEMPTED SEDUCTION

- 1 xa nəqwa-ži lewa gurta. 'ena la dreta 'əlli. 'āna lá-ki'ən. čú-gā lewən
mḥukya mənna u-lewən zila-ži l-tāma. he, he. xzi! la go hənna-ži-la,
^Hm'oreset^H-la-ži. xa behna kxázəнна. 'ətwāleni xa šwāna. 'ətwale—, xor
^Hkəbúš^H-ewa u-'ətwāle ^Hparót^H u-'ətwāle kulle məndi. 'āya šātət 'arba
lewən xəzya-lle. waḷla qāyəm dāwəqli.
- 2 hiwa xanči ^Hxəm'a^H u-xanči sartuk... [Y.H.: xanči məšxa. mar: məšxa!]
he, məšxa. sartuk lewe məšxa. 'e xeta kar'a, 'it kar'a, he, kar'a 'iya hənna-le.

⁷⁹ The verbal form is difficult, yet the general context seems clear.

⁸⁰ See § 4.4.23.5.

We took our yarn. We remained there that night. We slept there. In the morning I got up at ten o'clock. [S.B.: Friday.], yes, Friday, at ten o'clock we were already (at) home.

His wife came, the poor Asmare. She says: "Where is Abraham?" I 9
said: "By God, he has gone to Amidya drinking arrack. He has remained
(there)." That poor one broke out crying. She says: "He's been killed.
You aren't telling me." (Shabbo says:) "Woman! By God, he has not been
killed. He has gone to drink arrack." When all's said and done, by God,
she didn't believe it. She began crying (and) wailing.

Abraham remained in Amidya. Sunday he hit it (the road). He came to 10
Kara from Amidya... Now listen! Now then that path there makes it so
much longer. Monday he hit (the road) from Kara. There is a path (that
goes by a village) they call Razoke [S.B.: I know it, I know it.] You know
it. He went up in that direction until he came to the spring of Segrazoke.
The sheep of the residents of Spindar are (grazed) there, three, four flocks.
What—, there the dogs (residents of Spindar) let Abraham have it. Listen!
The dogs let Abraham have it, they wish to kill him. When all's said and
done, those people let Abraham have it. Abraham is all alone. There are
one (or) two satchels on his back. When all's said and done, by God, they
up (and) made him helpless.⁸¹ Eight (people) come from that direction...
Those residents of Pinianish delivered Abraham out of their hands.

5.8. THE ATTEMPTED SEDUCTION

(There was) a certain female (who) hasn't married. She has put her eye 1
on me. I was unaware. I have never spoken with her nor have I gone
over there (to her). Yes, yes. Look! And she is in, um, and she is engaged.
Suddenly I see her. We had a shepherd. He had—, it was like a kibbutz
and he had cows and he had all sorts of things. I hadn't seen him for four
years.⁸² By God, he up (and) grabs me.

A bit of butter was given and a bit of cream⁸³... [Y.H.: A bit of *məšxa* 2
(cooking oil). Say: *məšxa*!] Yes, *məšxa. sartuk* (cream) is not *məšxa*. That

⁸¹ I.e., Abraham is unable to flee because of the weight of the satchels he is carrying.

⁸² Lit., 'It was the fourth year I have not seen him.'

⁸³ Earlier in the recording he mentions that he has run out of butter and gone to the shepherd, Mustafa, for some more.

məšxa xāsa 'ile. ta d-anna ^Zgəmri^Z kar'a. ^Htov^H. tūle l-tāma gyāpe laxma. kud laxma 'āya 'akčən d-īya-^Hšulhàn^H. məsənne ^H'aruhāt šohorayim^H tre sapoxe. 'xəlli...

- 3 *xa məmzer. xa yalunka ^Hba-[']érax^H 'ibe ^Hb-gil^H 'əšta šənne sele. šəmme Məštāfa-le məšəlmāna. kemər: Məštāfa-ž(i). kemər: mā? kemər: hudāya-le l-axxa? 'á-ži kemər: 'āna wən tiwa dəpən dide. bābi le mira 'āse kəsleni. xzi mā ^Hməmzerim^H-ilu! šəmməd, šəmməd bāba—, la mšudarta basri u-'āna lá-ki'ən. waḷla ^Htov^H. kemər: le bixāla. ko xəlle xarāye bas...*
- 4 [Y.H.: *la wətwa gwira?*] *ha? la, la, lá-wənwa gwira. lá-wənwa gwira. la waḷla lá-wənwa gwira. waḷla həl tre sapö(xe) xəlli xá-gā xeta sele 'é-ḃəç'a. kemər bābe le ḥmila žwanti. yom 'əróta-le-ži ya'ni gezəl xuṭba. mərri: mā? bābox lewe zila l-xuṭba?*
- 5 *lā kemər. qam tar didu hónna-le rūbar məye kāwəš. kemər: gyāne le ^Hmaxóne^H-lla. bāzəl xuṭba ^Him ha-məməzerim^H [Y.H.: *le maḥzore gyāne bāzəl xuṭba.*] he, he. bāzəl xuṭba 'á-ži. xəlli tre sapöxe. qəmli. gézəna. tar'a ptíxa-le 'āna-ži zəlli.*
- 6 *^Hšalóm šalóm^H, 'á-la go tar'a. ké-le bābax? kəmra: walle reš məye. 'átta-bāse. xa julla la mtúta-lli l-tam qam ^Hhalón. 'az^H zəlli tūli. 'əlli tar'a ḥləqla. ^Hbe'emét^H... 'āhat məšəlmanta, 'āna hudá. kəmra: 'āna gbannox. 'iya basər 'Azizko lu qṭile 'əlle, 'ila 'iya masale. 'āna-ži mərri... 'ā düqāli murḥəqāli mən gyāni. kəmra: xzi! gəbət? mar: ken. lá-gbət 'é-baxta pšarxa.*
- 7 *'é-məšəlmāna wənwa kəsəl dide, xa 'ár'a-'ila qam tar didu. 'āni lu wíde-lla ^Htiras.⁸⁴ tiras^H wetun xəzye grāwe, he hatxa grāwe. 'āya le 'əsyā, le ^Hmúrgəša^H. 'əsyā le 'wira go ^Htiras mul ḥalón^H. le manoxe 'əbbeni. [A.H.: *barqul šabbák*] he, he. barqul šabbāka. 'axnan panjāre ^Zgəmráxwāla^Z. [A.H.: *panjāre*]. he.*

⁸⁴ On other occasions Shabbo uses NeoAram *ganmnoke* 'maize'.

other (thing), butter (*kar'a*), there is butter, yes, butter, it is, um, butter. It is new cooking oil. They call these (things) butter (*kar'a*). Fine. He sat there baking bread. Each (loaf of) bread (is) the size of this table. He brought me lunch, two wrap sandwiches. I ate...

A bastard, a child, about six years old, came. (The shepherd's) name 3
is Mustafa, (he is) a Muslim. (The child) says: "Mustafa!" (Mustafa) says:
"What?" (The child) says: "Is the Jew (Shabbo) here?" And he (Mustafa)
says: "I am seated next to him." (The child says:) "My father has said he
should come to us." See what bastards they are! The name of, the name
of her father—, (that woman) has sent for me and I don't know (why).
By God, fine. (Mustafa) says (to the child): "He is eating. Since I ate
enough..."

[Y.H. You hadn't married?] Huh? No, no, I hadn't married. I hadn't 4
married. No, by God, I hadn't married. By God, by the time I ate the two
sandwiches, that bastard (child) came again. (The child) says his father
has been waiting for me expectantly. And it is Friday, that is to say, he
goes to the (Friday) sermon (in the mosque). I said: "What? Your father
hasn't gone to the Friday sermon (because he is waiting for me)?"

"No," he says. Outside their door, um, descends a stream of water. (The 5
child) says: "(My father) is preparing himself." He will go to the Friday
sermon with the bastards. [Y.H.: He is preparing himself to go to the
Friday sermon.] Yes, yes. He also will go to the Friday sermon. I ate two
sandwiches. I got up. I go. The door is open and I go (in).

"Hello, hello" (the woman says), she is in the doorway. (I say:) "Where 6
is your father?" She says: "He's right at the water. Now he will come." She
has put a piece of cloth there for me in front of the window (to prevent
people from looking in). So I went (in and) sat down. She locked the
door on me. Really... (I say:) "You (are) a Muslim, I (am) a Jew." She
says: "I love you." This is after they have killed Azizko, it is this affair. And
I said: ... I grabbed her (and) pushed her away me. She says: "Look! Do
you want to? Say: 'Yes.' (If) you don't want to, I⁸⁵ shall shout."

(As for) that Muslim at whose place I was, there is a (plot of) land 7
outside their door. They have grown it with corn. You have seen corn
growing, yes, like this it grows. He (that Muslim) has come (and) he has
noticed. (He has) come (and) he has entered the corn(field) opposite the
window. He is looking at us. [A.H.: In front of the *šabak* (window).] Yes,
yes... in front of the *šabaka* (window). We used to call it (a window)
panjare. [A.H.: *panjare*] Yes.

⁸⁵ Lit., 'that woman' (§ 4.1.7.j).

- 8 *wallhāşəl walla mād mərri t̄asa la^Hzər̄ra^H ʔəlli. tar'a la hl̄əqta-lle. qdila la dr̄eta-lla go jeba. mərri: maşme'! ʔāhat qurd̄esa-wat ʔāna hud̄āya-wən. ʔāna lá-gb̄ənnax. lá-qqarwən ʔəbbax. kəmra: xzi! p̄şarxan u-maq̄təlannox. ʔən wət góra-ži, nábəlli. ʔāna p̄peşan hudesə. mərri: hud̄āye ʔəbbax lá-gzedi. lá-ʔasyat hud̄āye-ži maħərmattu. ʔāni lu pişe ħalāle. ʔāni m-lá-ħarmi. ʔaxnan lá-gbax ʔəmməteni xorexun zeda ʔəbbəd ħaramūsa.*
- 9 *wallā lá-^Hzər̄ra^H ʔəlli. lá-^Hzər̄ra^H ʔəlli. lewa práqqa-lli. mərri: ʔamr̄ənnax [Y.H.: bāba ki'ewa mən kulla...] ʔāna lá-ki'əna. bāba lá-(we)wa l-tam. ^Hyaxol lihyot^H ki'ewa. ʔāni kəslu ʔərwāna-la mād mázəłti xa hud̄āya. ʔən hudesə [A.H.: b-idəd məşəlmāne] şaq̄lila ʔodila. ya'ni ʔən kutru... mərri: t̄amá wat ʔşəqta-lli?*
- 10 *^Hkodəm kol^H, ʔāhat ^Hm'or̄éset^H-wat. kəmra: p̄şoqanne ʔāya. mərri: t̄amá? mā masále-la? kəmra: ʔaxnan wax mbuqre. ʔaxtun hud̄āye gzire wetun, ya'ni ʔodetun ʔəlleni. ʔərwāna-la ʔodax ʔəlləxun-ži. ʔərwāna-la. ʔən kutru ʔalāle, ʔərwāna ^Hmşulāş^H ʔila. kutru ʔalāle.*
- 11 *mərri: ħáş-ila hatxa gəbat. mərri: he. mərri: p̄tox tar'a! ʔe kaləpsa brāt kalba. la, lá-kpatxa. wallā düqāli balo'təd dida. mətwāli l-'ar'a ʔegā krox! ^Hbli raħma(nūt), türkit türkit^H. króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-króx-u-! ʔegā dreli pumməd dida.*
- 12 *ʔá-le qam ^Hħalón^H le manoxe. ʔāna lá-ki'ən. lewən bəxzāya-lle. qóme-ži kərya wewa, la yarixa. he. wallā hādax ʔüdü ʔəlləd dida. b-iya barāxa ʔüdüli ^Hpastela^H. məndyāli l-tāma. qaħba brāt qaħba! ʔāna hud̄āya u-ʔāhat məşəlmanta. wəllu qurd̄āye terax ter yəmmax ter xaswāsax ter kullexun ʔilu. ʔən gəbat-ži nablənnax. ʔit türkāye l-axxa. ʔanna t̄lāhā-'arba şənne lu go ^Hşavā^H. byāwənnax ʔl-'ıdu. didax ʔāya-la. čü-gā ču ^Hta'anót^H lá-hāwelax.*

In short, by God, whatever I said to her didn't help me. She has locked 8
the door. She has placed the key in her pocket. I said: "Listen! You are
a Kurd, I am a Jew. I don't want you. I am not coming near you." She
says: "Look! I will shout and I will have you killed. If you are a man, lead
me away. I shall become a Jewess." I said: "Through you, the Jews are not
going to increase (in number). You will not come (and) pollute the Jews.
They (Jews) have remained pure. They shouldn't become impure (now
by your becoming Jewish)! We don't want our nation to increase like you
(Kurds) through impurity!"

By God, it didn't help me. It didn't help me. She isn't leaving me (alone). 9
I said: "I'll tell you" [Y.H.: Did her father know of all the...?] I don't know.
Her father wasn't there. It is possible that he knew. With them it is a good
deed to convert a Jew. If a Jewess (falls) [A.H.: into the hands of Muslims],
they take her to make her (a Muslim). That is to say, if both of them... I
said: "Why have you desired me?"

(I said to her:) "First of all, you are engaged." She says: "I will leave that 10
one." I said: "Why? What's the story?" She says: "We have inquired. You
are circumcised Jews, that is to say, you should do it to us (circumcise us).
It is a good deed that we should do (it) for you. It is a good deed. If both
sides (want it), it is a triple good deed... (For) both sides."

I said: "It's fine (if) that's the way you want (it)." She said: "Yes." I said: 11
"Open the door!" That bitch! No, she doesn't open (the door). By God, I
seized her throat. I laid her down on the ground (and) so then I smashed
her.⁸⁶ Without mer(cy), Turkish, Turkish (style?). I smashed her over and
over and over again. So then I stuck my (fist) in her mouth.

He is in front of the window looking. I am unaware. I don't see him. 12
His height was short, not tall. Yes. By God, I did like this to her. With
this blessing⁸⁷ I made mincemeat out of her. I threw her (down) there.
Daughter of a whore! (I said:) "I (am) a Jew and you (are) a Muslim. Right
now the Kurds are enough for you, enough for your mother, enough for
your sisters, enough for all of you. If you want, I will lead you away. There
are Turks here. Those (Turkish men) are in the army for three (or) four
years (and are desperate to have a woman). I shall hand you over to them.
It is yours (to decide). May you never have any complaints (since they will
satisfy your sexual desires)."

⁸⁶ Lit., 'So then smash!' (narrative imperative).

⁸⁷ Is Shabbo being sarcastic about the blessing over food since he is talking about making mincemeat out of her?

- 13 *waḷḷa qdila mən jeb dida mpoləṭli. tar'a ptəxli gyāni. məxyāla⁸⁸ 'əlli xá-gā xeta basri. waḷḷa zurri 'əlləd dida ḥil 'ar'a... m-'ar'a la qəmla. mərri: da-ḥmól! 'urxa düqāli. seli l-besa [Y.H.: bāba la mərre čú-məndi?] lewe l-besa bāba. [Y.H.: mərrox ^Zwele^Z ḥmila manoxe 'əbbəd pañjāra...] 'āya mərri. 'e xet 'āya xá-nāša xeta... sela kəmrāli: ki'ewa. 'āni ki'ewa b-əgdād. 'āna lá-ki'ən. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa 'iya masale zəlla. 'iya masale zəlla.*
- 14 *seli l-besa. məšxa məseli. hūli... mərri: lá-mšadrətti xá-gā xeta go qurdāye. 'ən sníqa-wət xədda sele kəslox gəbət ^Hazrətte^H, si gyānox! 'āna lá-gezən. la mərri ṭāse čú-məndi. waḷḷa zəlla. ^Hbe'emét^H. mərri ṭas dide: b-gyānox 'āzət. lá-'amrət ṭāsi. 'āna lá-mšən mābayn d-anna baxtāsa xadrən, la. kullu dukāne lu b'rāqa basri hənna. mā 'odən 'əbbu? 'āna lá-gbənnu. walḥāṣəl waḷḷa la ^Hmurgəšle^H má-'it u-má-let. 'iya masale pəšla xapči ^Hšeket^H. zəlla.*
- 15 *xá-yoma ^Hba-'érəx^H... xzi! xa ṭlā-yarxe zəlla 'əbbəd dida. 'iya nixəd 'Awrāham zəlle mulšənnə kəsəl nəxtəd yəmmi: ki'at brónax-ži le mpila basər baxtás qurdāye? la yəmmi ki'a la bābi ko mā masále-la. lewən míra-llu-ži. waḷḷa bābi-ži ^Hm'uxzá(v)^H. le bāda-lli ^Hpartšufím kol mine dəvarím^H. lewe mḥakoye mənni ^Hyafé məsudár^H. 'ax-geb tán-geb, 'it-xa məndi.*
- 16 *xá-yoma kəmrən ta nəxtəd yəmmi. mərri: má-lox?⁸⁹ kəmra: 'āhat pəšwālox ṭahóra-ži. zəllox basər baxtás qurdāye? mərri: m-eka ki'at? xulma wetun xəzye? mā bréla 'əllexun? kəmra: bale, bale 'it sahāde. mərri: sahāde? 'āna ki'ən 'Awrāham le 'əsyə mulšəna ṭasexun. mərri: bəš-ila. da-ḥmól! lá-mḥokeli. [A.H.: mar: ^Zmłuqta^Z] 'ā?...le māra hənna 'ūda fasādūsa. fasādūsa ^Zgəmri^Z [Y.H.: mar: fasādūsa]. ^Hken^H. fasādūsa.*

⁸⁸ See § 4.4.23.5.

⁸⁹ An error for *má-lax*.

By God, I took the key out of her pocket. I opened the door myself. She 13
hit me once again from behind. By God, I turned around to her until the
ground... She didn't get up from the ground. I said: "Now stop!" I took
to the road. I came home. [Y.H.: Her father didn't say anything?] He isn't
in the house. [Y.H.: You said he was standing looking in at the window.]
She said it. And that other one, another person... She came (and) says to
me: "He knew." They knew (of the matter from) each other. I don't know.
In short, by God, this affair went away. This affair went away.

I came home. I brought the cooking oil (which I had originally been 14
sent to get). I gave it... I said (to my father): "Don't you send me again
among the Kurds. If you are in need (because) someone has come to you
(and) you want to help him, go yourself! I am not going." I didn't tell him
anything (about the incident). By God, it passed. Really. I said to him: "Go
yourself. Don't tell me (to go). I am not able to go around among those
women, no. They are running after me everywhere, um. What should I
do with them? I don't want them." In short, by God, he (my father) didn't
notice anything at all. This affair remained a bit quiet. (The affair) went
away.

One day about... look! About three months went by since (the inci- 15
dent). (Then) this late Abraham went (and) he informed (on me) to my
late mother: "Do you know your son has chased after women of the
Kurds?" Neither my mother knows nor my father what the incident is.
I haven't even told them. By God, my father (is) disappoin(ted). He is
making all sorts of faces at me. He is not speaking with me nicely (or
on a) regular (basis). When all's said and done, (I can tell that) there is
something (wrong).

One day I say to my late mother, I said: "What's with you?" She says: 16
"You had been pure. (But then) you went after women of the Kurds?" I
said: "From where do you know (this)? Have you been dreaming? What
happened to you?" She says: "Yes indeed, yes indeed, there are witnesses."
I said: "Witnesses? I know Abraham has come (and has) informed (on
me) to you." I said: "It's fine. Now stop!" I didn't talk. [A.H.: Say: *mлуqta*
(he has informed against).] Huh?... He is saying, um, he has spread⁹⁰
gossip. They say *fasadusa* (gossip). [Y.H.: Say: *fasadusa* (gossip)!] Yes.
fasadusa.

⁹⁰ Lit., 'done'.

- 17 *walhāšəl zəlla 'əbba. ^Haz^H jirānəd d-e, d-é-baxta xa ^Hbaḥúr^H 'ətwa l-tāma. zamāra 'ewa rāba. ^Haz^H kəsleni gyatwiwa. kudlel kesewa ^Horḥím^H zam-riwa ḥil palgəddle. ^Hba-‘érəx^H sā‘a tre’sar hatxa geziwa kutxa mbarbəziwa gezəlwa l-bes gyāne. ‘é-nāša ^Hmuzmənni^H. ‘āhat⁹¹ xəlwāli kəsəl dide ^Haru-ḥā^H. u-‘é zamāra-ži ^Hmuzmənni^H xá-yoma. Ḥasan ^Zgəmrīwāle^Z. mərri: ‘āsət kəsleni xanči zəmrəyāsa basime ‘amrət. kemər: ^Htoṽ^H. Məšto-ži mesətte mən gyānox, mərri... selu kəsleni.*
- 18 *nixəd bābi lá-ki‘e yəmmi lá-ki‘a mā masále(-la). tūlu zmərru ḥil palgəddle. hənna-wa qurwəd ḥanukkā(-w)a. waxtəd qəmlu ‘āna-ži mərri t̄āse: Məšto! kemər: mā? ‘ətwāle tre ‘axawāsa. mərri: ‘āhat b-xudreš ‘axawāsox u-b-qur‘ān dexun ‘əbbəd Maḥammad dexun, ‘āna gmaymənnox ^Z‘ó^Z-yoma d-āna seli kəslexun, kəslox, u-let hənna məšxa, düqənnox, lá-qbəllox ‘āzən. mərrox ḥel ^Haruḥā^H lá-‘axlət kəsli lá-gezət. má-‘ətwa? ‘āna gəbən ‘amrət ^Hemét^H.*
- 19 *ḥməlle monəxle. waḷla qəmlə ḥməlle qam nixəd bābi. kemər: xzi! ‘āwon didox ‘əd-kúlla⁹² hudāye mən kullu dukāne. kemər: qdāli hūwa. qdāl bāb-u-yəmmi hūwa. reš hənna səjjādəd Maḥammad ‘āna ...hatxa ‘ən ‘āna mdaglənnox. kem(ər): ḥāl-u-masaləd bronox hatxa ‘āwa. flān-brāta lewa práqta-lle. le dwúqa-lla. hāda(x) le l̄tixa ‘əbba. hāda(x) le krixə ‘əbba. le wida ‘əlla ^Hḥolā^H. le múndye-lla l-tāma. (b-)xurṯusa gəba—, gbāwa ‘āya dāməx mənəd dida. tar‘a la ḥl̄qta ‘əlləd dide. mā le ^Hmbukša^H mənna? lewa ^Hmšuhrərarta^H ‘əlle. tar‘a lewa ptáxta-lle. b- ^Hkowaḥ^H tar‘a le ptíxa-lle u-hátxa-la. hátxa la breta. ke(mər): lewe nqiša ‘əlləd dida.*
- 20 *basər hādax ^Haz^H bābi mpuršəqle. kefe sele. mərri: kud ^Hčizbát^{H93} sele mən xá-dūka gyatwət mašm(‘)ət ‘əlləd dide... lewən sira! u-‘idi sira-le⁹⁴ ‘aqlāsi síre-lu? lewu ysire ‘aqlāsi. ‘āna la gezən kəsəl didu. lá-gbən.*

⁹¹ An error for ‘āna.

⁹² For expected kullu.

⁹³ < ModH < Ar.

⁹⁴ An error for síre-le.

In short, (the gossip?) about it went (around?). Then there was a young man there who (was) a neighbor of that, of that woman. He was a great singer. So (people) would sit with us. Every night guests would come. They would sing until midnight. (At) about something like twelve o'clock, they would go, each one would leave (and) go to his own house. I invited that person (the singer). I had eaten a meal at his place. And moreover one day I invited that singer. They called him Ḥasan. I said: "You should come to us (and) sing a few nice songs."⁹⁵ He (the singer) says: "Fine." "You should also bring Misto (the shepherd) with you," I said... They came to us.

Neither my late father nor my mother know what the story (is). They sat (and) sang until midnight. It was, um, it was close to Hanukka. At the time they got up (to leave) I said to him: "Misto!" He says: "What?" He had two brothers. I said: "Take my word for it by the head of your brother and by your Quran (and) by your Muhammad, I adjure you that on that day that I came to you all, to you, by God, and there isn't, um, cooking oil, you grabbed me (and) you didn't agree that I should go. You said: 'Until you eat a meal with me you are not going.' What was it there? I want you to tell the truth."

(Misto) stopped (and) looked. By God, he got up (and) he stood before my late father. (Misto) says: "Look! Your guilt (and) of all the Jews from everywhere," he says: "may it be upon us."⁹⁶ May the guilt be that of my father and my mother. On, um, the prayer rug of Muhammad, I (swear)... thus (may they do to me) if I am lying to you. He sa(ys): "The upshot of the story of your son was like this: a certain girl hasn't left him alone. He has grabbed her (in order to get the key out of her pocket so that he could open the locked door). For this reason he (went up and) struggled with her. Like th(is) he has beaten her. He has made her ill. He has thrown her down there. (By) force she want(ed)—, wanted him to sleep with her. She has locked the door on him. What has he asked of her? She hasn't let him go. She hasn't opened the door. By force he has opened the door and that's the way it is. That's the way it happened. He sa(ys): "He hasn't touched her."

After this then my father stretched out (and relaxed). He rejoiced. I said: "You sit (and) listen to each lie (that) comes from any place... I am not tied up! Are my hands tied (and) are my feet tied up? My feet aren't tied up. I am not going to them (if you need something from them). I don't want to."

⁹⁵ Lit., 'say'.

⁹⁶ Lit., 'May it be (on) my neck'.

- 21 *walḥāšəl 'áx-geb tán-geb... pəšla^Hšeket^H. qəmlu 'ida drelu 'əbbəd 'axawāsi. 'anna mənni pəšlu be-hívi. ^Htov^H. 'axawāsi—, ^Hbe'emét^H nixəd 'Awṛāham zəlle mən... 'iya mā kəmrila 'axoni Ḥáyyo-ži zəlle mənne, 'anna kutru. [Y.H.: la 'üdlu 'əllu čú-məndi?] la! ḥmol! heš lewu mətye l-hādax 'odi 'əllu. qamāye gbe ḥāš^Hmšaxnəxilu^{H97} ḥāš mazəḷtilu. xarāye 'egā ^Həmm'eymi^{H98} 'əlləd didu: qatłáxlexun 'ən lá-hatxa.*

5.9. THE WIFE OF THE MUDIR REPAYS KINDNESS

- 1 *kma šənne kəsleni mədor wewa. kma ^Htafkidím^H le xlipa. wakil qāymaqam wewa. dukāne nablíwāle. Mzaffər ^Zgəmríwāle^Z. 'āna ^Hvərri^{H99} mən tāma. baxte xəzyāli qam tar'a... ḥel 'iya mā kəmrila 'āya-la qam tar'a. hatxa monəxla 'əbbi. 'āya ki'āli [Y.H.: baxtəd qunšul?] la, bax mədor, mədor. [Y.H.: 'ā, bax mədor.] 'āna mənnəd hənna wən bəqrāwəd Jólamerǵ.*
- 2 *waḷla sela. kəmrā ṭāsi: m-eka wət bisāya? 'āya ki'āli. 'əsri, 'əsri, ṭḷāsi šənne-wax, go Čalla wewa. 'alpa šu'āle wax wide ṭas didu. walḥāšəl mərri: xānəm waḷla 'āna mən Mošəl wən bisāya. kəmrā: 'axxa 'urxəd Mósəl-la? mərri: pəšla 'urxəd Mošəl. pəšla 'urxəd Mosəl. waḷla 'āna mən Mošəl wən bisāya. 'egā gəbat mhémənat ^Ho^H čú-məndi.*
- 3 *'āna wən piša šəxtāna. 'āya tmane'sar yome b-'aqle wən bisāya. tmane'sar yome. 'egā le—, le hənna, sā'a, 'əšra, tre'sár-sā'e sir(e) 'aqle. xarāye 'egā yasrilox mən 'aqlāsox u-ḥil šadrox 'əbbəd ^Hamidá^H.¹⁰⁰ mərri: ḥāl-u-masale hátxa-la. 'eka bāzət? mərri: bān Jólamerǵ. kəmrā: Jólamerǵ lewa řāba... rəqqa hənna řāba réqqa-le. 'árba xamša sā'e mātət Jólamerǵ.*
- 4 *bale 'ádlele hənna šapsa déxun-ila. ^Hšabát^H-ila. 'eka bāzət? mərri: 'ətlan 'axnan řāba ^Hḥaverím^H tāma. waḷla xāzeli ^Hpaxatfili^H. má-āhat kxašwat? 'ətlan ^Hḥaverím^H 'axnan kullu dukāne.*

⁹⁷ Unexpected reflex of ModH עֲכַנְעִי.

⁹⁸ < *bm'āymi.

⁹⁹ Elsewhere Shabbo uses the NENA form 'ūrri.

¹⁰⁰ For expected ^Hamidá^H.

In short, when all's said and done... it became quiet. They up (and) 21
 put a hand on my brothers. They despaired of me. Fine. My brothers—,
 really the late Abraham went with... What do they call it?—my brother
 Ḥayyo went with him, the two of them. [Y.H.: They didn't do anything
 to them?] No, wait! They hadn't yet got to doing anything to them. At
 first one should convince them nicely to convert. Then later they threaten
 them. "We'll kill you if (it is) not like this (and you don't convert)."

5.9. THE WIFE OF THE MUDIR REPAYS KINDNESS

He was the mudir with us for a few years. He has switched several 1
 positions. He was the deputy of the local governor. They used to transfer
 him (to different) places. They called him Mzaffer. I passed by there. I
 saw his wife outside... until, what do they call it?—she is outside. Like
 this she looked at me. She knows me. [Y.H.: The wife of the consul?] No,
 the wife of the mudir, the mudir. [Y.H.: Ah, the wife of the mudir.] I with,
 um, I am approaching Jolamerk.

By God, she came (up to me). She says to me: "Where are you coming 2
 from?" She knows me. Twenty, twenty, thirty years we (have known each
 other); she was in Challa. We have done a thousand things for them. In
 short, I said: "Madam, by God, I am coming from Mosul." She says: "Is
 the path to Mosul here?" I said: "It became the path to Mosul. It became
 the path to Mosul. By God, I am coming from Mosul. So then (if) you
 want, believe (it), or not at all."

I have become dirty. It (is) eighteen days (that) I have been walking 3
 on foot. Eighteen days. So then is—, is, um, my feet are tied up¹⁰¹ an
 hour, ten, twelve hours. Then later they tie you up from your feet until
 your chest in a standi(ng position). I said: "The upshot is like this." (She
 says:) "Where are you going?" I said: "I am going (to) Jolamerk." She says:
 "Jolamerk is not very... a distance, um, (not) a great distance. You should
 reach Jolamerk in four, five hours."

"Indeed tonight, um, is your Sabbath. It is *Shabbat*. Where are you 4
 going?" I said: "We have many friends there (in Jolamerk)." By God, they
 see me (and) they will snatch me up. What (else) do you think? We have
 friends in all places.

¹⁰¹ Shabbo had crossed the border illegally into Iraq, was caught, imprisoned, and
 marched back to the border tied up.

- 5 *kəmra: waḷḷa pešət kəsleni. mərri: xānəm 'āna māto pešən kəslexun? 'iya šəxta? b-iya hənna hatxa la gərya? la xipa? la mxulpa? la čú-məndi? hatxa šəxtāna b-iya ^Hmašáv^H? hā, kəmra: mā? 'axnan ^Hbne 'adám^H lewax? didox 'āya-le. jullox masyannu. mesyannu gér-julle. jullox mesyannu. damxət kəsléni-ži. kəsleni pāwət. xošəba xarāye si! xošəba si!*
- 6 *mā-'āhat? mərri. 'üdlī—, mərri: b-iya šəxta... kəslexun? kəmra: byāxlox šābun. byāxlox xa margəḷta. byāxlox šiwe. tāma šiwe let. tāma 'it guniye. 'āni-maqdi. si! wəlle hənna nəhəra-ži-le qāmox. si reš nehəra (m)šāxənnox māye. xóp-u loš julle qliwe! jullox māsaxlu.*
- 7 *māto? 'āhat bax mədor, masyat julli? kəmra: mā 'egā 'āna-ži ^Hbne 'adám^H; lewax xor kullu? mā? 'itən piča wetun plixe ṭaseni? 'āna-ži mərri: xānəm, 'āna gnaxpən. ṭāsi 'éba-ži, 'āna hudāya u-'āhat bax mədor yatwat masyatti julle? kəmra: xzi! 'axnan ^Hga'avaním^H lewax. 'aqqar šu'āle bāš wetun 'ūde ṭaseni. ^Hl-'olám^H 'axnan lá-gnāšax. ^HtoV^H. mərri: ^Htodá rabá^H.*
- 8 *zəlla. məsela ṭāsi məšxa, kar'a, gupta, sartuk, masta. šləqla be'e go čaydan-ka. ki'a kullu ^Htoxniyót^H deni, hudāye ki'ālu. widənnə ^H'aruḫá^H. xəlli. mərri: mədor-bak 'éka-le? kəmra: 'ile b-^Hmisrád^H. 'āya-la u-yəmma u-xá-brona. 'ətla xá-brona. bron 'əč'á-šənnə. 'āya gezəl ^Hbet sefer^H. 'ā u-yəmma kpeši l-'uwwa, gor dída-ži gezəl ^Hmisrád^H.*
- 9 *(ma)noxə. 'iya besa hatxa ta góva-ži. 'áqəli lá-qāṭe' nāfe'. bale gāwe geb lu 'ūde-lle kulle ^Hluḫót^H šiwe ^Hyafé yafé^H lu wide. 'āna-ži har plətli qam tar'a. 'ürri. 'üdlī-, 'ürri. 'āya la manoxə 'əbbi la bəgxāka. mərri: mā-'āhat bəgxāka? kəmra: 'it-xa-məndi kəslox. 'áqqara bə'wāra bəplāṭa bə'wāra bəplāṭa. xa məndi 'it.*

She says: “By God, you should remain with us.” I said: “Madam, 5
 how should I remain with you? (With) this filth (on me)? In this, um,
 unshaven (state) like this? Unwashed? Unchanged? (Without) anything?
 Dirty like this, in this state?” “Here,” she says: “What? Aren’t we human
 beings? It (our house) is yours. I’ll wash your clothes. I’ll bring you other
 clothes. I’ll bring your clothes. And you should sleep with us. You will be
 with us. (On) Sunday finally go! Go (on) Sunday!”

“What (are) you?” I said. “I did—,” I said: “In this filth . . . with you?” 6
 She says: “We will give you soap. We will give you a cauldron. We will give
 you pieces of wood (to heat up the water).” There aren’t pieces of wood
 there. There are brambles there. They burn (them to heat up the water).
 (She says:) “Go! Right now, um, the river is in front of you. Go to the
 river (to get water and) I’ll warm up water for you. Wash and wear clean
 clothes! We’ll wash your clothes.”

(I said:) “How so? You, (are) the wife of the mudir. You should wash 7
 my clothes?” She says: “What, I too am a human being; aren’t we like
 everyone? What? Is it a little thing (what) you have done for us?” I
 also said: “Madam, I am embarrassed. It is also a disgrace for me, I
 a Jew, and you the wife of the mudir that you should sit (and) wash
 clothes for me” She says: “Look! We are not proud. You have done so
 many good things for us. We never forget.” Fine. I said: “Thank you very
 much.”

She went. She brought me cooking oil, butter, cheese, cream, (and) 8
 yoghurt. She poached eggs in a teapot. She knows all our customs,¹⁰² she
 knows the Jews. She made me a meal. I ate. I said: “Where is the mudir
 bey?” She says: “He is in (the) office.” She is (there in the house along
 with) her mother and a son. She has one son. The son (is) nine years old.
 He goes (to) school. She and her mother remain inside and her husband
 goes (to the) office.

(I am) looking (around). And this house, like this, (is) a stall. My mind 9
 doesn’t comprehend (how it) suits (them). But on the inside they have
 made it all wood panels. They have made (it) very nice. I went outside.
 I just went in and out. I did—, I entered. She is looking at me, she is
 laughing. I said: “Why are you laughing?” She says: “There is something
 (funny) about you. So much entering, leaving, entering, leaving. There is
 something (funny about it).”

¹⁰² Lit. ‘plans.’

- 10 *xa^Hheder^H xéta-ži 'ətlu. tre^Hħədarím^H lu^Hb-sax ha-kól^H. 'ürri l-táma-ži. plətli. kəmra: ʧamá 'əhət bāda? mərri: gəbe gāwe xá-məndi ti gyāni. yārūsa 'üdlí 'əbba. kəmra:... mād gəbət. ^Hbe'emét^H séli-wa. xləšli monəxli zurri basər bes didu. mənnu l-é-'əl-ži rübar məýe-le. mərri: mədor 'imal bāse? kəmra: sá'a tre'sar.*
- 11 *... mərri mašme'! gəbən nablənnax mən d-axxa. ħməlla. monəxla 'əbbi. kəmra māto nablətti mən d-axxa? mərri mašme'! 'āna hudāya. wən bisá m-^Hbet sohar^H. 'āhat tūla(x) mselax julle ʧāši. məsənnax julle. 'āna zəlli xəpli. mxoləpli. 'āna 'iya ^Htəmurá^H gəbən mad'ərənna 'əllax.*
- 12 *kəmra mā bodan? mərri xze! 'ən gəbat dá'rat-wa 'əl-Čalla—. 'āhat go qaşra watwa tre^Hqomót naxón^H? ktaxrat? kəmra he. [A.H.: tre ʧabāqe]. he tre ʧabāqe u-'arba ^Hħədarím—^Hewa l-'ələl, 'árba-ži l-'əltəx. ^Hnaxón^H? kəmra ^Hnaxón^H. mərri 'āhat lewat ^Hmat'imá^H l-axxa hūwat.*
- 13 *^Hbe'emét^H 'ən ba'yat, la', xamša'sar yomāsa xet 'āhat la pūwat 'axxa. 'ən la ba'yat-ži 'āwon dīdax u-'əd-górax b-qdalexun. kəmra māto nablətti? mərri xze! 'āhat 'āya šüqla ʧāši māto nablənnax. 'atta bāse gorax. 'āya gora wakil qāymaqam wewa. mədor wewa. 'əmma dukāne le zila. 'əmma ^Htafkidím^H gmələwa. 'āya ki'e kullu dukāne.*

5.10. THE ART OF STEALING WHILE ON A MOVING TRAIN

- 1 *wəlla mən tāma mən Ştambul kud ^Htaħanád^H gezaxwa, mesewa məndi gəməzabniwa. 'əx-geb tán-geb bāmərwa: halu! halu! pšāqəlwa u-pšāqəlwa u-pšāqəlwa. marawāse lu 'əltəx 'əl-'ár'a. 'āya-le go ^Hrəkevet^H.*
- 2 *xamši paŋqáŋoṭe xá-yoma mpultāle. ^Hbakašá^H. hā šqol ħaqqox! ħabibi xá-šawa 'āna mzabnən xamši paŋqáŋoṭe lá-kā'eli.¹⁰³ 'egā 'āhat byāli¹⁰⁴*

¹⁰³ See § 3.3.c.

¹⁰⁴ Apparently a contracted form from the verb *yhw(l)*.

They also have another room. They are two rooms all together. I also 10
 entered there. I went out. She says: “Why (are) you doing (that)?” I said:
 “There must be something in it for me.” I made a joke with her. She
 says...: “Whatever you want.” Really, I had come (and gone and come
 and gone). I finished, I looked, (and) I went around behind their house.
 From them on in that direction there is a stream of water. I said: “When
 is the mudir coming?” She says: “Twelve o'clock.”

... I said: “Listen! I want to take you away from here.” She stopped. She 11
 looked at me. She says: “How can you take me away from here?” I said:
 “Listen!” I (am) a Jew. I am coming from prison. You sat (and) washed
 clothes for me. You brought me clothes. I went (and) washed. I changed
 (my clothes). In exchange I want to return this favor to you.”

She says: “What shall I do?” I said: “Look! If you want to return 12
 to Challa—. You were in a mansion that had two floors, correct? You
 remember?” She says: “Yes.” [A.H.: Two floors.] Yes, there were two floors
 and four rooms upstairs, and four rooms downstairs. (I said to her:)
 “Correct?” She said “Correct.” I said: “You don't fit here.”

Really, if you want (me to arrange the transfer, then) no, you won't 13
 be here in another fifteen days. And if you don't want (me to arrange
 it), then you and your husband are responsible. She says: “How will you
 transfer me?” I said: “Look! You leave it to me how I transfer you. Now
 your husband will come.” That man was the deputy local governor. He
 was the mudir. He has gone (for work) to a hundred (different) places.
 He filled a hundred positions. He knows all the places.

5.10. THE ART OF STEALING WHILE ON A MOVING TRAIN

By God, from¹⁰⁵ there, from Istanbul, (at) every station which we went 1
 to, they (sellers) would bring something and would sell. When all's said
 and done, he (Abraham) would say: “Hallo! Hallo!” He would take and
 take and take. The owners (of the merchandise) are below, on the train
 platform.¹⁰⁶ He (Abraham) is (up above them) in the train.

One day (Abraham) took out (of his wallet) fifty liras. (He says:) 2
 “Please. Here take your due!” (The seller says:) “My friend, I sell (during
 an entire) week and (yet) I don't get fifty liras (by the end of the week).

¹⁰⁵ Error for 'to' as is apparent from the rest of the story.

¹⁰⁶ Lit., 'the ground'.

xamši paṇqáṇote? pa da-ḥmól. mpartəxənnə. bāzəlwa mən tam ḥāməlwa go—, let ^Hrəkevet. rəkevet^H zəlla.

- 3 ^Hbe'emét^H xá-qorūš mən tāma ḥel sele l-Ştambul. xá-qorūš 'ā—, mād šqalle kulle baláš. mād šqalle kulle baláš. 'iya ḥāleni-l... Başālel lewe wida 'án-šu'āle. Başālel ^Hbe'emét^H [S.B.: ^Hze níkrá gezəl^H.] 'ā! ^Hgezəl^H kəsəl dide čú-məndi lá-ewa.
- 4 xá-yoma məselu xa ^Hmagáš^H kəsyāsa, xa ṭlāsi ṭlāsi u-xamša kəsyāsa mbušle. 'axnan wax go ^Hrəkevet^H wax bizāla. waḷla sele le bəşrāxa. mərre: kəsyāsa! hənna ^Hmagáš^H-ile rešreš dide. kəsyāsa lu gāwa. ksesa 'əbbəd lira u-palge mbušalta. 'á-ži kemər: hal tre'!... 'Awṛāham, he... la, l-tāma, l-tāma go ^Hrəkevet^H yom bizāla ta Ştambul. kemər: hal tre'! 'á-ži hūle. hūle tre'.
- 5 'āni nāše xapči ^Hmvugarím. mxabdilu^H řāba. kəslu 'ítəna ^Hkavód 'ašmí^H. waḷla kemər řas dide: hal tre'! šqalle tre. baxte-ži kəmra: gmaxlət řarefa l-yalunke? kem(ər): de 'āhat lá-mḥakyat! kemər hənna: 'āhat lá-mḥakyat! baxli baxli! 'á-ži mhomənnə ko bmāxəl l-yalunke.
- 6 waḷla hənna kəsyāsəd gyānan mətwile l-tāma. mar! kəsyāsa-ži 'əltəx reš ^Hpas rəkevet^H ile mzabone. mzobənnə ḥil—. xa 'əşra daqiqe ^Hrəkevet^H ḥamla bəz-zodāna la bāza. wallḥāşəl hənna-la şřəxle. kemər: ^Hdod, dod^H, xāzax pārad kəsyāsa. mpulṭāle xamši paṇqáṇote, düqāle. 'egā ṭlāhá-'arba metre řomāna-ile 'āya mən dide. ^Hbakašá^H šqol ḥaqqox!
- 7 manoxe le māra: ḥabibi! 'arba ^Hmagaším^H 'āna mزابنənwə b-zor məte l-xamši paṇqáṇote. m-eka yāwənnox? kem(ər): pa da-ḥmól. 'atta mpartəxənnə 'əllox. sele l-é-'əl go ^Hrəkevet^H. waḷla ^Hrəkevet^H zəlla. ^Hrəkevet^H zəlla. mašmí'! zəllan xapči l-é-'əl. 'egā kəsyāsa lu l-tāma.

So now you'll give me fifty liras? (Abraham says:) "So just wait. I will get change for it." (Abraham) would go from there (inside the train in order to get change), (and the seller) would wait on (the train platform)—, there is no train! The train departed (and the seller is left without his goods and without his change)!

Really, (Abraham didn't spend) a piaster from there until he came to 3
Istanbul. (Not) a piaster did he—, whatever he (Abraham) took, it (was) all free. Whatever he took, it (was) all free. This (was) our situation... Beşalel¹⁰⁷ hasn't done those (sorts of) things. Beşalel really [S.B.: This is called robbery.] Ah! Robbery is nothing for him (Abraham).

One day they brought (around) a tray of hens, about thirty, thirty-five 4
cooked hens. We are in the train (and) we are moving. By God, (a seller) came (and) is shouting. He said: "Hens!" Um, the tray is right above him (the seller).¹⁰⁸ Hens are on it. A hen for a lira and half, cooked. He (Abraham) also says: "Give (me) only two (of them)!"... Abraham, yes... no, there, there in the train the day we (are) going to Istanbul. He (Abraham) says: "Give (me) only two!" He gave him (them). He gave him two.

They (the sellers) (are) somewhat older. They respect them greatly. 5
They have self respect. By God, (Abraham) says to him (the seller): "Give (me) only two (hens)!" He (Abraham) took two. And his wife says: "Are you feeding the children non-kosher meat?" (Abraham) says: "Now don't you talk!" He says, um: "Don't you talk! They will eat (it), they will eat (it)!" Also she believed that he will feed the children (non-kosher meat).

By God, um, (the seller) placed our hens there (on the tray). Say! He 6
is also selling the hens on the railway track below. He sold until—. About ten minutes more the train stands (and) won't depart. In short, um, (the seller) called out. He says: "Uncle, uncle, let's see the money for the hens." (Abraham) took out fifty liras (and) grabbed it (the tray). Now then he (Abraham) is three to four meters higher than him (the seller). (Abraham says to the seller:) "Please, take your due!"

Looking (at Abraham) he is saying: "My friend! Were I to sell four 7
trays, it would hardly come to fifty liras. From where should I give you (change)? (Abraham) sa(ys): So wait. Now I will make change for you." (Abraham) came to the other side of the train (pretending to look for change). By God, (in the meantime) the train departed. The train departed. Listen! We went a little to that side. Now then the hens are (still) there (on the train).

¹⁰⁷ Abraham's brother.

¹⁰⁸ I.e., he is holding the tray up high over his head.

- 8 *báxte-ži la manoxe 'əbbe. la māra: mmaxlət ʔarefa l-yalunke? la, kemər: 'āhat lá-mḥakyat! ʂo'ərre 'əlləd dida. ʂo'ərre 'əlləd dida. walḥāšəl kemər: lá, lá, 'āhat lá-mḥakyat! lá-m'aḥrət!*
- 9 *waḷla šqilāle xa ksesa. qəʔ'a kəsəl dida düqāle. zurre go ^Hrəkevet^H kem(ər) ksesa ksesa ta ^Hḥayalím! ḥayalím^H mášša-lu go ^Hrəkevet^H. ta ^Hḥayalím^H. xá-lira u-palge wən zwūna-lla, xá-lira u-palge ʔasexun.*
- 10 *waḷla sele. xa šqilāle... de mašmi?! sele. zəlle l-xeta. 'á-ži mzübnāle har hādax. kemər: ʔamá? gzonax jigāre gzonax ^Hdvarím 'aḥerím^H. 'ən snəqlan tāma baxla(x) m-pār gyānan. baxlax mənnəd didu.*
- 11 *waḷla zəllan ^Htaḥaná^H d-basra. xədda sele bəmzabone čāy. 'āni šö'a-^Hnafa-šöt^H-ilu. walḥāšəl 'á-le, u-baxte u-xamša yalunke. walḥāšəl waḷla kemər: de-hál! mar—, 'atta mare čāy. xá-ta Moše u-xá-ta Nuwaḥ u-xá-ta Bāruḥ u-xá-ta Səmḥa u-xá-ta d-e-xét, xá-ta d-e-xét. šö'a čāye šqalle. qatxe didu zöre-lu. walḥāšəl tūlu bəštá. [A.H.: 'əstakāne]. he. tūlu bəštá. walḥāšəl čāy xləšla. štyālu. qátxe-ži pəšlu l-tāma. mare čāy-ži har le mzabone. ^Hkos^H b-'əšra qorūše. ^Htoḅ^H.*
- 12 *mṭele 'əlləd hənna kemər: bāba. hallu! qatxi u-pāri! 'atta ^Hrəkevet^H jó-žāle.¹⁰⁹ ^Hrəkevet^H šrəxla ^Hkvar^H. 'á-ži mpoləṭle xamši paṇqáṇoṭe... har 'é-xamši paṇqáṇoṭe. čú-məndi xet let. har 'é-xamši paṇqáṇoṭe. 'á-ži le māra: bāba m-eka 'āna mesənnox xamši—, ^Hodef^H xamši paṇqáṇoṭe yāwənnox? xá-šawa ^Hšalém^H 'āna mzabnən čāy xamši paṇqáṇoṭe lá-kese b-'idi. ^Haz^H m-eka? 'ā kemər: pa da-ḥmól mpartəxənna.*
- 13 *^Hrəkevet benatayim^H zəlla. 'iya bron dide Moše, wət xázya-lle? [S.B.: mani?] Moše bron dide. [S.B.: la ki'ənne...] 'Aḥiya ki'ənne... walḥāšəl 'á-ži kemər ʔas dide: ... ka-'égā čāy štyāleni. 'anna qatxe... hənna múd'əra-llu 'əlləd didu. məskena. čāy dide ḥaqqá lá-hūlan. qatxəd dide-ži pəšlu ʔaseni...*

¹⁰⁹ For expected *jujla*?

Also his (Abraham's) wife is looking at him (Abraham). She is saying: 8
 "Will you feed the children non-kosher meat?" "No," he says: "Don't you talk!" He cursed her. He cursed her. In short, he says: "No, no, don't you talk! Don't give orders!"

By God, he took a hen. He grabbed a piece of it. He went around on 9
 the train say(ing): "A hen, a hen for soldiers!" There are many soldiers on the train. (He calls out:) "(Hens) for soldiers!" (He says to the soldiers:) "I have bought it (the hen) for a lira and a half, for you (at the same price) a lira and a half."

By God, he came. He took one (hen)... Now listen! He came (to 10
 one soldier). He went to another (soldier). He (Abraham) sold it just like this. (Abraham) says: "Why (do I do this)? We buy cigarettes, we buy other things. If we need to (buy things once we arrive) there, we will use our own money. (But now) we will use their (other people's) money."

By God, we went to the next station. Someone came selling tea. They 11
 are seven people. In short, he is (there), his wife, and five children. In short, by God, he (Abraham) says: "Now give (me some tea). (The tea-) seller—, now the tea-seller. One for Moses, and one for Noah, and one for Baruch, and one for Simha, and one for that other, one for this other." He (Abraham) took seven (glasses of) tea. Their glasses are small. In short, they began drinking. [A.H.: *'astakāne* (small glasses for tea.)] Yes. They began drinking. In short, the tea was finished. They drank it. And the glasses remained there (with Abraham). The tea-seller is still selling (tea). A glass for ten piasters. Fine.

(The tea-seller) came to, um, he says: "By God! Give them! My glasses 12
 and my money!" (Just) now the train moved. The (whistle of the) train already called (out to go). He (Abraham) takes out fifty liras... the same fifty liras (as before). There is nothing else (as simple as that). The same fifty liras. He also (the tea-seller) is saying: "By God! From where should I bring you (change for) fifty—, give you change (for) fifty liras? I sell tea (for) a whole week (and) I (still) don't earn fifty liras. So from where (should I get change)?" (Abraham) says: "Then wait that I make change for it."

Meanwhile the train departed. This son of his, Moses, have you seen 13
 him? [S.B.: Whom?] Moses, his son. [S.B.: I don't know him...] Ahiya knows him... In short, he (Moses) says to him (Abraham, his father): ... since then we drank the tea... those glasses... um, returned them to them. Poor fellow. We didn't give (him) the price of his tea. And his glasses remained with us...

- 14 *he, he, de-mášmi'!* *şofi 'Ayrıřham-le, mā şofi? hanna şof(i)-Ibráhim-le. walhāşəl qatxe pəşlu. 'ā-ži kemər walla qatxe híwā-llu 'əlləd didu. 'áwon-ila. məskena. čáy-ži şatyālan qátxe-ži pəşlu. k(əmər:) 'āt wət 'asya peşət sahāda reşeni?*
- 15 *xa gopálta-la go 'ide. şqilāle l-Moşe... Moşe brone. kemər: 'āt wət 'asya peşət sahāda reşeni? mā? 'āna wən mbaqore mənnox? čáy-ži pşātaxla qátxe-ži peşi řaseni. kemər: 'āhat lişānox yaríxa-le. Moşe pappūka' 'ā xälle məşša-xutře. zōra 'ewa. 'ā kemər—, ^Hgil^H šö'á-tmánya šanne wewa. walla xälle xutř(e).*
- 16 *mərri: 'Awřāham. kemər: mā? ke(mər:) 'āna xorexun 'affandi lewən. yā'at.¹¹⁰ 'āna baxlən m-pār didu. lá-kəxlən m-pāreni. 'āya kúd-dūka-u-dūka lu masoye ^Hugiyót, mā—, kol mine dvarím^H. 'āya har le bəşqāla. he, xamši pañqáñoře-ži lewe mpúrtəxa 'əlle. xləşla. ^Hma'ase^H b-xamši pañqáñoře hil mřéleni l-Şřambul. 'iya hāleni hátxa-ewa.*

5.11. SHABBO DECIDES TO END BUSINESS DEALINGS WITH HIS KURDISH NEIGHBORS

- 1 [A.H.: *kma sā'e 'izāla ^Zwela^Z m-Čalla l-tāma?*] *^Hba-erex^H 'arba sā'e. 'arba sā'e. nāša qalūla 'āzəl 'arba sā'e. 'ən la, garša xamša, xamša u-palge. [A.H.: Nerwa řlāha sā'e.] Nerwa 'urxa bəş-^Hyaşàra^H 'āwa. tāma gbe koşiwa l-'əqər dūnye. təhóme-awa tāma. walhāşəl walla zəlli xá-gā xet. mərri řas d-é qurdāya: wetun wide ^Htová^H. bax 'axoni řāba yarxe l-axxa 'āwa. wetun ^Hmtuple^H 'əbba. 'áxnan-ži wax ^Hzire^H 'əllexon ^Hmtuple^H. 'anna řaqqəd gyānan.*

¹¹⁰ See § 4.1.6.d.

Yes, yes, now listen! He is Sufi Abraham,¹¹¹ what Sufi? Um, he is Sufi 14
 Ibrahim. In short, the glasses remained (with us). He (Abraham) even
 says that, by God, (the tea-seller has) given them the glasses. It's a sin.
 The poor fellow (the tea-seller). We both drank the tea and the glasses
 remained (with us). (Abraham says to his son Moses): "You have come
 to be a witness against us?"

There is a shepherd's stick in his (Abraham's) hand. He attacked Moses 15
 with it. . . .¹¹² Moses, his son. (Abraham) says (to Moses): "Have you come
 to be a witness against us? What? Am I asking you (for anything)? We will
 both drink the tea and the glasses will remain with us." (Abraham) says
 (to Moses): "You are cheeky."¹¹³ The poor Moses suffered¹¹⁴ a lot of (blows
 with) sticks. He was young. He says—, he was aged seven (or) eight years.
 By God, he suffered blows.

I said: "Abraham." He says: "What?" (Abraham) sa(ys): "I am not a 16
 gentleman like you (people). You should know. I shall spend their money.
 I don't spend our money." He (Abraham), every single place they are
 bringing cookies, what—, all sorts of things. He is just taking. Yes, he
 (Abraham) did not make change for him for fifty liras. It's finished. (This
 was) the story of (how we lived on) fifty liras until we arrived in Istanbul.
 Our situation was like this.

5.11. SHABBO DECIDES TO END BUSINESS DEALINGS WITH HIS KURDISH NEIGHBORS

[A.H.: How many hours walking was it from Čalla to there (Kara)?] 1
 About four hours. Four hours. A quick person should go in four hours.
 If not, it drags out to five, five and half. [A.H.: Nerwa (was) three hours.]
 The path was more direct to Nerwa. One had to descend there to the
 bottom of the world. It was an abyss there. In short, by God, I went once
 again. I said to that Kurd: "You have done a favor. My brother's wife was
 here many months. You have taken care of her. We too have helped you,
 (have) taken care (of you). Those are our obligations towards you."

¹¹¹ See § 5.3.

¹¹² Lit., 'He took it to Moses.'

¹¹³ Lit., 'You've got a long tongue.'

¹¹⁴ Lit., 'he ate.'

- 2 *xá-gā xet d'ərre l-é-xabra. mərri: ^Hb-sedər^H. ħmol! mosox qam xāši nāpəl 'ən 'āna lá-m'almənox, go ləbbi. seli l-besa. ^Hbeznəs^H qəṭyāli m-qurdāyəd ^Hazór^H deni. ^Hšúm-davər^H. la ^Hmasá^H u-la ^Hmatán^H. har selu u-zəllu har selu u-zəllu. lá-gleli ṭásu-ži má-'āna gəbən.*
- 3 *xá-yoma pəšlu veza, ki'ət? kulla 'ənyān dídu-lu¹¹⁵ go 'ideni. kesən l-besa. mā kesən u-ménxəna? kullu ^Hroše^H hənna ^Hšvatím^H 'ilu 'əsyə kəsleni. xa 'əç'a 'əşra muxtáre-lu-ži mənnu. lu 'əsyə beseni. lu ṣulye-lle. xāšu lu híwe-lle— [Y.H.: ^Zbesoxun^Z b-Čalla?] he, l-Čalla. xāšu lu hiwe-lle l-gūda qam qalunke. 'āt (k)taxrəttu qalunke? [A.H.: he, he.] m-axxa byātūwa qalunka mayrəxwāle l-tāma [Y.H.: 'amoyi Šəlo 'ilāha mānəxle gewədwāle.] ^Haz zehu. ^Hwalhəşəl lu bəgrāša. kullu xāšu le l-gūda.*
- 4 *'āna 'ūrri b-tar'a. waḷla qəmlu kəmri: 'éka-wətwa ħel 'atta? 'an majbili, majbili. mərri: xa hənna xa ^Hpakíd^H 'əd-^Hesəkím^H mābaynəd dide. gəbən 'āzən xalşənnu. mərri ta yəmmi: məsəlu təttun l-axxa. waḷla şópa-ži-la qāmu. qalunku mən garşila mayrəxilu kud duksəd gəbe. 'āna zəlli. mesyattu 'ixāla u-čay u-kullu. čú-məndi lá-hāwe ^Hħasér^H 'əlləd didu.*
- 5 *u-'āna zəlli. mərri xá-məndi. mərri: 'atta bāse u-'átta-ži bamrənnu 'āna 'ətli šūla. 'atta bāzən u-bāsən. waḷla zəlli. zəlli 'āna. gyāni muḍi'āli 'əlləd didu ^Hba-'érex^H. 'āni har pəšlu. pəšlu ko 'āna dá'rən-wa. 'āna lá-d'ərri. ^Hs(v)ivót^H sá'a 'əşra hatxa mərri: bāzən besa. 'atta kullu lu zile. čú-xa lewe. lewe piša.*

¹¹⁵ For expected *-le*, apparently by attraction to the preceding *didu*.

Once again he returned to that matter.¹¹⁶ I said: “Okay. (He said:) 2
 “Wait! I’m responsible for your death, in my heart, if I don’t inform you
 (that I am planning on leaving Challa).”¹¹⁷ I came home. I cut off business
 with the Kurds of our area. Nothing. No (business) negotiations (with
 them at all). (The Kurds) still came and went, still came and went. I didn’t
 reveal to them what I intend (to do).

One day they became like this, you know? All their (business) affairs 3
 are in our hands. I come home. I come and I see what? All the heads,
 um, of the tribes have come to us. About nine, ten mukhtars are also
 with them. They have come to our house. They have filled it. (They sat
 there with) their backs to the wall—¹¹⁸ [Y.H.: Your house in Challa?] Yes,
 in Challa. They (sat there) with their backs up against the wall in
 front of the narghiles. Do you remember the narghiles? [A.H.: Yes, yes.]
 One would sit here (and) would extend the narghile (all the way) over
 there. [Y.H.: My paternal uncle Shilo, may God rest his soul, used to do
 it.] So that’s it. In short, they are smoking. All of them, their back is to the
 wall.

I entered through the door. By God, they got up (and) say: “Where 4
 were you until now?” I answered them, I answered them. I said: “A
 certain, um, an official, with whom (there is) some business.” I want to
 go get rid of them. I said to my mother: “Bring tobacco here for them.
 By God, the stove is in front of them. Let them smoke their narghiles
 (and) lengthen them (to) whatever place they want.” I went. (I said to my
 mother:) “You should bring them food and tea and everything. Nothing
 should be lacking to them.”

And I went (away). They said something. I said (to myself): “Now they 5
 will come and now I will also say to them: ‘I have work (to do). Now I
 will go and come (back).’” By God, I left. I left. (I thought that) I had just
 about rid myself of them. (But) they still remained. They remained since
 I would return back, (but) I didn’t return. Around ten o’clock I said like
 this: “I will go home. Now all of them have gone. There is no one. No one
 remains.”

¹¹⁶ I.e., a story (§ 5.2) Shabbo had told earlier about how an agha expropriated his property.

¹¹⁷ Lit., ‘Your death will fall on my back, if I don’t inform you.’

¹¹⁸ Lit., ‘They have given their back to it (the wall).’

- 6 *kesən besa u-menxən kullu. kútxa-le dükəd gyane. xódđa-ži lewe zila.* [Y.H.: ^Havál^H zəllox, ma ^üüdlox ^Zdamməd^Z zəllox?] zəlli xdərri. [Y.H.: 'ah! ^Hstam^H xdərrox.] he, he. lá-gbən 'odən ^Hesəkím^H mənnu. la pəšta 'əlli ^Hnəm'ás^H. kəsi la mre'ta mənnu. walla kəsəna. har xzeli. qəmle xədda tar'a hləqle. tar'a hləqle. kəmri: tū mābayneni! tūli. kemər: má-yla? má-^Hsəba^H-la ^Hbeznes^H letun bāda mənneni? lá-gzonetun, lá-gmzabnetun, lá-gzaqretun, lá-kəmħaketun, lá-kxadretun. má-^Hsəba^H-ila? má-'it?
- 7 *xa kalba bər kalba xa məndi le 'wida xa məndi le mira? xa dūka har kāsəx 'ila mre'ta, hudá. mərri: 'amrənnexun. kəmri: mā? mərri: flāna māsa ki'ətūla? kəmri: he. mərri: 'ako mən tāma 'āya māše¹¹⁹ ^Hšālət^H, mələni l-axxa 'āxəlle. 'āna go Túrkiya. 'āya go 'Eraq, 'iya xa'. 'āna hudāyəd 'āga d-Čalla. 'á-ži bāb dide 'āna ktaxrən. 'əşri naqle bābi le mira ^Hharé^H beseni xá-gā l-Kāra 'ewa. bābi le dərya-lle ('ax)xa kutkəkəd gyāne.*
- 8 *bābəd dide Rāšo ^Zgəmriwāle^Z. tāma le piša 'atta 'āga. 'āya 'āxəl məli. 'āna lá-gyatwən l-axxa qurdāye. lele-'ile qurwəd sá'a 'əşra 'əşra u-palge kəmri: 'āya sāyəlla yəmmeni u-bas. u-qəmlu. bas 'iya xabra. 'āya sāyəlla yəmmeni u-bas. qəmlu zəllu kəmri: ^Hmaspík^H šme'lan.*
- 9 *walla qəmlu u-zəllu u-tūlu go 'urxəd dide t̄lāha nāše b-xá-təffaḡ. xá-təffaḡ-la. xá-yoma kese Maħammət Tāhər 'āga 'əšta xulāme kutxa xa 'anglizi-la l-kāpəd dide, m-anna kərye. [Y.H.: he, he.] he. u-'āya b-gyāne-ži xa 'anglizi-la reš kutkəkəd¹²⁰ dide. rakáwa-le l-xa kawənta xazina 'anglizi-la xese [Y.H.: ^Hkarabín, lo? rové karabín^H; A.H.: ^Hlo, ze mark for^H . . . təffaḡ 'anglizi.] he, ^Hze^H təffaḡ 'anglizi. [A.H.: 'it xamša fišake]. la 'əşra, 'əşra šaqli. 'əşra. u-xá-ži go ^Hbet bli'á^H 'anna xade'sar. [A.H.: ^Aaywa, 'aywa ^A.] kem(ər): walhāşəl. . .*

¹¹⁹ See § 4.4.28.15 n. 210.

¹²⁰ Error for *kutkəpəd*, perhaps under the influence of *kutkəkəd* in § 5.11.7.

I come home and look at all of them. Each one is (in) his own place. 6
 No one has gone. [Y.H.: But you left. What did you do when you left?] I
 left (and) I walked about. [Y.H.: Ah! You simply walked about.] Yes, yes.
 I don't want to do business with them. I've had it.¹²¹ My stomach hurts
 from them. By God, I come. I still see (them). One got up (and) locked the
 door. He locked the door. They say: "Sit among us." I sat. He says: "What
 is it? What is the reason you all aren't doing business with us? You don't
 buy, you don't sell, you don't weave, you don't talk, you don't go around.
 What is the reason? What is there?"

"Has a son of a bitch done something or said something? Somehow 7
 your stomach still hurts, Jew." I said: "Let me tell you." They say: "What?"
 I said: "Do you know such and such a village?" They say: "Yes." I said:
 "When from there he is able to control (us), he filches our possessions
 here. I (am) in Turkey. He (is) in Iraq, this (is point) one. I (am) a Jew
 of the Agha of Čalla. I also remember his father. My father has told me
 (about him) twenty times since our house was once in Kara. My father
 has borne a grudge against him here."¹²²

They called his father Rasho. He has now become the Agha there. He 8
 filches my possessions. I'm not staying here (anymore), Kurds." It is night,
 close to ten o'clock, ten-thirty (and then) they say: "He should fuck our
 mother and (we've had) enough!" And they got up. Just this statement.
 "He he should fuck our mother and (we've had) enough!" (The Kurds)
 up (and) went saying: "We heard enough (and now we're going to take
 action on your behalf)."

By God, they up and went and three people with one rifle sat in his 9
 (Rasho's)¹²³ path (waiting to ambush him). There is one rifle. One day
 Mahammat Taher Agha¹²⁴ comes (with) six servants (and) each one (has)
 an English (rifle) on his shoulder, of those short ones (rifles). [Y.H.: Yes,
 yes.] Yes, and as for himself, there is also an English (rifle) on his shoulder.
 (Mahammat Taher Agha) is a rider on a mule, (with) an English cashbox
 underneath him. [Y.H.: A carabine, no? A carabine rifle.; A.H. No, it's a
 'Mark Four' (rifle)... an English rifle.] Yes, it's an English rifle... [A.H.:
 It has five bullets.] No, they (those rifles) take ten (bullets). Ten. And
 another one in the chamber (makes that) eleven. [A.H.: Yes, yes.] He
 sa(ys:) In short...

¹²¹ Lit., 'It has become for me despicable.'

¹²² Lit., 'My father has placed him here, all his teeth.'

¹²³ The one who has caused problems for Shabbo.

¹²⁴ He is the son of Rashid, who is mentioned in the previous paragraph. See also § 5.2.

5.12. THE DEATH THREATS OVER LEAVING CHALLA FOR ISRAEL

- 1 *walhāšəl 'atta 'onyān Čalla. 'onyān Čalla. zəlli. əŞtambul séli-wa. ^H'az^H 'iya ^Htoxnit^H 'údwālu. sele xa məšəlmāna mirənnə. ki'ewa lu wide tagbir. 'ətlu ^Hħašās^H 'axtun mən d-axxa bāzetun. ^H'az^H bāse reš Zāwa qemi 'əllexun. kullu 'anna 'urwe (q)qaṭlilu yalunke nablilu u-bāzi. 'egā xzi! 'iya—. bale bāħse-ži lá-odən. mərri mənne baħs šəmme lá-od(ən). ki'ewa pqaṭlili.*
- 2 *'āna zəlli 'é-naqləd mənnəd hənna seli mən Moşəl, ^H'emét^H hənna zəlli kəsəl xa məšəlmāna. kātəb wewá-(hə)nna 'ewa. mərri: xa hənna 'iya mā kəmriła ^Hbakašá^H ksüli! ksüle ṭāsi xa 'arzūħal. nobəlli hūli l-wāli b-'idi. ksüli l-tāma ^Hmá-(h)a-toxnit^H lu wide hənne kurdināye ṭaseni. kemər palṭa(x) m-tāma pqaṭlilan 'áx-geb tán-geb. 'ürreni ṭas dide.*
- 3 *kemər: 'āhat hudāya-wət? mərri: ^Hken^H wāli. kemər: ṭamá zad'əwāne wetun 'axtun? wa'dūsa kemər 'əlli: 'ən bāre xá-məndi, 'iya 'əpra, kəmər: dārənnə l-'ərbāla maxəlta. mərri: pāša, mā? ko drelox 'ərbāla maxəlta ya'ni, 'axnan 'ən qṭilaxle ya'ni mā? mā ^Hmurvəħlan^H mən d-iyā? 'āna gəbən lá-'asya b-rešan čú-məndi, lá-hāwe ^Hkašé^H l-ħukum. ^Htov^H. reš d-iyā 'arzuħál—, u-mšádərre ta mədor 'āhat 'əbbəd ^Hdowar^H dexun ko yoməd 'āna palṭən tāma yā'eli¹²⁵ ^Hmištará^H. yā'eli mħáfəza m-'Eráq. pləṭlan m-tāma ^Hmitaħat la-šmirá^H.*

5.13. THE SEIZURE OF SHABBO'S BROTHER
AND ATTEMPTED FORCED CONVERSION

- 1 *walła 'iya 'axoni Mədo mpəlle b-'idəd didu. qemi doqile. (b-)xurṭūsa qemi məšəlmile. wadlu qurdá. 'axnan 'é-yoma zəllan. 'axoni 'Awrāham šuqwāle reš ^Hħovót^H. zəllan mṭelan Txūma. zəllan b-urxa b-urxa. mərwāli: 'āsetun ħamletun 'əlləd flānā-dūka.*

¹²⁵ See §3.3.c.

5.12. THE DEATH THREATS OVER LEAVING CHALLA FOR ISRAEL

In short, now the matter of Čalla. The matter of Čalla. I left. I came back to 1
Istanbul. Then (the Kurds) made this plan. A certain Muslim came (and)
told me. He knew they have conspired. (He said:) “There is a fear you
will leave here. So they (the Kurds) will go to the Zab (River) to rise up
against you. They should kill all of the grown-ups, lead away the children,
and leave. So then look! This—. (He said) also however that I shouldn’t
make mention of him. I said I wouldn’t mention his name. He knew they
will kill me.

I went at that time when I came from, um, from Mosul, truly, um, I 2
went to a certain Muslim. He was a clerk, he was an, um. I said: “Write
for me a, um, what do they call it?—a request!” He wrote out a petition
for me. I took it away (and) gave it by hand to the Vali. I wrote there what
the plan (was that) they have made, um, the Kurds, for us. (The Vali) says
we should leave there (since the Kurds) will kill us when all’s said and
done. We entered into his (presence).

He says: “You are a Jew?” I said: “Yes, Vali.” He says: “Why are you 3
cowards?” He makes me a promise: “If something happens, this soil,” he
says: “I will put it through a coarse sieve (and) a fine sieve (looking for
the killer[s]).” I said: “Pasha, (so) what? That you put (all the soil through)
a coarse sieve (and) a fine sieve, that is to say, as for us, if (a Kurd has)
killed us, that is to say, (so) what? What have we benefited from this? I
want that nothing should happen to us, that it should not be difficult for
the government (to protect us). Fine. Concerning this petition—, and
you send it to the mudir in your post office that on the day I leave there,
he should give me a police (escort). He should give me protection from
Iraq.” We left there under guard.

5.13. THE SEIZURE OF SHABBO’S BROTHER
AND ATTEMPTED FORCED CONVERSION

By God, this brother of mine, Mido, fell into their hands. They up (and) 1
seize him. (By) force they up (and) convert him to Islam. They made him
a Kurd. We went that day. My brother Abraham had left behind debts.
We went (and) we reached Tekhuma. We went along the way. I had said:
“You should come (and) wait at such and such a place.”

- 2 'ətli ^Hhaském^H mǝnnǝd quŋʃulya ^Hyisra'elí(t)^H go hǝnna ʃtambul. gǝbe yǝwǝn ^Hmivrák^H b-(')eni sǎ'a 'ǎna plǝtli mǝn Čalla u-kma ^Hnafašót^H-ilu mǝnni. 'ǎna zǝlli 'ǝllǝd ^Hdowar^H. 'ǎni zǝllu. zǝllan b-é-duksǝd mǝrwǎli ʧǝsu. 'ǎni jandǝrme. ʧlǎha jandǝrme mǝnnan wewa. ɣmile. šö'a kǝrǎčǝye-ži dawǎre mǝnnan. lu ɣmile tam manox(e). 'axoni lewe l-tam.
- 3 kǝmrǝn ta yǝmmi: ké-le Mǝdo? kǝmra: lá-ki'an.¹²⁶ lá-či'an. ^HtoV^H. 'é-lele zǝllan Txǝma. mǝn tǎma yom basra muʧ'ǝnnan zǝllan go Zǎraž, go Zǎraž. xa mǎsa xet 'ǝtwa 'urxǝd xa sǎ'a rǝqqa mǝn dǝkǝd lele 'axwa, l-dǝkǝd Txǝma.
- 4 tǎma 'ǝtwa télafon. ^Htulfǝnni^H ta 'Anwar, he. 'Anwar ^Zgǝmrǝnnox^Z: ... mǝrri: 'axoni wetun dǝqe-lle. kma šǝnne, kma 'ǝmmǎhe šǝnne 'axnan ^Habadím^H dexun l-axxa qurdǎ? wetun dǝqe l-'axoni. wǝn gǝlya 'ǝlle. gleli. hǝli ^Hsimán^H ta 'Awǝrahǝm. mǝrri: gezǝlwa l-flǎná-besa. si l-tǎma! balkit xa ^Hsimán^H pxǎzǝt.
- 5 waɣɣa zǝlle l-tǎma. ^Hsimán^H xzele: kusise u-gopǎlte tǝlye-wa b-xǎ-sǝksa l-tǎma. mǝrre ta ^Hba'alát bayit^H. gǝre zǝlwǎlu xazdiwa ^Htiras^H. baxta pǝšwǎla l-besa. kǝmra: lewan xǝzya-lle byamyannox. byamyatti 'ǝlle? waɣɣa séle-wa mirǝnnu.
- 6 mǝrri: 'atta nǎbǝl xa hǝnna ^Hšotér^H mǝn gyǎnox 'ǎzǝt ǝl-tám. xǎzax má-yly wide-lle. 'ǝn le qɣila, ^Hgufát^H dide. 'ǝn' ile ^Hɣay^H, (m)pǎɣtile. waɣɣa ^Hšotér^H nobǝlle u-zǝlle. zǝlle l-tǎma. har gopǎlta hǝnna lu l-tam. ksise. xzi! 'ǝn 'ilǎha xǝdda mođi'ǎle 'ǝlle, lá-mšǝ 'ǎwǝd čú-mǝndi. 'ǎni lewu wide ɣǝzur mađi'ilu.¹²⁷ kǝmri: la, 'axnan lewax xǝzye-lle u-ma'rǝqile nablile l-'Eraq. hádax-ži lá-mšaxwa 'odaxwa čú-mǝndi ǝllǝd dide.
- 7 waɣɣa šodǝrri 'Awǝrahǝm 'ǝllǝd didu. zǝlle. kemǝr ta baxta, kemǝr: 'éka-le gora? kǝmra: 'ǝl-flǎna dǝka lu bǝxzǎda. ke(mǝr): mšǎdǝr basre 'ǎse!

¹²⁶ k is realized as [kʷ].

¹²⁷ For expected mađi'ile.

I have an agreement with the Israel consulate in, um, Istanbul. I need 2
to send a telegram (informing them) as to which hour I left Čalla and
how many people are with me. I went to the post office. They went (with
us, i.e., the police protection sent by the Vali to protect them from the
Kurds). We went to that place which I had mentioned to them. They
(are) policemen. Three policemen were with us. (They have) stopped.
Seven muleteers (with) their mules (were) with us. They have stopped
there (and are) looking around. My brother isn't there.

I say to my mother: "Where is Mido?" She says: "I don't know. I don't 3
know." Fine. That night we went (to) Tekhuma. From there, the next day
we loaded (the animals and) went into Zaraj, in Zaraj. There was another
village, a journey of one hour's distance from the place we were during
the night, to the place Tekhuma.

There was a telephone there. I phoned Anwar,¹²⁸ yes. "Anwar," I say to 4
you: . . ." I said: "You have seized my brother. How many years, how many
hundreds of years (have) we (been) your servants here, Kurd? You have
seized my brother. I have found it out. I found it out. I gave Abraham
a sign." I said: "(Mido) used to go to such and such a house. Go there!
Perhaps you will see a sign (of him)."

By God, he went there. He saw a sign: his hat and his shepherd's stick 5
had been hung on a peg. He spoke¹²⁹ to the mistress of the house. The
men had gone (and) were harvesting the corn. The wife had remained at
home. She says: "I haven't seen him, I will swear to you." (Abraham says
to her:) "You will swear to me concerning him? By God, they said to me
that he came back."

I said (to Abraham): "Now take a policeman (there) with you. You 6
should go there. Let's see what they have done to him. If he has been
killed, (let's see) his corpse. If he is alive, let them bring him out." By
God, he led the policeman and he went. He went there. The shepherd's
stick, um, still is there. (And) his hat. Look! If God has made someone go
missing, it is not possible to do anything. (But) they have not estimated
(that) they would notice that he was missing. They say: "No, we haven't
seen him" (but) they should smuggle him out (and) take him away
to Iraq. In that case we wouldn't have been able to do anything for
him.

I sent Abraham to them. He went. He says to his wife, he says: "Where 7
is (your) husband?" She says: "At such and such a place they are harvest-

¹²⁸ He was in charge of the post office See § 5.13.15.

¹²⁹ Lit., 'he said'.

- (m)šodərri basre. gor dida sele. kemər: 'iya nāša mare d-*iya* gopá!ta-u ksísa 'āna gbənnə.
- 8 kemər: 'affandi, byāmaxlox. 'axnan lewax xəzye 'əlle. ^Hba-érex 'uláy^H qam xá-yarxa séwāle. 'ā u-broneni ^Hhaverím^H wewa. lewət xəzya-lle? kemər: la. kemər: si! si-đból! byāmət. kemər: he, byāmən. 'əşra naqle.
- 9 walhāşəl məsele. (m)šodərre—, gyāne đbilāle. türkāye hādax godi. qamāye byāme de-bāzi đabli xarāye. sele kemər: de-ymí! b-*iya* qur'an! ké-le yāla? kemər: byāmənnox b-*iya* qur'an lewax xəzye-lle. lu dórye-lle go gova. šö'á-govāne. 'ətwa xa basər xa tar'a lu ħliqe-llu l-reş dide ta-lá-'ārəqla. ^Htov^H. walla ke(mər).
- 10 ymele 'əbbəd qur'an ko lewe xəzya-lle. kemər: baxta 'ətlox? kemər: he. kemər: de-ymí b-ťaláqox-ži. ymele řaláqe-ži, he! kemər: 'atta lewət xəzya-lle ^Hnaxón^H? la, lewən xəzya-lle 'affandi. 'ən wali(!) xəzya-lle bamrənwālox.
- 11 xa řarka řqəlle 'əlləd dide. řarke məşša-lu. mese řiwe ta səswa. gəzra-wa l-tāma. xa řarka řqəlle 'əlle. kemər: ^Abə-smi-llāhi řahmán u-řahím^A. traq-u traq-u traq! tāma ^Zgəmrənnox^Z, türkāye ^Hmuthəllu, ^Hhafş(aka) ^H, hənna ^Hhafşaká^H let. hādax 'üdü¹³⁰ 'əlləd dide ħil (m)pəlle. (m)pəlle. har le bəşrā-xa, le bimāra: baxxatəd 'ilāha! 'e türkāya-ži le māra ta 'Awřāham, má-yile māra? 'ile bəřlāba baxxatəd 'ilāha.
- 12 kemər: 'ilāha? la 'atta ymele 'əbbəd dide b-dugle? 'egā má-gəbe mən 'ilāha? 'atta le bəřlāba baxxatəd 'ilāha. txərre 'əlləd 'ilāha, ^Hnaxón? ken^H. le yəmya 'əbbe b-dugle. 'atta ^Hkol 'od^H 'ilāha lá-mšādər. . . kemər: ^Hkol 'od^H 'ilāha lá-mšādər xa mal'ax 'āmər: ^Hşāřrəřüle^H! . . . ^Hkol 'od^H 'ilāha lá-āmər: (m)šādər xá-mal'ax ^Hmáfsik^H—. 'ā har le māra baxxatəd 'ilāha. 'ən 'ilāha bā'e ^Hmşāřarəřənnə^H, bəş xa lá-māxənnə. 'ilāha məlyone mal'āxe 'ətle.

¹³⁰ For expected 'üdle.

ing.” (Abraham) sa(ys): “Send (someone) after him that he should come!” She sent (someone) after her husband. He came. (Abraham) says: “I want this person, the owner of this shepherd’s stick and hat.”

(The husband) says: “Effendi, we will swear to you. We have not seen 8 him. Perhaps about a month ago he had come. He and our son were friends.” (Abraham says:) “You haven’t seen him?” (The husband) says: “No.” (Abraham) says: “Go! Go have a ritual bath (and then) you will swear!” He says: “Yes, I shall swear. Ten times.”

In short, he brought him. He sent—, he had a ritual bath. Like this the 9 Turks do (it). At first they will swear, later they will go to have a ritual bath.¹³¹ He came, (Abraham) says: “Now swear! On this Quran! Where is the child?” He says: “I shall swear to you on this Quran we haven’t seen him.” (But) they have (actually) put him in a stall. There were seven stalls. There was one after the other. They have locked the door on him lest he flee. Fine. By God, he sa(ys).

He swore on the Quran that he hasn’t seen him. (Abraham) says: “You 10 have a wife?” He says: “Yes.” (Abraham) says: “Now also swear on your divorce!” He swore also (on) the divorce, yes! (Abraham) says: “Now you haven’t seen him, correct?” (He says:) “No, I haven’t seen him, Effendi. If I had seen him, I would have told you.”

(Abraham) took a stick to him. There are many sticks. They bring wood 11 for winter. There was a pile of chopped wood there. He took a stick to him. He says: “In the name of the Merciful and Just God.” Thwack and thwack and thwack! There, I tell you, (once) the Turks began (to hit), stoppi(ng)—, um, there is no stopping. He did to him like this until he fell down. He fell down. He is still screaming, he is saying: “For the mercy of God!” That Turk is saying to Abraham, what is he saying? He is requesting the mercy of God.

He says: God? Didn’t he swear now by him falsely? So now what does 12 he want from God? Now he is requesting the mercy of God. (Now) he remembered God, correct? Yes. He has sworn by him falsely. Now as long as God does not send. . . .” (Abraham) says: “As long as God does not send an angel (that) says: ‘Free him!’ . . . As long as God does not say: ‘Send an angel (that) he should stop—’, he is still saying: ‘for the mercy of God!’ But if God wants me to free him, I won’t beat him a single (blow) more. God has millions of angels.”

¹³¹ Shabbo has reversed the order: he should have a ritual bath before taking an oath as in the preceding paragraph.

- 13 (m)šādər xá-mal'ax—, ^Havál mafsík^H—, hənna ^Htafsík^H, 'āna pšaqlønne ^Hmakél^H didi mándønne l-tāma bəš xet ^Hrašút^H lətli. ^Hkol 'od šə^H-ilāha lá- 'āmər, (m)šādər čú-xa ko 'āna ^Hmáfsəkən^H, 'āna har kkarxən 'əbbe. hādax 'üdle 'əlləd dide. səqlə 'egā reš kāse 'əbbəd potine. potine didu 'ətlu bəzmāre hatxa l-'əqru ta-háyya lá-māxe. hādax 'üdle 'əlle. dəmma (m-)pəmme u-šərme se(le).
- 14 xarāye šrəxle: baxxatəd 'ilāha, ta xātər 'ilāha! sa plo! (g)maqṭəlønnox. 'āhət lá-ki'ət mā sela b-reši. 'ən gbəttan ta dineni, 'ilāha, sa plo! mxáləšli! 'ən la, sa-, si qlə! si mən d-axxa! kemər: ḥil 'atta la xzəwālox. 'atta ymelox b-dugle 'əbbəd ṭalāqəd bāxtox-ži. 'əbbəd qúr'ān-ži. pa 'egā 'eka wewa 'iya? ^Haz^H 'ətlan m-de 'áškara.
- 15 sele 'Awṛāham télafon-ži. ^Hyom šalém^H reš télafon-le. waḷla kemər: waḷla xzeli ḥál-u-masale hátxa-la. 'āna dbəšli 'əbbəd 'Anwar. 'Anwar ^Hmnaḥél dówar^H-ile. mərri: qurdāye (m)šádrüle yāla zōra! lā, kemər: le piša qurdá. yoməd ^Kḥašr u-našr^K ki'ət, yoməd din 'āya bāzəl pšāke 'əlleni. bāmər 'āna gbənwa pešənwa qurdá. balé hā qurdāye lá-qbəllu. 'egā din dide nāpəl rešeni. 'axnan (p)pešax ^Hḥayavím^H. Maḥámmad-^H(m)m'ānəšlan ^H!¹³²
- 16 'iya qurdá—, 'āna bāzən dūka řapsa. 'āna bāzən dūka řapsa. 'axtun (p)pešetun go Čalla. 'āna 'axoni har pšaqlønne. lá-'amretu: lewən mira. mā mərre ṭāsi? kemər: ^Kčāwən. čāwən^K ya'ni 'eni. ^Kčāwən^K. kemər: 'ən 'āhət mšəlox 'axonox šqəllox mənzeni, 'axnan 'iya ^Hazór^H kulleni baxtaseni byāxlu ṭāsox!
- 17 'āna mṭeli l-Jólamerḡ hənna ta Hakkāri. ^Hmogəšli bakašá la-bét məšpát^H. 'štwāli ^Hḥaverím^H türkāye l-tam. šme(')lu selu. má-yła breta? mərri: hátxa-la. kəmri ṭāsi: ḥmol! 'axnan 'atta bāzax ^Hbadqax ḥok. 'az ha-ḥók^H mā Zgemər^Z qāḏi^A? 'ən 'ətləx ^Hzaxút^H (m)ḥākət 'əbbəd dide, u-lətləx ^Hzaxút^H 'atta bamrənnox. 'ən ^Hpaḥót^H-ile m-tre'sar, hēs-ile xe 'idox 'ətləx ^Hzaxút^H. 'ən la, ^Hvərre^H tre'sar, ^Hašma'i^H-le. lətləx ^Hzaxút^H (m)ḥākət 'əbbəd dide.

¹³² Šabbo actually says [ma'fiamman 'a:n'ɪflan].

“Should (God) send an angel—, but stopping—, (saying) um, ‘Stop!’ 13
 (then) I will take it, my stick, (and) I will throw it down there (because
 then) I do not have any more permission (to beat him). (But) as long as
 God does not say, (i.e.), send anybody (saying) that I should stop, then
 I shall keep on bashing him.” He did like this to him. He trod on his
 stomach with boots. Their boots have nails like this at their bottom in
 order not to strike quickly. He did to him like this. Blood ca(me out from)
 his mouth and his ass.

Finally he screamed: “For the mercy of God, for the sake of God! Come 14
 on out! You are having me killed. You don’t know what has happened to
 me. If you love our religion, God, come on out! Save me! If not, come—,
 go to hell!” (He said to Abraham, who was beating him): “Go away from
 here!” (Abraham) says: “Until now you hadn’t seen him. Now you also
 swore falsely on (the) divorce of your wife. On the Quran too. So then
 where was he? So we have (this affair) now in the open.”

And Abraham came (to) the telephone. He is on the telephone a whole 15
 day. By God, he says: “By God, I saw (that) the upshot is like this.” I stuck
 to Anwar. Anwar is the head of the post office. I said: “Kurds! Send the
 young child!” “No,” he says, “he has become a Kurd. *ħašr u-našr*, you
 know, (on) the Day of Judgment, he will go complain against us. He
 will say: ‘I wanted to remain a Kurd but then the Kurds didn’t agree.’
 So then his religion will be our responsibility. We shall become guilty.
 Muhammad will punish us.”

This Kurd—, I am going to a large place. I am going to a large place. 16
 “You will remain in Challa. I will yet take my brother. Don’t say: ‘I haven’t
 said.’ What did he say to me? He says: ‘*čawən*.’ *čawən*, that is to say ‘my eye.’
čawən. (Anwar) says: “If you are able to take your brother from us, we, all
 of us (in) this area, we will give you our wives!”

I reached Jolamerk, um, Hakkari. I handed in a request to the court. 17
 I had Turkish friends there. They heard (and) came. (They said:) “What
 has happened?” I said: “It’s like this.” They say to me: “Wait! We will go
 now (and) check the law.” So regarding the law, what does the judge say?:
 “If you have the right to speak with him, (fine). And if you don’t have the
 right, now I will tell you. If he is less than twelve, he is still under your
 authority (and) you have the right. If not (and) he has passed twelve, he is
 independent. (Then) you don’t have the right to speak with him. He has
 the right (to make up his own mind).”

GLOSSARY

The following contains all Aramaic lexemes found in the recordings of Shabbo 'Amrani, a few additional words contributed by Ahiya Hashiloni (when they differ from the JZakho koine he speaks and it appears that they do reflect Challa) as well as some words culled from Ahiya's father, Rabbi Jacob Hashiloni, when reciting the Passover *haggada* (from the printed JAmid version and only when he deviates from what is written there). Words found only in the oral recitation of the *haggada* often reflect an older literary register and are marked in the glossary as *haggada*. Verbs are listed by root as abstracted from the form of the Subjunctive. The entries are listed according to the alphabetical order ' ' a/ā b b̄ ċ ċ̄ d ḏ e ə f g ġ h ḥ i j k l l̄ m ṁ n o/ö p p̄ q r r̄ s š š̄ t ṭ u/ū ü/ǖ v w x y z z̄ ž. The reconstructed singular of words attested only in the plural are marked by an asterisk. When the reconstruction of the singular form is difficult because of conflicting evidence from other Neo-Aramaic dialects, the word is listed in the plural. The gender of nouns is marked only when it is explicit in the text in which it occurs.

Square brackets contain earlier Aramaic evidence of the lexemes and occasional etymological information. Sometimes reference is made to a particular Aramaic dialect or dialects, other times to a phase of the Aramaic language (according to Fitzmyer's 1979 classification), and often the siglum ClAram (Classical Aramaic) has been used to indicate that the lexeme is found in at least two of the three vocalized Aramaic corpora (Biblical Aramaic, Targums Onqelos and Jonathan, and Syriac). Cross-references to relevant paragraphs in the grammar are sometimes noted.

Borrowings from other languages with which Jewish Challa was in contact in Kurdistan are also noted. The loans that penetrated the dialect prior to Shabbo's arrival in Israel come from either Kurdish (Kermanji), Turkish, or Arabic, languages which Shabbo spoke fluently. The ultimate origin of many of the loanwords is undoubtedly Arabic, but it is often difficult to tell whether a given loanword entered Jewish Challa through Kurdish, Turkish, or Arabic, or more than one of the languages. Older Hebrew borrowings from before Shabbo came into contact with Modern Hebrew are marked with the siglum H, and borrowings from Modern Hebrew are marked by ModH. The latter are included when Shabbo has inflected them as Aramaic, e.g., the verb עזר 'help' ('zərru 'they helped')

or the noun *dapé* ‘pages’.¹ At times one cannot be certain if the lexeme is a reflex of the older Aramaic lexeme or a borrowing from the Modern Hebrew cognate.

In order to highlight the relationship of the lexicon of JChalla to that of other *lishana deni* dialects, constant reference is made to the dictionary of Sabar (2002a), which contains data from JAmid, JDohok, the JNerwa texts, and JZakho, and to the glossary in Mutzafi (2008a), which contains data from JBetan. For the sake of brevity Sabar’s dictionary is referred to simply as Sab and Mutzafi’s glossary as Mutz (e.g., Sab₁₇₄ = Sabar 2002a:174, Mutz₃₉₈ = Mutzafi 2008a:398). When the lexeme takes the same form in other *lishana deni* dialects as in Jewish Challa, the relevant page in the two books is noted. If the Jewish Challa realization or meaning differs from those found elsewhere in *lishana deni* dialects, then the other realizations are noted by “cf.” When unattested in either Sabar or Mutzafi, but found in Maclean (1901)’s dictionary, the latter is also noted as well as other relevant works on Neo-Aramaic.

VERBS

⤵

- ’by [ClAram √עבׁי; Sab89] D *m’abya* ‘swell up’
 ’lq [Ar. √علق; cf. ’lq and ’lq Sab₂₅₀ and Mutz₃₃₅] G ’*ālāq* ‘(search and) find, earn’; C *ma’lāq* ‘kindle’; see ’lq
 ’mr [ClAram √אמר; Sab97; Mutz₃₃₂; §4.4.27.1] G ’*āmār* ‘speak’; *xanči zəm-rəyāsa basime ’amret* ‘you should sing a few nice songs’; see ’*amər*, ’*mṛ*, *ma’mūr*
 ’rgn [ModH ארגן] Q *m’argən* ‘organize’
 ’rq [ClAram √ערק; Sab₁₀₁; Mutz₃₃₃; §4.4.28.7] G ’*ārāq* ‘run’ ’*rāqli* ‘I ran’; ‘flee’ (with dummy 3 f.s. obj. suff.) ’*riqāli* ‘I fled’ C *ma’rāq* ‘make run, chase away, smuggle out’
 ’sy [ClAram √אתי; Sab_{101–102}; Mutz₃₃₃; §4.4.28.8] G ’*āse* ‘come’; marking passive voice: ’*ən māleni ’āse l-’ixāla* ‘if our possessions get filched’; C *mese* ‘bring’
 ’šm [ModH האשים] C *ma’šəm* ‘blame, accuse’
 ’wd [ClAram √עבד; Sab_{90–91}; Mutz₃₃₃; §4.4.28.1] G ’*āwəd* ‘do, make, spend (time)’; ’*āni lu wīde-lla^H tīras^H* ‘they have grown it with corn’; *le māra hənna ’ūda fasādūsa* ‘he is saying, um, he has spread gossip’; cf. ’*bd*
 ’wr [ClAram √עבר; Sab₉₁; Mutz₃₃₃; §4.4.28.1] G ’*āwər* ‘enter’; C *mā’wr* ‘bring in’; cf. ’*vr*

¹ Cf. ClAram דפא ‘column, board’.

- 'xl [ClAram √אכל; Sab95; Mutz333; §4.4.27.1] G 'āxəl 'eat, spend, suffer, filch'; *baxla(x) par gyānan* 'we will spend our money'; 'ā *xalle māšša-xutṭe* 'he suffered a lot of (blows with) sticks'; *'axlēt mālēni* 'you filch our property'; C *māxəl* 'feed'
- 'ym [ModH אַיַם; D *m'āyēm* 'threaten'
- 'zl [ClAram √אול; Sab92; Mutz333; §4.4.28.9] G 'āzəl 'go'; fig. 'die'; *si* 'go!'

c

- 'bd [ModH עבד; D *m'ābəd* 'cultivate, till'
- 'ks [IrAr √عكس; 'stop, block' Clarity et al. 2003:318; cf. 'be cross' Sab249] G 'ākās 'stop, block'
- 'll [ModH התעליל; D *m'aləl* 'torment'
- 'lm [Ar. √علم; C 'teach' Sab249] D *m'aləm* 'teach, inform'; see *ma'alləm*
- 'mṛ [Ar √امر; Sab250; Mutz335; §3.3.d] D *m'amṛ* 'boss around, give orders'; see *ma'mūr*, 'mr, 'amər
- 'nš [ModH העניש; D *m'anās* 'punish, fine'
- 'sk [ModH התעסק; D *m'āsək* 'deal with'
- 'šbn [ModH עיצבן; Q *m'ašbən* 'irritate'
- 'šr [Ar √عصر; Sab251; Mutz335] G 'āšər 'squeeze'
- 'šq [Ar √عشق; Sab252] G 'āšəq 'desire'
- 'vr [ModH עבר; Sabar 1975:495] G 'āvər 'pass by, cross over'; C *ma'vər* 'take across'; cf. 'wr
- 'yf [ModH העיף; C *mā'of* 'fly (tr.), throw out'
- 'yš [Ar √عيش; Sab249] G 'āyəš 'live'
- 'zr [ModH עזר; G 'āzər 'help'

b

- 'y [ClAram √בעי; Sab103; Mutz335] G *bā'e* 'want, wish, love'; *gəbe* 'it is necessary'
- bḥn [ModH בָּחַן; cf. Syr صَبِحَ 'try, test'] G *bāḥən* 'examine'
- bkh [ModH התווכַח; §3.1] D 'argue' *mbākəḥ*
- bl' [ClAram √בלע; Sab110; Mutz339] G *bāle* 'swallow'
- bbl [ClAram √בלבל; Sab110; Mutz339] Q *mbalbəl* 'search, look for'
- bny [ClAram √בני; Sab112] G *bāne* 'build'
- bqr [ClAram √בקר; Sab113; Mutz340] D *mbāqər* 'ask, inquire'
- brbz [LArām √בוזבו; Sab114; Mutz340] Q *mbarbəz* 'scatter'; cf. *bzbz*
- bry [ClAram √ברי; Sab114; Mutz340] G *bāre* 'happen, be born'
- brx [ClAram √ברך; cf. *brx* 'bless', **brx* 'dedicate a house, greet with a gift' Sab115, *brx* 'bless, congratulate, wed bride and bridegroom' Mutz341] D *mbārex* 'bless'; see *baṛāxa*
- brz [Ar √برز; cf. 'dry, dry up, fear greatly' Maclean 1901:39, 'be dry' Sab114, 'dry up, be stiff' Mutz340] G *bārəz* 'fear greatly'
- bsm [ClAram √בסם; Sab112; Mutz341] G *bāsəm* 'be pleasing'; D *mbāsəm* 'make pleasing'; see *basīma*

- bšl* [ClAram √בשל; Sab116; Mutz341] G *bāšəl* ‘cook (intr.)’; D *mbāšəl* ‘cook (tr.)’
- bṭl* [ClAram √בטל; Maclean 1901:30,153; Sab107; Mutz341] G *bāṭəl* ‘be cancelled, nullified’; D *mbāṭəl* ‘cancel, nullify’
- bxy* [ClAram √בכי; Sab110; Mutz341] G *bāxe* ‘cry’
- bzbz* [ModH בַּזְבַּז] Q *mbazbəz* ‘squander’; cf. *brbz*
- č
- čfl* [Ar √جفل; Sab132; Mutz342] G *čāfəl* ‘be startled’
- čyk* [K; Sab131; Mutz342] G *čāyək* ‘stick in, poke’
- čyq* [Ar √شقق; Sab131 and 2006:169 n. 57] G *čāyəq* ‘tear out’
- čyr* [K; Khan 1999:552 and 2004:582; Mutzafi 2004:220] G *čāyər* ‘move around’
- č̣
- č̣ny* [√מני Mutzafi 2005:92–93 and 2008a:342; Sab132] G *č̣āme* ‘be extinguished’; C *mač̣me* ‘extinguish’
- č̣ym* [ClAram √ממם Mutz342 and 2006a:88–89; Sab131] G *č̣āym* ‘close (eyes)’
- d
- d’g* [ModH דָּאָג] G *dā’g* ‘be worried, take care of’
- d’p* [Syr ܕܦܢܘܬܐ, ܕܦܢܘܬܐ *d’p* Mutz343; Sab136] G *dā’p* ‘fold (tr.)’
- d’r* [Tur and Mlah *d’r* Mutz343 and 2004:221; cf. Ar √دور Maclean 1901:59; Syr √ܕܘܪ Sab137] G *dā’r* ‘return (intr.)’; C *mad’ər* ‘return (tr.)’
- d’s* [ClAram ܕܫܘܬ? Sab141; Mutz343; or conflation of ClAram ܕܫܘܬ + Ar دَعَس?] G *dā’š* ‘tread on’
- d’y* [Ar √دعو; cf. G ‘pray, plead, curse’; C ‘demand, sue, pray’ Sab143; D ‘plead, pray, curse, demand rights according to marriage contract’ Mutz343] G *dā’e* ‘pray’; D *mdā’e* ‘demand (rights)’
- dbḥ* [Ar √ذبح; cf. ClAram √דבח; cf. *ḏ/dbḥ*, *zḥḥ* Sab147, *dbḥ* Mutz344] G *dābəḥ* ‘slaughter’; see *dabāḥa*
- dbš* [denom. < ClAram דבשא ‘honey’ Sab138; Mutz344] G *dābəš* ‘stick to’
- dgl* [ClAram √דגל; Sab138; Mutz345] D *mdāgəl* ‘lie’; see *dugle*
- dgy* [K, T Maclean 1901:60; Sab138] G *dāge* ‘be branded, cauterized’
- dḥy* [ModH דחה] G *dāḥe* ‘postpone’
- dmbk* [cf. K *dinbīlīk* ‘drum’ Rizgar 1993:257, IrAr *dumbug* ‘drum’ Clarity et al. 2003:59; Eng ‘drum into someone’] Q *mdambək* ‘pummel’
- dmdm* [ClAram √דמם; cf. ‘bleed, cup, howl’ Maclean 1901:159, ‘grumble, bleed’ Sab142–143] Q *mdamdəm* ‘stuff, fill’
- dmx* [ClAram √דמך; Sab143; Mutz345] G *dāməx* ‘sleep’; C *madməx* ‘put to sleep’
- drmn* [denom. < *dərmāna* ‘medicine, remedy’ < K, T; Sabar 1982:162] Q *mdarmən* ‘medicate’; see *dərmāna*

- drš* [ModH דרש] G *dārās* ‘ask, request, demand’
- drx* [ModH דרך, דרר, דרר] G *dārax* (1) ‘tread’, (2) ‘cock (a gun)’; C *madræx* ‘instruct’
- dry* [ClAram √דרי Mutz346; Sab145] G *dāre* ‘put, put in, insert’; *drele gopalta* ‘he beat him with a walking stick’; *dreli pumməd dida* ‘I stuck my (fist) in her mouth’
- dwq* [ClAram √דבק; Sab139–140; Mutz346] G *dāwəq* ‘hold, grasp, seize’; *‘iya-ži qabla lá-düqāla* ‘this one too does not face the qibla’ (lit. ‘does not grasp the qibla’); *‘urxa düqāli* ‘I took to the road’ (Meehan & Alon 1979:183 n.38); C *mādüq* ‘cause to grasp, seize’
- dxl* [Ar √دخل; Sab142] G *dāxəl* ‘enter’
- d**
- dbl* [ClAram √טבל; Sab170] G *dābəl* ‘have a ritual bath’
- dy’* [Ar √ضيع; cf. *z/‘dy’* Sab271, *ḏy’* Mutz347] G *dāye’* ‘be lost, disappear’ C *mādb’* ‘cause to lose, miss’
- f**
- fl* [ModH הפעיל] C *mafəl* ‘activate’
- fhm* [Ar √فهم; Sab262; Mutz347] G *fāhm* ‘understand’
- fsd* [ModH הפסיד; cf. JBetan (< Ar √فسد) D ‘disclose secretly or without permission’ Mutz347] C *mafsəd* ‘lose’
- g**
- gdr* [ModH גדר] D *mgādər* ‘fence off’
- glgl* [LArām גלגל; ModH הִתְגַּלְגַּל; cf. NeoAram Q ‘make a round shape’ Sabar 1982:155] Q *mgalgəl* ‘roll around (intr.)’; cf. *gndr*
- gly* [ClAram √גלי; Sab122; Mutz349] G *gāle* ‘reveal’
- gndr* [ClAram √גנדר; Sab123] Q *mgandər* ‘roll down (tr.)’; cf. *glgl*
- gnw* [ClAram √גנב; Sab123; Mutz349] G *gānu* ‘steal’; see *ganāwa*, *ganawūsa*
- gny* [LArām √גני; Sab123; Mutz349] G *gāne* ‘set (sun)’
- gr’* [ClAram √גרע; Sab123; Mutz350] G *gāre* ‘shave’
- grgš* [ClAram √גרש; Sab124 and 1982:162; Mutz350] Q *mgargəs* ‘drag, pull behind’; see *grš*
- grš* [ClAram √גרש; Sab125; Mutz350] G *gārəs* ‘drag, pull, last (drag out time), smoke’ (*jəgāra*); see *grgš*
- gwr* [denom. < Arām גברא; Sab120; Mutz350] G *gāwər* ‘marry (intr.)’; C *māgur* ‘marry off’; see *gwira*
- gzk* [LArām √גחך; Sab122; Mutz350] G *gāxək* ‘laugh’; see *gəxka*
- gyr* [ModH? LArām √גיר; denom. < ClAram גיור; Sab122] D *mgāyər* ‘convert to Judaism (tr.)’
- gys* [ModH גייס] D *mgāyəs* ‘draft, recruit’
- gzs* [ClAram √גזר; Sab121; Mutz351] G *gāzər* ‘circumcise’; see **gzira*

ğ

- ğrğr [onomat. or Ar √غرغر?; Ar √غور? Sab135] Q *mğargər* ‘be hoarse’
 ğrq [Ar √غرق; Sab135] G *ğārəq* ‘sink’ (intr.)

h

- hjm* [Ar √هجم; Sab149] G *hājəm* ‘attack’
hnml [filler *hanna* + *l*-; Sab52,151; Mutz352; Rubin 2005:78–79 n.46; § 4.4.28.11] irreg. ‘do, um’; *hənnəlle* ‘he did, um-’; see *hanna*
hwy [ClAram √הוי; Sab149; Mutz352] G *hāwe* (1) ‘be’, (2) ‘be born’
hymn [ClAram √הימן < PrAram C *’mn; Sab150; Mutz352; § 4.4.28.13] Q *mhemən* ‘believe’
hyr [TJ and JBA √הרר ‘overbearing’? Syr √ההס ‘annoy’? cf. D and C Sab150, D Mutz352–353] G *mhāyər* ‘dare’

ḥ

- ḥdr* [Ar √حضر; cf. *ḥz/dr* Sab168, *ḥḏr* Mutz353] G *ḥāḏər* ‘be ready’; C *maḥḏər* ‘make ready’
ḥkm [Ar √حکم; Sab166; Mutz353] G *ḥākəm* ‘rule’; C *maḥkəm* ‘appoint as ruler’
ḥky [Ar √حكى; cf. D and C Sab166; D (rare) and C Mutz353] D *mḥāke* ‘speak’; see *mḥakesa*
ḥkr [ModH חקר] G *ḥākər* ‘investigate’
ḥlh̄l [ModH חלחל] Q *mḥalh̄l* ‘permeate’
ḥlk [ModH חלק] D *mḥālək* ‘divide’
ḥll [H חלל; cf. C Sab165] D *mḥaləl* ‘desecrate’; see *ḥyl*
ḥlq [Ar √غلق; cf. *ğlq, xlq* Sab135, *ḥlq* Mutz354] G *ḥāləq* ‘lock, close (door)’
ḥlt [ModH חליט] C *maḥlət* ‘decide’
ḥml [Ar √حمل; Sab166–167; Mutz354] G *ḥāməl* ‘stand, wait, stop’; C *maḥməl* ‘make one stand, stop’; *ḥamlile* *ʔabbəd* ^H*səkkiním* ^H ‘that they attack him with knives’
ḥrm [Ar √حرم; Sab168] G *ḥārəm* ‘be polluted’; C *maḥrəm* ‘pollute, impurify, ban, confiscate’; see *ḥarām(a)*, *ḥaramūsa*
ḥsl [ModH חסל] D *mḥāsəl* ‘finish off, eliminate’
ḥyl [H חילל; C Sab165] C *māḥəl* ‘desecrate’; see *ḥll*
ḥyš [Ar √حشى; Sab165; Mutz354] G *ḥāyš* ‘insert (tr.)’
ḥyw [ModH חיב] D *mḥāyu* ‘obligate’
ḥzk [ModH חיזק] C *maḥzək* ‘hold’

j

- jḥd* [Ar √جهد; Sab127; Mutz354] D *mjāḥəd* ‘argue, quarrel’; cf. *nšy*
jm‘ [Ar √جمع; Sab128; Mutz355] G *jāmə*‘ ‘gather (tr. and intr.)’; D *mjāmə*‘ ‘gather (tr.)’
jrm [Ar √جرم; cf. Sab129] D *mjārəm* ‘impose a fine, punish’

- jrmt* [Ar √*شرمط*?; cf. *šrmt* Sab304] Q *mjarməṭ* ‘be entangled’
jry [Ar √*جری*; cf. ⁺*jry* Sab129] G *jāre* ‘flow’
jwb [Ar √*جوب*; cf. D and C Sab126–127, D Mutz355] C *mājab* ‘answer’; see *jwāb*, *jwāb*
jwj [LArām √*שבשב* Mutz355; JBA *ויו?* Sab127] G *jāwəj* ‘move’

k

- kbs* [Ar √*كيس*; Sab181] G *kābəs* ‘conquer’
kftš [ModH √*קפץ*; cf. TO, JBA, and JPA √*קפץ*] G *kāfəṭš* ‘jump’
klt [ModH √*קלט*] G *kālət* ‘absorb’
kpn [ClAram √*כפן*; Sab188; Mutz357] G *kāpən* ‘become hungry’; see *kəpna*, *kpina*
krd [Ar √*کرد*; Sab188] G *kārəd* ‘drive away’
krkm [denom.; Syr √*כורכמא*; LEArām *כורכמא* ‘saffron’; Sab189; Mutz358] Q *mkarkəm* ‘to make yellow’
krx [ClAram √*כרך* ‘wrap around’?; cf. G ‘go round, be wrapped round, surround,’ D and C ‘shroud, wrap up’ Maclean 1910:140,177, G ‘be attached,’ D ‘shroud’ Sab189] G *kārəx* ‘smash someone, wrestle’
*kry*¹ [LEArām √*כרי*; Sab189; Mutz358] C *makre* ‘shorten’; see *korya*
*kry*² [Ar √*כری*; cf. ⁺*kry* Sab189] C *makre* ‘rent out’
ksb [K, Ar √*كسب*; cf. *ks/zb* Sab187, *ksb* Mutz358] G *kāsəb* ‘earn’
ksw [ClAram √*כתב*; Sab190; Mutz358] G *kāsu* ‘write’; C *maksu* ‘dictate’ (< ModH *הכתוב*)
ksy [ClAram √*כסי*; Sab187; Mutz358] D *mkāse* ‘cover’
*kv*⁶ [ModH √*קבע*] G *kāvə* ‘determine’
kwš [ClAram √*כבש*; Sab184; Mutz359] G *kāwəš* ‘descend’; C *mākuš* ‘cause to descend’
kym [ClAram √*אכמ*; Sab185; Mutz359] G *kāyəm* ‘become black’; see *koma*
kyn [ModH √*הכין*] C *māxən* ‘prepare’
kyp [ClAram √*כפה*; Sab185; Mutz359] G *kāyəp* ‘bend (intr.)’; C *mākəp* ‘bend (tr.)’

l

- l’q* [Ar √*علق*] G *lā’əq* ‘be kindled, burn (intr.)’; see *lq*
lqy [ClAram √*לקי*; Sab208; Mutz360] D *mlāqe* ‘punish (God)’ (*haggada*)
lšn [ModH? or earlier H *הלשין*?; JPA and JBA √*לשן* < MishH] C *malšən* ‘slander, inform against’
ltx [Ar √*لطخ*; Sab205] G *lāṭəx* ‘stick (intr.), be attached’
lxlx [ModH √*לכלך*] Q *mlaxlax* ‘dirty (tr.)’
lwš [ClAram √*לבש*; Sab205; Mutz360] G *lāwəš* ‘wear’
lyp [TO √*אלף*, Syr √*للف* < PrAram **אלף*; cf. *lyp*, *ylp* Sab206, *lyp* Mutz360] G *lāyəp* ‘learn’; C *māləp* ‘instruct’
lzy [K; Sab206] G *lāze* ‘hurry (intr.)’

m

- mḥy* [Ar مَحَا, ModH מְחָה; Sab215; Mutz363] C *mamḥe* ‘erase, wipe out’]
mly [ClAram √מל׳י; cf. ⁺*mly* ‘fill,’ *mly* ‘be sufficient’ Sab219 and Mutz364,366]
 G *māle* ‘it is sufficient’; see *mly*
mnx [blend of **mʿyn* (√ע׳ינ) + *mānax* (√נוח) Mutz363; √נוח? Sab51,232; <
 √ע׳ינ׳? Meehan & Alon 1979:180, n. 27; cf. LWArAm and WNeoArAm
 ‘*yny*] C *menax* ‘look, look around’
mpl see *npl*
mpx see *np̄x*
mrʿ [ClAram √מר׳ע; Sab224; Mutz364] G *māreʿ* ‘be in pain’; *kāsan amre(ʿ)la*
 ‘*ʾallan* ‘our stomach hurt us’
mṛč [ClAram √מרס׳; ⁺*m-r-č* Sab224] G *mārāč* ‘crush’; *mṛāčle* ‘*ḡgdāde* ‘he crum-
 pled him up’
msy [LEArAm √מסי׳; Sab221; Mutz365] G *māse* ‘wash (tr.)’
mšy [ClAram √מצי׳; Sab223; Mutz365; §4.4.28.15] G *mše* ‘be able’
mšx [ModH הַמְשִׁיךְ] C *mamšax* ‘continue’
mṭy [ClAram √מטי׳; Sab215–216; Mutz365] G *māte* ‘arrive’; marking passive
 voice: ‘*atta* ^H*gam*^H *mṭelu* ‘*ʾallad hanna qəṭla* ‘Also now they were, um,
 killed’ (§4.4.20.c); C *mamte* ‘cause to arrive, bring’
mxy [ClAram √מחי׳; Sab218; Mutz365] G *māxe* ‘strike, hit’; *mxele* ‘*urxa* ‘he
 hit the road’ (cf. *mxēle l/bʿurxa* ‘he hit the road’ Sab218); *mxele* ‘*alla* ‘he
 hit it (the road)’; *gyāne mxyāle* ‘*alle* ‘he hurled himself at him’; *mxyāla*
 ‘*alli* ‘she hit me’; see *maxisa*
myd [Ar √مدد; Sab216] G *māyad* ‘line up (tr.)’
mys [ClAram √מית׳; Sab217; Mutz365] G *māyās* ‘die’; *mātle* ‘he died’ (§3.1.b);
 see *misa*, *mosa*

ṛ

- mly* [ClAram √מלי׳; cf. ⁺*mly* ‘fill,’ *mly* ‘be sufficient’ Sab219 and Mutz364,366]
 G *māle* ‘fill’; see *mly*

n

- nʿl* [IrAr √نعل < √لعن ‘curse’ Clarity et al. 2003:463; cf. ‘curse’ Maclean
 1901:183, ‘marry off (pejorative of gentile marriage)’ Sab233] D *mnāʿal*
 ‘marry off’ (pejorative for non-Jews)
nbl [ClAram √בל׳; cf. *nbl*, *byl*, *ybl* Sab229, *nbl*, *lbl* Mutz366; §3.7:4.4.28.16]
 C *nābəl* ‘lead away’; *noballe* ‘he led him away’
ndy [ClAram √נדי׳; cf. *ndy*, *nyd* Sab230, *ndy* Mutz366] C *mande* ‘throw
 down/away’; *pehna mande* ‘kick (lit. throw a kick)’; *mundele qam qatīʿa*
 ‘he beat him with a stick’; *mundele qam kulle* ‘he beat him with every-
 thing’
nf [Ar √نفع; Sab233; Mutz367] G *nāfe* ‘be useful, benefit, suit’; also *nāpe*’
ngʿ [ModH הַגִּיעַ] C *māgə* ‘deserve’ (< ‘reach’)
ngš [ModH הַגִּישׁ] C *māgəš* ‘hand in’

- nhl* [ModH נָהַל; D *mnāhāl* ‘manage’
npʿ see *npʿ*
npl [ClAram √נפל; cf. *n/impl* Sab233–234, *npl* Mutz367] G *nāpāl* ‘fall’, (*m*)*pāl-le basār* ‘follow’ (lit., ‘fall [in line] after’); C *mampāl* ‘cause to fall’
npx [ClAram √נפה; cf. *n/mpx* Sab233; *npx* Mutz367] G *nāpax* ‘blow’; *mpox* ‘blow!’ (§ 3.6.d)
nqm [ClAram √נקם; Sab235] G *nāqam* ‘take revenge’
nqš [Ar √نقص; Sab235] G *nāqas* ‘lessen’ (intr.); C *maqas* ‘lessen’ (tr.); see *naqoša*, *nqiša*
nqš [ClAram √נקש; Sab235; Mutz367] G *nāqas* ‘touch’
nsʿ [ModH נָסַע, הָסִיעַ; G *nāsəʿ* ‘travel’; C *māsəʿ* ‘transport’
nšy [ClAram √נצ׳י; Sab234; Mutz368] G *nāše* ‘fight, quarrel’; see *našūša*; cf. *jhd*
nšq [ClAram √נשק; Sab235; Mutz368] G *nāšaq* ‘kiss’
nšy [ClAram √נשי; Sab235; Mutz368] G *nāše* ‘forget’; C *manše* ‘cause to forget’
ntr [ClAram √נטר; Sab232; Mutz368] G *nāṭar* ‘keep, guard’
nwx [ClAram √נבח; Sab231] G *nāwax* ‘bark’; C *manwax* ‘cause to bark’
nxxnx [onomat.?.; cf. ‘mumble threats, breathe heavily on one’s neck’ Sab233] Q *mmaxnx* ‘mumble threats’
nxp [ClAram √נכר; Sab233; Mutz368] G *nāxap* ‘be embarrassed’; see *naxpūsa*
nyx [ClAram √נוח; Sab232; Mutz363] G *nāyax* ‘rest’; fig., ‘pass away’; C *mānax* ‘give rest’; *ilāha mānaxle* ‘May God rest his soul’; see *nixa*
- p*
- pčkn* [K *pēčan* ‘pack, wrap’ Rizgar 1993:144?; cf. ‘go bad (gum)’ Sabar 1982:169] Q *mpačkən* ‘finish, wrap up’
pgʿ [ModH פָּגַע; G *pāgəʿ* ‘injure’
plʿ [ClAram √פלג; cf. *plʿ*, *ply* Sab256, *plʿ* Mutz369] G *pāle* ‘divide’; D *mpāle* ‘distribute’
plṭ [ClAram √פלט; Sab256] G *pālṭ* ‘go out’; D *mpālṭ* ‘take out’; *mpolṭlu pāššaport* ‘they issued a passport’ (calque on ModH הוֹצִיא דָּרְכוּן/פָּסְפוּרְט)
plx [ClAram √פלה; Sab256; Mutz370] G *pālex* ‘work’; C *maplax* ‘employ’; cf. *falxa*
pnčr [ModH פּוּצָר < Eng ‘puncture’; Sabar 1990:55] Q *mpančər* ‘cause a flat tire’
pqʿ [ClAram √פקע; Sab257; Mutz370] G *pāqeʿ* ‘burst’ (tr. and intr.)
prns [ModH פָּרַנַס; LEAram √פרנט;] Q *mparnas* ‘manage, provide for’
prpr [Syr √פרפר ‘flutter, quiver’; cf. ‘spin, whirl’ Sabar 1982:169] Q *mparpər* ‘agonize, writhe’
prpṭ [LEAram √פרט; Sab259 and 1982:169; Mutz370] Q *mparpṭ* ‘agonize, writhe’; cf. *prt*
prq [ClAram √פרק; Sab250; Mutz370] G *pārəq* ‘desist, leave’; D *mpārəq* ‘redeem, revenge’; see *tola*
prs [ClAram √פרס; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pārəs* ‘spread (tr.)’
prš [ClAram √פרש; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pāreš* ‘separate’

- pršq* [LEAram √פשק; Sab260 and 1982:159; Mutz370] Q *mparšaq* ‘stretch, straighten (tr.)’
- prt* [ClAram √פרט; Sab259; Mutz370] ‘tear, rip up’; see *priṭa*, *prpṭ*
- prtḫ* [Syr √פצע ‘split’; Kamil 1963:17; Sab260] Q *mpartḫ* ‘make change (money)’
- prx* [ClAram √פרח; Sab259; Mutz370] G *pārax* ‘fly’ (intr.)
- pšʿ* [ModH √פצע] G *pāšəʿ* ‘injure’ (tr. and intr.)
- pšr* [ClAram √פשר; Sab260; Mutz371] G *pāšər* ‘melt’ (intr.)
- ptl* [Syr √גלגל; Sab261; Mutz371] G *pātāl* ‘roll, twist’
- ptpt* [Syr √חלחל?; Sabar 1982:170; Mutz371] Q *mpatpṭ* ‘shred, cut up’
- pṭr* [ModH √פטר; ClAram √פטר; cf. G Maclean 1901:249] D *mpāṭər* ‘finish, leave (tr. and intr.)’
- ptx* [ClAram √פתח; Sab261; Mutz371] G *pātḫ* ‘open (tr. and intr.)’
- pyč* [K *pičan* ‘break’ Chyet 2003:454; in related NENA dialects ‘crush with a foot, trample’ Mutzafi p.c.] G *pāyč* ‘crush’
- pyd* [Syr √גוד; cf. *pā -it*, *fā -it* Maclean 1901:246, *pyd* Sab255, *pyḏ* Mutz371] G *pāyad* ‘pass by’; C *māpəd* ‘cause to pass by’
- pyš* [LEAram √פוש; Sab255; Mutz371] G *pāyš* ‘remain, be’; *ʿāna ppešan hudesā* ‘I will become a Jewess’
- pyx* [ClAram √פוח; Sab255] G *pāyax* ‘become cool’; attested only with *lābbe: lābbe paxle* ‘he felt relieved’; C *māpax* ‘cool’ (tr.); *lābbe mopaxle* ‘it relieved him’
- pzr* [ModH √פזר; cf. ClAram √בדר] D *mpāzər* ‘distribute’
- q**
- qbl* [ClAram √קבל; Sab273; Mutz373] G *qābəl* ‘accept, agree, allow’
- qdy* [Ar √قضى; cf. ‘finish, be finished’ Maclean 1901:269; ‘provide (need), fulfill, wish’ Sab282 and Mutz373; §4.4.23.5] G *qāde* ‘finish, complete, spend time’
- qlʿ* [Ar √قلع; cf. ‘go away, go to hell, cause harm by casting the evil eye’ Sab279] G *qāləʿ* ‘go away, drive away’
- qlb* [Ar √قلب; Sab279; Mutz374] G *qālb* ‘overturn’
- qlql* [denom. < JBA קלקלתא ‘trash heap’ Mutzafi p.c.; cf. ‘despise, make little of’ Maclean 1901:195;] Q *mqalqəl* ‘kick the bucket’ (used for non-Jews); cf. *skt*
- qlw* [denom. < Syr √قلع ‘mould, pattern’?; Sab279; Mutzafi 2004:238] G *qālu* ‘be clean’; D *mqālu* ‘clean’
- qnʿ* [Ar √قنع; Sab281; Mutz374] G *qānəʿ* ‘be content, convinced’
- qrm* [ClAram √קרם; Sab283] G *qārəm* ‘cover’
- qrmt* [LEAram √קמת; cf. ‘wrinkle’ Sab283 and 1982:170] Q *mqarmət* ‘seize, grasp’
- qrpč* [?; cf. *qrpč*, *qrčp* Sab284 and 1982:170] Q *mqarpəč* ‘snatch’
- qrw* [ClAram √קרב; Sab282] G *qāru* ‘approach’
- qrx* [ClAram √קרח; Sab283; Mutz374] C *maqrax* ‘whiten, make shine’
- qry* [ClAram √קרי; Sab283; Mutz374] G *qāre* ‘call, read, study’; G *maqre* ‘teach’

- qṭ* [ClAram √קטע; Sab277; Mutz374] G *qāṭe* 'be cut, cut off, be resolved'; *qəṭya* 'cut'; see *āqəl*
- qṭl* [ClAram √קטל; Sab277; Mutz375] G *qāṭəl* 'kill, beat up badly'; C *maqṭəl* 'have killed'; see *qəṭla*, *qaṭəl*, *qaṭola*
- qṭy* see *qṭ*
- qwr* [ClAram √קבר; Sab276; Mutz376] G *qāwər* 'bury'
- qyd* [ClAram √קיד; cf. *yqd*, *qyd* Sab178, *yqḏ* Mutz376] G *qāyəd* 'burn' (intr.); *qədla kāse* 'he got angry' (§ 4.4.27.5); C *māqəd* 'burn (tr.)'; see *yuqdāna*
- qym* [ClAram √קום; Sab278; Mutz376] G *qāyəm* 'stand up, arise'; *qemi xaprile* 'they up (and) dig it' (§ 4.4.24); C *māqəm* 'set up'
- r**
- r'y* [ClAram √רעי; Sab286; Mutz376] C *mar'e* 'to take to pasture'
- r's* [ClAram √רגש; Sab286; Mutz376] C *mar's* 'awaken'
- r'd* [ModH רעד] G *rā'əd* 'tremble'
- r'l* [ModH הרעיל] C *mar'al* 'poison'
- rgš* [ModH הרגיש] C *margəš* 'feel, notice'
- rhq* [ClAram √רחק; Sab289; Mutz377] G *rāḥəq* 'go far, be far away'; C *marḥəq* 'remove'; cf. *rəqqa*, *reqa*
- rkw* [ClAram √רכב; Sab290; Mutz377] G *rāku* 'ride'; see *rakāwa*
- rkc* [ClAram √רכך; Sab290; Mutz377] C *markəx* 'soften'; see **rakixa*
- rpy* [ClAram √רפי; cf. D 'throw, let go' Maclean 1901:200; ⁺*rpy* G 'be set free against, attack and D 'dispatch', *rpy* C 'make loose, weak' Sabar 2002:291; *rpy* G 'be released' and C 'release' Mutz377] D *mrāpe* 'loosen, release, attack'; *'anna nāše mrupyālu 'əlləd 'Awrāham* 'those people let Abraham have it'; C *marpe* 'release'; *'āya ^Hmāskena^H murpyāla l-bəxya* 'that poor one broke out crying'
- rqd* [ClAram √רקד; Sab292; Mutz377] G *rāqəd* 'dance'
- rvḥ* [ModH הרויה] C *marvəḥ* 'earn'
- rzdg* [K, P; cf. ⁺*rzdg*, *rzk*, *rzg* Sab288] Q *mrzədg* 'arrange (table)' (*haggada*)
- ʔ**
- ḥm* [H רחם, Ar √رحم; Sab289; Mutz378] D *mrāḥəm* 'have mercy'; see *mar-ḥāma*, *mṛaḥmāna*
- ḥwy* [ClAram √רבי; Sab288, Mutz378] C *ṛāwe* 'grow, grow up'; C *marwe* 'raise, bring up'
- rym* [ClAram √רום; cf. ⁺*rym*, *ym* Sab289, *rym* Mutz378] C *māṛəm* 'lift'; *māṛəm tēlefon* 'call on the phone' (calque on ModH הרים טלפון); see *romāṇa*
- s**
- sbl* [ModH סבל; also ClAram √סבל] G *sābəl* 'bear, suffer' (tr. and intr.)
- sdr* [ModH סדר 'arrange', הסתדר 'manage, get along'] D *msādər* 'arrange, manage, get along'

- skm* [ModH הִסְכִּים] C *maskəm* ‘agree’
skn [Ar √سكن; Sab240; Mutz380] G *sākən* ‘dwell’
skr¹ [ModH הִשְׁכִּיר] C *maskər* ‘rent out’
skr² [Ar √سكر; cf. ⁺*skr* Sab240, *skr* Mutz380] C *maskər* ‘intoxicate’
skt [Ar. سكت? cf. *sqt* (< Ar سَقَطَ) ‘to die, used of a dog or a bad man, esp. of Mussulmans’ Maclean 1901:230] G *sākat* ‘croak’ (used for non-Jews); cf. *qlql*
slb [Ar √سلب; Sab240] G *sāləb* ‘rob’
slm [Ar √سلم; Sab240] D *msāləm* ‘deliver, hand over’
smh¹ [ModH שִׂמַח] D *msāməh* ‘make happy’
smq [CIaram √סמק; Sab241; Mutz380] G *sāməq* ‘become red’
smx [ModH הִסְמִיךְ] C *masməx* ‘authorize, empower’
snq [Syr √صعد; Sab242; Mutz380] G *sānəq* ‘need’; see *sniqa*
sny [CIaram √סני; Sab241] G *sāne* ‘hate’
spk [ModH הִסְפִּיק] C *maspək* ‘manage, succeed’
spq [CIaram √ספק; Sab242; Mutz381] G *sāpəq* ‘be empty’; D *msāpəq* ‘empty (tr.)’; see *spiqə*
spr [ModH סִפַּר] D *msāpər* ‘tell’
sqt [Ar √سقط; Sab243] G *sāqəṭ* ‘fall, land (fly on food)’
srq [CIaram √סרק; Sab244; Mutz381] G *sārəq* ‘comb’
sxy [CIaram √סחי; Sab240; Mutz381] G *sāxe* ‘bathe, swim’
syl [?; cf. MishH √סלל ‘act lewdly’ Sab12 n.50, 239] G *sāyəl* ‘fuck’

š

- š‘r* [CIaram √צער; Sab269; Mutz381] D *mšā‘ər* ‘curse’; see *šo‘rāsa*
šdr [Ar √صدر] D *mšādər* ‘confiscate’
šfr [Ar √صفر; Sab270] D *mšāfər* ‘whistle’; see *šfera*
ššf [ModH צִפְצֵף] Q *mšafšəf* ‘utterly disregard’
šlh [CIaram √צלח] G and C ‘succeed’; ModH הִצְלִיחַ; Ar √صلح ‘reconcile’; Sab269] D *mšāləh* ‘reconcile’; *mašləh* C ‘succeed’
šlm [ModH צִלַּם] D *mšāləm* ‘photograph’
šly [CIaram √צלי; Sab269; Mutz382] D *mšāle* ‘pray’
špy [Ar √صفو; Sab270; Mutz383] G *šāpe* ‘be clear, untroubled (mainly liq-uid)’
šrx [CIaram √צרח; Sab270; Mutz383] G *šārəx* ‘call, shout, summon’; C *mašrəx* ‘call for, summon’
šw‘ [CIaram √צבע; Sab267; Mutz383] G *šāwe* ‘dye, color’; see *šawā‘a*, *šəwya*
šyh [Ar √صحح; Sab268] C *māšəh* ‘examine, check’

š

- šbh* [ModH שִׁבַּח] D *mšābəh* ‘praise’
šdd [ModH שָׁדַד] G *šādəd* ‘rob’
šft [ModH שָׁפַט] G *šāfət* ‘judge’
šhrr [ModH שָׁחַרַר] Q *mšāhrər* ‘free, release’
škl [Ar √شكل; Sab298–299; Mutz386] G *šākəl* ‘begin’

- škn* [ModH שָׁכַן] D *mšākən* ‘settle (tr.)’
šky [Ar √شكو; Sab298; Mutz386] G *šāke* ‘lodge a complaint’
šlm [ClAram √שלם; cf. D ‘pay’ < ModH שָׁלַם; C ‘become or make a Mussulman’ Maclean 1901:203, C ‘convert to Islam’ Sab300] D *mšāləm* ‘pay’; C *mašləm* ‘convert (tr. and intr.) to Islam’
šlq [ClAram √שלק] G *šāləq* ‘boil (tr. and intr.)’
šlx [ClAram √שלה; Sab300; Mutz386] G *šāləx* ‘take off (clothes)’; see *šulxāya*
šm’ [ClAram √שמע; Hoberman 1989:219; Sab300; Mutz386 and 2002a:485] G *šāme* ‘hear’; *šəmya* ‘heard’; C *mašme* ‘listen, pay attention’
šmd [ModH הִשְׁמִיד] C *mašməd* ‘destroy’
šmn [LAram √שמן; Sab301] G *šāmən* ‘be fat’
šmr [ModH שָׁמַר] G *šāmər* ‘guard, keep’
šmy see *šm’*
šny [ClAram √שני ‘change’; Sab301–302; Mutz386] D *mšāne* ‘change residence, move, depart’
šql [ClAram √שקל; Sab303; Mutz387] G *šāqəl* ‘take’; *šqalle baxta* ‘he took a wife’
šrt [ModH שָׂרַת] D *mšārət* ‘serve’
šrt [Ar √شرط; Sab303] D *mšārət* ‘stipulate’
šry [ClAram √שרי; Sab303] G *šāre* ‘untie’
štf [ModH שָׁתַף; ClAram < Akk] D *mšātəf* ‘let participate’
šthr [*Gt אֶשְׁתַּהַר; LAram √שהר ‘keep a vigil’; Sab305; Mutz387] Q *məštāhər* ‘go blind’; see *šahāra*
šty [ClAram √שתי; Sab305; Mutz387] G *šāte* ‘drink’; C *mašte* ‘give drink, water, moisten’; *ən’āna pešən Zāwa-zi, baxtasexun’āna lebi maštənnu kullu* ‘Even if I should become the Zawa (River), I can’t moisten all of your women’
štx [ClAram √שטה; cf. G in Maclean 1901:304, Sab297, and Mutz387 (also *šth*)] C *maštəx* ‘spread out’
švk [ModH שוּק] D *mšāvək* ‘market’
šwq [ClAram √שבק; Sab296; Mutz388] G *šāwəq* ‘leave, abandon’
šxn [ClAram √שחן; Sab299; Mutz388] D (*m*)*šāxən* ‘warm up’ (tr.); see *šaxina*
šxnəx [ModH שִׁכְּנַע; § 3.3.e] Q *mšaxnəx* ‘persuade’
šy’ [ClAram √שוע or שעע; cf. *šy’* Sab297] G *šāyə’* ‘plaster’
šydn [denom. < *šidana* ‘crazy’ < ClAram שִׁדָּא ‘demon’; Sab297; Mutz388] Q *mšədən* ‘become crazy, make crazy’; see *mšidəna, šidāna, šidanūsa*
- t*
- tfq* [Ar أَتَقَّ < √وقف; Sab312; Mutz389] G *tāfəq* ‘occur, happen’
thl [ModH הִתְחַיל; Hoberman 1989:79] C *mathəl* ‘begin’
tkf [ModH הִתְקַף] C *matkəf* ‘attack’
tkl [Ar أَتَكَل < √وكل; Syr ܐܬܟܠ; Sab309] G *təkəl* ‘trust’
tkn [ModH הִתְקַן] D *mtākən* ‘fix’
tll [Syr ܐܬܠܠ; Sab310; Mutz389] G *tāləl* ‘get wet’
tly [ClAram √תלי; cf. *tālī* Maclean 1901:321, *tlytly* Sab310 and Mutz389–390] G *tāle* ‘hang (tr.)’; see *talya*

- tmx* [ModH תַּמַּךְ] G *tāmāx* ‘support’
tpl [ModH טַפַּל] D *mtāpəl* ‘take care of’
tpl [ClAram √תַּקַּל; Sab312] G *tāqəl* ‘weigh (tr.)’
tv’ [ModH תַּבַּע] G *tāvə’* ‘sue’
twr [ClAram √תַּבַּר; Sab307–308; Mutz390] G *tāwər* ‘break (tr.)’; see *tūra*
txnn [ModH תַּכְנַן] Q *mtaxnən* ‘plan’
txr [ClAram √דַּכַּר; < Gt *’tdkr/’dkr?*; Sab309; Mutz390; §3.2.d] G *tāxər* ‘remember’; C *matxər* ‘remind’
tym [ClAram √תַּמַּם; Sab308; Mutz390] G *tāyəm* ‘finish (intr.)’

‡

- ‡n* [ClAram √טַעַן; Sab170; Mutz391] C *ma‡ən* ‘load’
‡y [ClAram √טַעַי; cf. *‡y* Sab170 and Mutz391] G *tā’e* ‘search, look for’
‡lb [Ar √طَلَب; Sab172; Mutz392] G *‡āləb* ‘request’
‡lq [Ar √طَلَق; cf. G and D Sab173] D *m‡āləq* ‘divorce’; see *‡alāqe*
‡pr [Anatolian Ar *‡pr* ‘catch fever’; Maclean 1901:113,325; Sab174] G *tāpər* ‘burn (intr.)’ (*haggada*)
‡py [LEAram √טַפַּי; Sab174; Mutz392 and 2005:101] G *tāpe* ‘stick (tr.), kindle, be inflamed’
‡rp [ClAram √טַרַף; cf. ‘strike, overthrow’ Maclean 1901:114, ‘applaud’ Sab-175, ‘attack’ Mutz392] G *tārep* ‘attack, fall upon’
‡ry [ClAram √טַרַי; Sab175; Mutz392] G *tāre* ‘drive (a car), set in motion’
‡rs [ClAram √טַרַשׁ; cf. *tāriš* Maclean 1901:327, *‡rš* Sab313, *‡rs* Mutz392] G *tārs* ‘be healthy, become healthy’ see *‡rosa*
‡šy [ClAram √טַשַׁי; Sab175; Maclean 2008:392] D *m‡āše* ‘hide’
‡w’ [ClAram √טַבַּע; Sab171; Mutz393] G *tāwe’* ‘fall asleep’
‡wy [ClAram √טַוַי; Sab171; Mutz393] D *m‡āwe* ‘roast’ (tr.)

w

- whwl* [Ar √وَلْوَل; Hozaya & Youkhana 1999:253] Q *mwalwəl* ‘wail’

x

- xbd* [ModH כַּבַּד] D *mxābəd* ‘honor’; see *kāwōd*
xdr [ClAram √חַדַּר; cf. cf. *x/gd/dr* Sab192, *xḏr* Mutz395] G *xādər* ‘go around’
xdy [ClAram √חַדַּי; Sab192; §4.4.23.5] G *xāde* ‘rejoice’; with dummy 3 f.s. obj. suff. *xadyālu* ‘they rejoiced’; see *xədyūsa*
xll [ClAram √חַלַּל; Sab197; Mutz396] D *mxāləl* ‘wash’
xlp [ClAram √חַלַּף; cf. D (tr.) Sab197, G (intr.), D (tr.) Mutz396] G *xāləp* ‘change, exchange’ (tr.); more commonly D *mxāləp* ‘change, exchange’ (tr.)
xlq [Ar √خَلَق; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xāləq* ‘create’
xlš [Ar √خَلَص ‘finish, save’; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xāləš* ‘finish, be saved, get rid of’; D *mxāləš* ‘save’
xlw [ClAram √חַלַּב; Sab197; Mutz396] G *xālu* ‘milk’

- xm'* [ClAram √חמע; cf. G 'be leavened, C 'leaven (tr.)' Sab198; G 'be leavened' Avidani 1959:46 and Alfiye 1986:55] C *maxme* 'become leavened' (*haggada*)
- xpq* [ClAram √חבק; cf. *xp/bq* Sab199] G *xāpəq* 'embrace, hug'
- xpr* [ClAram √חפר; Sab199; Mutz397] G *xāpər* 'dig'
- xrh* [ModH יהכריה] C *maxrəh* 'force'
- xrw* [ClAram √חרב; Sab200; Mutz397] G *xāru* 'be ruined'; C *maxru* 'destroy'; see *xarbé*
- xrxr* [K; Sab200] Q *mxarxər* 'have pity'
- xrz* [ModH יהכריז] C *maxrəz* 'declare'
- xss* [ClAram √חדת; Sab202] D *mxasəs* 'renew'; see *xāsa*²
- xšx* [ClAram √חשה < Akk *ḥašāḥu?* Kaufman 1974:54; Sab201] G *xāšax* 'be (religiously) proper'
- xšw* [ClAram √חשב; Sab201; Mutz397] G *xāšu* 'think, consider'
- xtf* [ModH חטף] G *xātəf* 'seize, snatch'
- xtm* [ModH חתם; cf. ClAram חתם 'seal, end?'] G *xātəm* 'sign'
- xtr* [Syr √ܘܬܪ; cf. G Maclean 1901:108 and Sab202] D *mxātər* 'boast, be proud'
- xtr* [ClAram √חטר; Sab195; Mutz397] G *xāṭər* 'beat, hit'; see *xuṭṭa*
- xwr* [ClAram √חור; Sab194; Mutz398] C *maxwər* 'whiten'; see **xwāra*
- xyk* [LEAram √חכך; Sab196] G *xāyək* 'scratch'
- xyp* [ClAram √חפה; Sab196; Mutz398] G *xāyəp* 'wash oneself'
- xyy* [ClAram √חיי; Sab196; Mutz398] G *xāye* 'live'
- xzd* [ClAram √חצד; cf. *g/xzd* Sab135, *xāzəd*, *gāzəd* Mutz398] G *xāzəd* 'harvest'
- xzy* [ClAram √חזי; Sab195; Mutz398] G *xāze* 'see, find'; C *maxze* 'show'
- y*
- y'y* [ClAram √ידע; Sab176; Mutz399; §4.4.28.19] G *yā'e* 'he may know'; *y'elox* 'you know'; *'āna lā-ki'ən* 'I am unaware'; *lā-či'atte* 'you don't know him' (§4.4.9.c); C *mayde* 'inform, announce, notify'
- yd'* see *y'y*
- yhw(l)* [ClAram -ל + √יהב; Sab176; Mutz399; §4.4.28.20] G *yāwəl* 'give, pay'; *hiwa* 'given'
- ymy* [ClAram √ימי; Sab178] G *yāme* 'swear'; C *mayme* 'adjure'; see *momāsa*
- ypy* [ClAram √אפי; Sab178; Mutz399] G *yāpe* 'bake'
- yrq* [ClAram √ירק; Sab179; Mutz399] G *yārəq* 'become green'
- yrx* [ClAram √ארך; Sab179] G *yārəx* 'be long'; C *mayrəx* 'lengthen'; see *yarixa*
- ysq* [ClAram √סלק; Sab178; Mutz399] G *yāsəq* 'ascend'; C *māsəq* 'bring up'
- ysr* [ClAram √אסר; Sab178; Mutz399] G *yāsər* 'bind, tie'
- yšr* [ModH ישר] D *myāšər* 'straighten'
- ytw* [ClAram √יתב; Sab179; Mutz399] G *yātu* 'sit'; inchoative verb in *ytw + b + Gerund*; C *mattu* 'put, place'; *mətwāli* 'I placed her'
- ywš* [ClAram √בש; cf. *wyš*, *wyš* Sab154, *wyš* (JBetan < JZakho) Mutz393] G *yāwəš* 'dry up (intr.)'

z

- zbn see zwn
zbr [ModH הַסְבִּיר colloquially *hizbir*] C *mazbər* 'explain'
zd' [ClAram t-stem of √זוע; Nöldeke 1868:195] G *zāde* 'fear'; see **zad'-wāna*, *zde'sa*, *zdo'sa*
zgr [ModH הַסְגִּיר colloquially *hizgir*] C *mazgər* 'hand over'
zky [ClAram √זכי; Ar أَزَكِي; cf. G 'deserve,' D 'let someone possess a merit' Sab159] C *mazke* 'grant merit'; 'ilāha *mazkela* 'May God grant her merit' (cf. 'ilāha *mzākēlexun* Sab159); see *zxy*
złt [K *zrt?* cf. *zrt* 'prahlen mit reden (etwa vor dem kampf), ausschelten' Ritter 1990:228]; C *mazlət* 'convert (tr.)'
zmn [ModH הַזְמִין] C *mazmən* 'invite'
zmr [ClAram √זמר; Mutz400] G *zāmər* 'sing'; see 'mr, *zəmryāsa*
zqr [ClAram √זקר; Sab160; Mutz400] G *zāqər* 'weave'
zr' [ClAram √זרע; Sab160; Mutz400] G *zāre* 'sow, seed'
zrm [ModH זָרַם] G *zārəm* 'flow'
zwn [ClAram √זבן; Sab156; Mutz401] G *zāwən* 'buy'; D *mzābən* 'sell'
zwr [K; Sab156; Mutz401] C *zāwər* 'go around'; C 'turn (around) (tr.)'
zxy [ModH זָכָה] G *zāxe* 'deserve, merit'; see *zky*
zyč [?] G *zāyeč* 'squeeze out, pull out'
zyd [Ar √زيد; Sab158; Mutz401] G *zāyəd* 'increase (intr.)'; see *zodāna*, *bíz-zodāna*
- ž
- žlm [Ar √ظلم; cf. D (tr.) *zlm*, ⁺*d̄lm* Sab271, G (tr.) *žlm* Mutz401] G *žālem* 'oppress, force'

NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, AND PARTICLES

,

- 'ā see 'āya
- 'abla [T Hony 1957:1] f. 'older sister'
- 'abresəm [LEAram < P; Sab89] m. 'silk'
- 'adlele ['d + lele; Jastrow 1990:101; cf. 'idlal Sab90, 'adlél Mutz118] adv. 'tonight'; see *lele*
- 'afəllu [H אַפּוֹלֵל; Sab99; Mutz128] conj. 'even'
- 'affandi [T < Gr; Sab99] m. 'effendi, official'
- 'āga [T, K, P; Sab88; Mutz328] m. 'master, agha'; pl. 'āgāye
- 'āgātūsa ['āga + K. abstr. suff. -at + abstr. suff. -ūsa] f. 'masterdom, state of being an agha'; *bodi 'āgātūsa* 'they perform the duties of the agha'
- 'ahāli [Ar أَهْلِي; Sab90] pl. tant. 'population, people'
- 'āhat, 'āt [ClAram m.s. (ה) אַהַת, f.s. (א) אַהַת; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; cf. 'āhət m.s. and 'āhat f.s. Sab88; Mutz328] indep. prn. 'you (c.s.)'
- 'akčən [? + אָכְעַן; cf. *akhchūn*, *akhchūnta* 'in so far as, whenever' Maclean 1901:8, 'ixjin, 'ikčm, 'iqčm, 'qčm, 'maxčm 'the size of' Sab95] 'the size of'; 'akčən *xa tora* 'the size of a bull'; 'akčən *məzzəd rešox* 'as many as the hairs on your head'
- 'ako [K] conj. 'when'; see *čukun*, *ko*
- 'āla [K; Sab88; Mutz328] f. 'side, direction'; pl. 'alāle; *l-é-'āl* 'in that direction'; *mən d-axxa u-l-é-'āl* 'from here on'; *mənne u-l-é-'āl* 'from there on'; *tam l-é-'āl* 'from there on'; 'atta-u-l-é-'āl 'from now on' (cf. JZakho *min 'idyo ulē'āla* Sabar 2005:202)
- 'aláy [K, P, T; cf. 'alāy + *qomandar* 'the chief of Staff' Sab96] 'military regiment'
- 'alla [Ar الله; Sab96] m. 'God'; see 'ilāha, 'išalla, *walla*
- 'alpa [ClAram אַלפּוֹ; Sab96; Mutz328] 'thousand'; pl. 'alpe
- 'amita [Ar عَمِيد?] 'civilian police'
- 'amoya [K *amo*, IrAr 'ammu < Ar عَمّ; Sab97; Mutz328] m. 'paternal uncle'; pl. 'amawāsa; 'amoyi 'my paternal uncle'; 'amód *d-é Šambi* 'the paternal uncle of that Šambi'; 'amo 'Uncle! (voc.); see 'amta
- 'amra [ClAram אַמְרָא; Sab97; Mutz328] 'wool'; cf. *mar'az*
- 'amta [Syr אַמְתָּא; Sab97; Mutz328] f. 'maternal aunt'; see 'amoya
- 'an see 'anna
- 'āna [ClAram אַנָּא; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; Sab89; Mutz328] indep. prn. 'I (c.)'
- 'anəšk(a?) [K Chyet 2003:7] f. 'elbow'; attested only in 'anəškəd *gyāne* 'his own elbow(s)'
- 'anglislāya see 'anglislāya
- 'anglizi [Ar أنكليزي; cf. *inglézi* Maclean 1901:15, 'inglēzi Sab98 and 1990:59] m. 'English'; see 'anglislāya

- 'āni [JBA אָנִי, Syr ܐܢܝ; PNENA *ahnin*, *āni* Hoberman 1988:569; Hoberman 1990; Jastrow 1990; Sab89; Mutz382] indep. prn. 'they (c.)'
- 'anna, 'an [JBA אָנָּה, Syr ܐܢܢܐ; cf. 'a/*inna*/e/i Sab97–98, 'anna Mutz328; Jastrow 1990] dem. prn. 'these, those (c.)'
- 'aqalta see 'aqla
- 'aqla, 'aqalta [CIaram עקל; Krotkoff 1985:130–131; Sab99; Mutz328] f. 'foot'; pl. 'aqla, 'aqlāsa
- 'aqqar, 'áqqara [CIaram ܐܩܩܪܐ; cf. 'oqad(*da*), 'oqat, 'aṯqa(*da*) Sab91, 'oqad, 'óqad-*da* Mutz333] adv. 'so much, to such an extent'; see *qadər*, *qudrəta*
- 'aqubra [TO and JBA עֲקֻבְרָא, Syr ܥܩܘܒܪܐ; Sab99; Mutz328] 'mouse'
- 'ar'a [CIaram ܐܪܥܐ; Sab99; Mutz329] f. 'land, earth, field'; 'ar'āya (*haggada* = הארץ); pl. 'ar'āsa, 'ar'āne
- 'arba [CIaram ܐܪܒܥܐ; Sab100; Mutz114] 'four'; *kút'arbeni* 'the four of us'; see 'arba'sar, 'arbamma, 'arbi, 'arbūšeb
- 'arba'sar [Syr ܐܪܒܥܝܫܘܪܐ; cf. 'arba'sar Sab100, 'arbá'assar Mutz115] 'fourteen'; see 'arba, 'arbamma, 'arbi, 'arbušeb
- 'arbamma [*'arba* + 'amma; cf. 'arbe'ma, 'arba'imma, 'arba'imma Sab100; 'arbá'mma Mutz329; § 4.3.3] 'four hundred'; see 'arba, 'arba'sar; 'arbi, 'arbūšeb
- 'arbi [CIaram ܐܪܒܝܢ; cf. 'arbi, 'arbi'i Sab100, 'arbi Mutz115] 'forty'; see 'arba, 'arba'sar, 'arbamma, 'arbūšeb
- 'arbūšeb [LArām ܐܪܒܘܫܒܐ; cf. 'arbōšib, 'arbūšib Sab100, 'árbošeb Mutz117] 'Wednesday'; see 'arba, 'arba'sar, 'arbamma, 'arbi
- 'armāsa [CIaram ܐܪܡܫܐ; Sab101; Mutz329] f. 'widow'
- 'arye [CIaram ܐܪܝܐ, pl. ܐܪܝܝܬܐ; Sab100; Mutz329] pl. 'lions'
- 'arzuḥal, 'arzuḥál [T *arzuḥál* < Ar عَرَضُ حَالٍ] m. 'written request, petition'
- 'askanāne [?] pl. 'type of cake'
- 'áškara [K, P; Sab101; Mutz329] adv. 'openly, publicly'
- 'āt see 'ahat
- 'atta [*hā danta < עֲדָנָא Mutz329; Sab101; cf. BiblAram ܐܬܬܐ, ܐܬܬܐ] adv. 'now'; 'atta-*u-l-é-āl* 'from now on'; *m-atta* 'from now'
- 'atxa see *hatxa*
- *'aṯrušnāya [GN *Aṯruš* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] 'resident of Atruš (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; f. 'aṯrušnesa
- 'avrāza [K; Sab89] 'steep slope, hard climb'
- 'awwal [Ar ٱوَّل; Sab91; Mutzafi 2004:168] ord. num. 'first'; *yom 'awwal* 'first day'
- 'ax- see 'axxa
- 'āxər [Ar ٱخِر; cf. *ākher*, *ākhir* 'well!, to be sure!, at last' Maclean 1901:8] excl. 'well!'
- 'axnan [CIaram ܐܚܢܢܐ; Hoberman 1988 and 1990; Jastrow 1990; Maclean 1901:8; cf. 'axni, 'axnēni, 'axnan Sab96, 'axnan, 'axni Mutz329] indep. prn. 'we (c.)'
- 'axona [CIaram ܐܚܐ + dim. suff. -*ona*; Sab95; Mutz329] m. 'brother'; pl. 'axawāsa; see *xāsa*¹

- '*axtun* [ClAram אַחְתּוּן; Hoberman 1988; Jastrow 1990; cf. '*axtun*, '*áxt/nōxun* Sab96, '*axtoxun*, '*axtun* Mutz329] indep. prn. 'you (c. pl.)'
- '*axūsa* [LEAram אַחְוּסָא < ClAram אַח + abstr. suff. אַחְוּסָא? < *'axwsā?] f. 'brotherhood'
- '*axxa*, '*ax-* [ClAram אַחְחָ; Sab95; Mutz330] adv. 'here'; *l-axxa* 'here, to here'; *mən 'axxa*, *m-axxa*, *mən d-axxa*, 'from here'; '*áx-geb tán-geb* (*ṭamāha-geb*) 'when all's said and done, eventually'
- '*āya*, '*ā* [TO and TJ אַיָּה; Hoberman 1990; Jastrow 1990; cf. '*āwa* 'he', '*āya* 'she' Sab88 and Mutz40] indep. prn. 'he, she, it'; also dem. prn. 'that (one; c.)'
- '*ayāha* [Sab92; Mutz330] dem. prn. 'that one over there'
- '*e* [TO and TJ אַיָּה; Sab92; Mutz330] dem. prn. 'that (c.)'; see '*egā*
- '*eda* [Syr ܥܕܐ; Sab92; Mutz330] pl. '*edawāsa* 'holidays'
- '*egā* [*'e* + *gā*; Sab92; Mutz330] adv. 'so then, now then'
- '*eka* [ClAram אַיָּכָ; Sab93; Mutz330] adv. 'where?'; *m-eka* 'from where?'; see *ke*¹
- '*ena* [ClAram (Bibl Aram אַיָּנָ, Syr ܥܝܢܐ, TO אַיָּנָ); Sab94 and Mutz330] f. (1) 'eye', (2) spring, well; pl. '*ene* 'eyes'; '*enāsa* 'springs, wells'; go '*eni* 'willingly' (calque on Ar عَلىَّ عَيْنِي); cf. *kāni*
- '*eni* [Syr ܥܝܢܐ; cf. '*éni* Maclean 1901:10, '*ēmi* Sab94, '*ema* Mutz330] interr. prn. 'which?'; adj. '*éni-āšti kiloye*, '*šo'i kiloye* 'some sixty kilos, seventy kilos'
- '*era* [Ar أير; Sab94; Mutz330] 'penis'
- '*ewa* see *wewa*
- '*əbb-*, '*əbbəd* see *b-*
- '*əč'a* [ClAram אַחְשַׁעָ; Sab90; Mutz115] 'nine'; see '*əčča'sar*
- '*əčča'sar* [Syr ܐܠܥܘܨܐ; cf. '*əčča'sar* Sab90, '*əčča'assar* Mutz115] 'nineteen'; see '*əč'a*
- '*əd-* see *d-*, '*ədyo*, '*adlele*
- '*ədyo* [*'d* + *yoma*; Jastrow 1990:101; Sab90; Mutz331] adv. 'today'; see *yoma*, *palgadyo*
- '*əgdād*, '*əgdāde* [**ḥad* + *ḥad*; LEAram Kutscher 1964:124; cf. '*ixdāde*, '*ix/gzāze*, '*ixde* Sab95, '*axde* Mutz332] reciprocal prn. 'one another, together'; *m-əgdād(e)*, *l-əgdād(e)*, go '*əgdād*, *reš 'əgdāde*
- '*əl-*, '*əlləd* see *l-*
- '*ələl* see *l-'ələl*
- '*əl'uwwa* [ClAram אַלְוּוּ; < **l'-gawwāya* Mutz23; cf. (*l*)*gā-wā-i* Maclean 1901:46, *lo'a* Khan 1999:573, (*l*)'*ōya* Sab247, *lawgəl*, *lawgūl* Tezel 2003:246, *lo'a* Mutzafi 2004:229 and 2005:96, '*oya*, *l-'oya* Mutz23] prep. 'inside'; cf. go, *gaw-*
- '*əlisa* [TO אַלְיָתָ, JBA אַלְיָתָ, Syr ܐܠܝܬܐ; cf. '*ülīta*, '*ilīta* Sab96] f. 'fat tail'
- '*əlla* [ClAram אַלְלָ < אַל + אַל; Sab96, Mutz331] conj. 'except, but rather'; adv. 'certainly' see '*ən*
- '*əl-tāma* see *tāma*
- '*əltax* [ClAram אַלְתַּח; cf. *txēt/txe*, *xēt*, *xē* Sab309, '*əltax* Mutz331] adv. 'below, beneath'; '*əltax 'əltax* 'way below'; see '*əltaxé*(?), *xe*

- 'ltxé(t?) [CIaram ת(ח)ח; Sab309] prep. 'under'; see 'ltax, xe
 'mar [Ar أمر; cf. 'imir, 'imir Sab97] m. 'order'; see 'mr, 'mṛ, ma'mūr
 'amma [CIaram מאה; Steiner 1995; Hoberman 2007:149; cf. 'imma, pl. 'immawāta, 'immāye/-he Sab97, 'amma, pl. 'ammāhe Mut331] 'hundred'; pl. 'ammāhe; -mma when enclitic to number, e.g., šö'amma 'seven hundred'
 'ammata [K, T < Ar أمة; cf. 'ümmuta Sab97] f. 'nation'
 'mḃāši [T onbaşı Hony 1957:275; cf. umbāši Spitaler 1967:89] m. 'corporal'
 'anglisnāya, 'anglisnāya [K, Ar < Eng + gent. suff. -nāya; cf. 'ingliznāya Sab98, 'angliznāya Mutz334] m. 'Englishman'; see 'anglizi
 'an [CIaram אן; Sab97; Mutz331] conj. 'if, or'; 'an la 'if not'; see 'alla
 'anwe [CIaram ענבה; Sab98; Mutz331] pl. 'grapes'
 'apra [CIaram עפרה; Sab99; Mutz331] m. 'earth, soil'
 'aqra [CIaram עקרה; Sab99; Mutz331] 'bottom, base'
 'arba [LEAram: JBA ארבה, ארבה, Syr اربعة; Sab100; Mutz331-332] f. 'sheep'; pl. 'arbe
 'arbāla [CIaram ערבילה; Sab100; Mutz332] 'coarse sieve'; pl. 'arbāle
 'arota [LAram ארובות; Blau & Hopkins 2006:439; Sab100; Mutz332;] f. 'Friday'
 'arwāna [Syr ارحمة Mutzafi (p.c.); Sab100] m. 'kindness, charity, good deed'
 'aryāna [Syr اريانة; Mutz332] m. 'rain'
 'arxe [CIaram ארחה; cf. 'irxe Sab100, 'arxe Mutz332] 'mill'
 'aspa [CIaram אספה Sab98; אספה < אספה? Mutz332] m. 'loan'; b-aspa 'on loan'
 'asri [CIaram עשרין; Sab99; Mutz115] 'twenty'; see 'aşra
 'astakāne [K < Russian Chyet 2003:286] pl. 'small glasses for tea'
 'aşra [CIaram עשרה; cf. 'isra(?), 'işra Sab99, 'aşra Mutz332] 'ten'; see 'asri
 'aşkāsa [LAram אשכחא; cf. pl. ('e)škāta, reškāsa Sab101, 'aşkaṯa, pl. 'aşkā-ṯa Mutz332] pl. 'testicles'
 'aşta [LWAram אשתא < CIaram שתא; Sab101; Mutz114] 'six'; see 'aşta'-sar, 'aşti
 'aşta'sar [Syr اسةار; cf. 'işta'sar Sab101, 'aştá'assar Mutz117] 'sixteen'; see 'aşta, 'aşti
 'aşti [TO שתין, Syr اسة, اسة; Sab101; Mutz115] 'sixty'; see 'aşta, 'aşta'sar
 'aştār [ModH?; אשטר (א) Ben-Yaacob 1985:195 < H, Aram < Akk; cf. šaṭṭar Sab297] 'document'
 'aşvaṭ [CIaram אשבת; cf. ishwāt Maclean 1901:21, אשבת (א) Ben-Yaacob 1985:189, šavaṭ Sab294, šawaṭ Mutz385] 'month of Shevat'
 'atwa see 'it
 'axre [LEAram אריה; Sab96; Mutz332] pl. tant. 'excrement, shit'
 'azla [Syr ازالة; Sab92; Mutz332] m. 'yarn'; pl. 'azlāle
 'azza [CIaram اعزاز; Sab92; Mutz332] f. 'goat'; cf. mar'az

- 'ib- see 'it
- 'ida [LAram אִידָּא < ClAram אִידָּ; Sab92; Mutz330–331] f. 'hand, side, direction'; pl. 'idāsa; *b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida* 'when it comes down to it, at any rate' (lit. 'in this hand and this hand'); 'āni *zəllu 'idəd Páras-ži* 'They went (in) the direction of Persia too'
- 'ilāha [ClAram אֱלֹהָ; cf. 'i/ilāha, 'ilā(ha) Sab93, 'ilāha Mutz331] m. 'God'; see 'allā, 'išallā, waḷḷa
- 'ilāna [ClAram אֵילָנָא; Sab93; Mutz331] 'tree'
- 'ile, -ile, -le, -yle [Sabar 93; Mutz50; § 4.4.6.1] 3 m.s. present copula
- 'imal [ClAram אִמַּל; cf. 'iman, 'imal Sab94, 'imal Mutz331] interr. adv. 'when?'
- 'išallā [K < Ar إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ; Sab95] 'God willing'; see 'allā, 'ilāha, waḷḷa
- 'it, 'itən, 'itəna [ClAram אִית; cf. 'it, 'itən, 'is, 'isən Sab95, 'it, 'itən, 'itəna Mutz331; § 4.8.1] predicator of existence 'there is'; 'ətwa 'there was'; 'ibi (< אִית בִּי; § 4.8.2) 'I can'; 'ibe^Hb-gil^H 'əšta šənne 'He is six years old'; 'ətwāba 'she contained'; cf. *let, letən*
- 'ixāla [ClAram אִכְלָא; Sab93; Mutz331] 'eating, food'
- 'iya, yā- [cf. 'a/iyya(n) Sab92, 'iyya Khan 1999:563] dem. prn. 'this (c.)'; *b-íya-'ida u-yá-'ida* 'when it comes down to it, at any rate'; filler 'iya *mā kəmrila* 'what do you call it?—' (lit. 'this is what they call it')
- 'o [JZakho 'o] dem. prn. 'that'
- 'oda [Ar أَوْدَة < T; cf. *ōda Sab91, 'oda Mutz333] 'room'; pl. 'oḍe
- 'ogā [JZakho 'o + gā] adv. 'at that time'; see gā
- 'ordi [T; cf. ūrdū Maclean 1901:6] f. 'army'
- 'oşmollî [T Osmanlı < Ar عَسْمَان; cf. *'osmalli Sab91] m. 'Ottoman'
- *'umra [Syr ܘܡܪܐ; cf. 'umra Mutz333] 'monastery, church'
- 'uramarnāya [GN 'Uramar + gent. suff. -nāya] m. 'resident of Uramar (Turkish Kurdistan)'
- 'urxa [ClAram אִרְרָא; Sab91; Mutz333] f. 'road, way; *b-'urxa b-'urxa* 'along the way' (cf. 'urxa 'urxa Mutz294, 322); 'urxa *dūqāli* 'I took the road (= I left)'; *mxele 'urxa* 'he hit the road'
- 'urwa ['urwa < *rurwa Mutzafi 2006:126–127; cf. ClAram אִרְוָא; Sab91, 288; cf. 'ərwa Mutz332;] m. 'big, important, grown-up'; *xa besa 'urwa* 'a big house'; f. *ṛapsa; dūka ṛapsa* 'large place'; pl 'urwe; *baṛāne 'urwe* 'large rams'; *škaftyāsa 'urwe 'urwe* 'very large caves'; *təjjāre 'urwe-lu* 'they are important merchants'; see *'urwāna, 'urwanūsa, rāba
- *'urwāna ['urwa + suffix -āna] m. 'leader'; pl. 'urwāne; *kūllu-ži 'āgāye-lu 'urwāne-lu* 'all of them are aghas, they are leaders'; see 'urwa, 'urwanūsa, rāba
- 'urwanūsa [cf. *rürwanūta* Sab288] f. 'greatness'; see 'urwa, rāba
- 'uşya [K ūşī 'bunch of grapes' Chyet 2003:632] 'cluster (of grapes)'

c

- ‘*abba* [Ar عَبّ; cf. ‘*ubba* Sab247, ‘*oppa* Spitaler 1967:82] ‘inner pocket of garment’
- ‘*ačāyəb* [T *acayib* < Ar عَجَائِب; cf. ‘*ajab* ‘wonder’, pl. ‘*ajābe*, ‘*ajaby/wāta*, ‘*ajabāta* Sab247, ‘*ajabāṭa* ‘miracles, wonders’ Mutz334] excl. ‘how strange!’
- ‘*ādāta* [K < Ar عَادَة; cf. ‘*adat*, ‘*ādītā*, ‘*ādē*, ‘*adāt* Maclean 1901:235, ‘*āde* Sab246 and Mutz334] f. ‘custom’
- ‘*amaliya* [Ar عَمَلِيَّة; Sab250] f. ‘(medical) operation’
- *‘*amənnāya* [GN ‘*Amədyā* + gent. suff. -*nāya*; cf. ‘*amidnāya* Sab250, ‘*amədnāya* Mutz334] m. ‘resident of Amidya’; pl. ‘*ammənnāye*
- ‘*āni* [H אָנִי; Sab251] inv. ‘poor person’
- ‘*anjil* [K, T, Ar < Gr; cf. ‘*injl* Sab98 and 1990:59, ‘*ənjl* Mutz331] ‘Gospels’
- *‘*aqār* [K, Ar عَقَار; Sab251] ‘immovable property’; pl. ‘*aqāre*
- ‘*āqəl* [Ar عَقْل; cf. ‘*aqil*, ‘*aqil* Sab246, ‘*āqəl* Mutz334] m. ‘reason, mind, knowledge’; *mād* ‘*āqəli qāṭe*’ ‘as far as I find reasonable’; ‘*āqəli lā-qāṭe*’ ‘my mind doesn’t find (it) reasonable’; ‘*āqəlu mpəllu*’ ‘they fell from their senses’
- ‘*aqida* [Ar عَقِيد ‘colonel’] m. ‘(military) leader’
- ‘*āra* [Ar عَار; cf. ‘*ār* Maclean 1901:243] m. ‘shame’
- *‘*arabāya* [Ar عَرَب + gent. suff. -*āya*; Sab252; Mutz334] m. Arab; pl. ‘*arab-āye*
- ‘*araqin* [K, Ar عَرَق; cf. ‘*araqin*, ‘*araqi* Sab252, ‘*araqin* Mutz334] m. ‘ar-rack’
- ‘*askar* [K, T, Ar عَسْكَر; cf. ‘*askar*, ‘*askar* Sab98, ‘*askar* Mutz334] m. ‘army, soldier’; *lu wide* ‘*askar*’ ‘they have done the army (service)’ (calque on ModH אֲשַׁרְתָּ לָנוּ אֶסְכָּר?)
- ‘*ašəl* [K, T, Ar أَصْل; ‘*ašil* Sab251] m. ‘(good) origin’; see *be-‘ašəl*, *‘*aš-lāya*, ‘*ašli*, *māra* (*mare* ‘*ašəl*)
- *‘*ašlāya* [K, T, Ar أَصْل + gent. suff. -*āya*; ‘*ašlāya* Sab251] m. ‘of good origin’; pl. ‘*ašlāye*; see ‘*ašli*, ‘*ašəl*, *be-‘ašəl*, *māra* (*mare* ‘*ašəl*)
- ‘*ašli* [K, T, Ar أَصْلِي inv. ‘genuine, of (good) origin’; see *‘*ašlāya*, *be-‘ašəl*, *māra* (*mare* ‘*ašəl*)
- ‘*āšərta* [Ar عَصْر; cf. ‘*āšırta*, ‘*āšır* Sab246, ‘*āšər*, ‘*āšərta* Mutz334] f. ‘evening’
- ‘*aširat* [K, T, Ar عَشِيرَة; cf. ‘*ašırta*, pl. ‘*ašırityāta*, ‘*ašırıyāta* Sab252; ‘*aširat*, pl. ‘*aširate* Mutz334] tribe, clan’; pl. ‘*aširate*
- ‘*aṭarka* [Ar عَطَّار + K suff. -*k*; cf. ‘*ūṭār* Maclean 1901:238, ‘*aṭāra* Sab248] m. ‘peddler’
- ‘*āwon* [H אָוֹן; Sab247; Mutz334] ‘sin, guilt’; see *qdāla*
- ‘*aziza* [Ar عَزِيز; Sab248] m. ‘beloved, dear’
- ‘*eba* [Ar عَيْب; Sab248; Mutz334] m. ‘disgrace’
- ‘*eğəl* [H עֵגֶל; Sab247] ‘the Golden Calf’
- ‘*el* ‘family’ [Ar عَيْل; cf. ‘*éyāl* (< عِيَال) ‘family’ Maclean 1901:238, ‘*ēl* ‘(tribal Arab) populace’ Sab249] ‘family’

'eraqnāya	[Gn 'Eraq + gent. suff. -nāya] m. 'Iraqi'; pl. 'eraqnāye
'mād	[Ar عَاد; cf. 'myad Sab251] 'mutual resistance'
'anyān	[H, LĀram אָנָן; Sab251] 'matter, affair'
'jiza	[Ar عَجِيز; cf. 'jiza Mutz334] m. 'tired, weary'; pl. 'jize
*'ujna	[Ar √عجن; cf. 'ujna Sab247] 'batch or bowl of dough'; pl. 'ujne; 'ujne paṭire 'batches of unleavened bread' (= עֲגוֹת מִצוֹת; haggada)
'umbāre	[Ar اَنْبَار, عُنْبَر; cf. +'ūmbar, 'um/nbāre Sab250, 'ambāre Avidani 1959:41] pl. storehouses (haggada)
'urṭūsa	[Syr ܘܪܬܘܫܐ; cf. 'urṭūta Sab248; 'rṭ Mutz335; Steiner 1995:54–56] f. 'fart'

b

b-, 'abb-, 'abbād	[ClAram -ב; Sab103; Hoberman 2007:149; Mutz335] 'in, at, on'
bāba	[Syr ܒܒܐ; T, K, Ar ܒܒܐ; Sab103; Mutz335] m. 'father'; bāba-u-yamma 'parents'; pl. babawāsa; excl. bāba, bābo 'Father!, my God! (voc.)'
badal, m-badal	[Ar بَدَّل; cf. mbādāl, mbādāl 'instead of' Maclean 1901:153] prep. 'in place of'
*bağdannāya	[GN Bağdad + gent. suff. -nāya; cf. bağdad(n)āya, bağdannāya Sab104; § 3.6.b] m. 'resident of Baghdad'; f. bağdannesā
bahar	[K; Sab106; Mutz336] 'spring season'
*bahūra	[Syr ܒܗܘܪܐ; Sab105; Mutz336] 'bright'; pl. bahūre
bahwarūsa	[K + abstr. suff. -ūsa; cf. bahwari/ūta Sab105] f. 'faith, trust'
bahḥar	[K, Ar ܒܚܪ; cf. baḥ(h)ar Sab107, baḥḥar Mutz336] 'sea, lake'
baḥš	[K, T, Ar ܒܚܫ; Sab107; Mutz121,336] 'report, talk, mention'; godaṭ baḥše 'you make mention of him' (cf. me:so:ye baḥsox לְדַבֵּר עִוְרִיךְ Avinery 1988:218)
bak	[T, K, Ar ܒܝܟ; cf. bag, beg, bek Maclean 1901:24, bag Sab104 and Mutz336] m. 'bey, lord'
bāla	[ClAram ܒܐܠܐ; Sab103; Mutz336] m. 'attention'
balamina	[Ar ܒܪܝܡܐ, ܒܝܪܝܡܐ < P? Lane 1863:195; Almkvist 1891:273 n. 2; Vollers 1896:628–629] 'iron pole for making holes in stones to insert dynamite'; pl. balamine
baláš	[IrAr; cf. (b)baláš, mbaláš Sab111, baláš Mutz336] adv. 'for free'
balāye	[K, Ar ܒܠܐܝܐ; cf. s. bala, pl. balityāta, balāye, balwityāta Sabar 2002a:110, s. and pl. balāye Mutz336; § 4.2.3.1.d] f.s. and pl. 'trouble(s), disaster(s)'; see dard
bale, balé	[K, Ar ܒܠܝܐ; cf. bale 'yes indeed, however, moreover' Sab111, balé 'yes as answer to negative question' Mutz336] conj. 'yes, indeed, however'
balki(t)	[K, T; cf. balki(d/t), balku/in Sab111, balki Mutzafi 2008a:336] adv. 'perhaps'
balo'ta	[LEAram ܒܠܘܬܐ; Sab111; Mutz336] f. 'throat'
bamba	[K < Eur; cf. +bimba Sab111] 'bomb'
bāqe	[Ar ܒܩܐ; LEAram ܒܩܐ; cf. bāqa Sab104, baqta Mutz337] pl. 'mosquitoes'

- **baqqa* [K; *baqqa*, pl. *baqqe* Sab113], *baqqa*, pl. *baqqe*, *baqqāṭa* Mutz336; Avidani 1959:36 פִּקְאָטָא ‘frog’; pl. *baqqe* (*haggada*)
- bárakus* [K *ber* + קוּבַל(?) + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*(?); also in JDohok] prep. ‘in front of, opposite’; *bárakus dide* ‘opposite him’; see *barqul*
- bārawanūsa* [? + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*] f. ‘separation’
- bárbara* [K; cf. *bârâbâr* ‘together’ Maclean 1901:38, *barbar* ‘towards’ Sabar 2002:114] adv. ‘together’
- barda* [CIAram בִּרְדָּא; cf. *barda*, *barabarda* Sab114] ‘hail’
- bargūze* [K; cf. *bargūza*, *bargus* Sab114, *bargūza* Mutz336] pl. ‘suit, traditional Kurdish men’s homespun woolen jacket and trousers’
- barqul* [K *ber* + CIAram לִקְבַּל Sab116; K *ber* + קוּבַל Mutzafi 2008a:336–337] prep. ‘in front of, opposite’; see *bárakus*
- bārux-xábba* [H בְּרוּךְ הַבָּא; cf. *bārux-xábba* Sab114] excl. ‘welcome!’
- barwāra* [K; Sab114] ‘shortcut route’
- barzanāya* [GN *Barzan* + gent. suff. -*āya*] m. ‘resident of Barzan (Iraqi Kurdistan)’
- baṛāxa* [H בְּרָכָה; cf. **birāxa* Sab155, *baṛāxa* Mutz337] f. ‘blessing’; see *brk*
- bas*, *bassa* [K, T, P, IrAr; cf. *bas(sa)* Sab112, *bas* Mutz337] adv. ‘enough’; *bassa bassa* ‘more than enough’
- basər* [CIAram בְּתַר < OArām בִּאתַר; Sab116; Mutz337] prep. ‘after’; adv. *basər hādax* ‘afterwards’; see *básbasər*
- básbasər* [H בְּתַר + בְּתַר; cf. *báṭ-baṭər* Mutz121] prep. ‘right after’; *básbasre* ‘right after him’; see *basər*
- basima* [CIAram בְּסִימָא; cf. *bassīma* Sab112, *basima* Mutzafi 2008a:337] m. ‘pleasing’; f. *basmta*; pl. *basime*; see *bsm*
- **baškálnāya*, **ḥaškálnāya* [GN *Başkala* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m.s. ‘resident of Başkala (Turkish Kurdistan)’; pl. *baškálnāye*, *ḥaškálnāye*
- baxbāba* [*bax* + *bāba*; Sab110] ‘stepmother’; see *baxta*, *baxtūsa*
- baxta* [Sefire בַּכְתָּה? Fitzmyer 1995:81–83; Syr ܚܚܠܐ? Krotkoff 1985:131–132; Sab110; Mutz337] f. ‘woman, wife’; cst. *bax*; *bax mador* ‘the wife of the mudir’; ’*é-baxta* ‘I (lit., ‘that woman)’; pl. *baxtāsa*; see *baxbāba*, *baxtūsa*
- baxtūsa* [*baxta* + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*] f. ‘wifehood’; see *baxbāba*, *baxta*, *gora* (*u-baxtūsa*)
- baxxat* [IrAr, P; cf. *báxad ilá* Meehan & Alon 1979:192 n.79, *bax(x)at ’ilāha* Sab110] ‘mercy’; *baxxatəd ’ilāha* ‘for the mercy of God!’
- be* [CIAram בֵּית; EgAram, JPA, Syr abs. בֵּי; Sab110; Mutzafi 2008a:338] cst. ‘family, household’; *be ’amoyi* ‘my (paternal) uncle’s family’; *be ’āḡāye* ‘family of aghas’; see *besa*
- be’ta* [CIAram בֵּיעַתָּא; Sab104; Mutz338] f. ‘egg’; pl. *be’e*
- be-’aşal* [K *be* ‘without’ + Ar أَصْل (good) origin] inv. ‘bad origin’; see *’aşal*, *’aşlāye*, *’aşli*, *māra* (*mare ’aşal*)
- beb* [CIAram בְּ-בָה Mutz121,338; K? Sab108] prep. ‘together with’
- be-čāra* [K *be* ‘without’ + K *čare* ‘remedy’ Maclean 1901:138] inv. ‘helpless’

- be-dāda* [K *be* ‘without’ + K, T, *dād* ‘justice’ Maclean 1901:60] inv. ‘without justice’
- be-dárd* [K *be* ‘without’ + K ‘pain’] adv. ‘painlessly’; see *dard*
- be-dín* [K *be* ‘without’ + Ar دین ‘religion’] inv. ‘religionless’; see *din*¹
- behna* [K; cf. *behna*, *bihen* Sab105] ‘moment’; *xá-behna* ‘in a moment, suddenly’
- be-hívi* [K *be* ‘without’ + K *hivi* ‘hope’; Sab108] inv. ‘hopeless’; see *hivi*
- besa* [ClAram ביתא; Sab110; Mutz338] ‘house’; pl. *bāte*; see *be*
- be-nāmus* [K *be* ‘without’ + K, T, Ar نَامُوس < Gr; *nāmus* ‘proper behavior’ Sabar 2002:228] ‘improper behavior’
- bəndaqiya* [Ar بُنْدُقِيَّة, K; cf. *banüqtâ* ‘small gun’ Maclean 1901:34] f. ‘rifle’; pl. *bəndaqiye*
- bənhe* [ClAram בְּנִיחָא + ב; cf. *bi’inhe*, *binhe*, *bine* ‘morrow, tomorrow’ Sabar 2002a:104, *bənhe* ‘tomorrow’ Mutz339] ‘morning’
- bənjūka* [T Redhouse 1890:411] ‘bead to avert the evil eye’
- bər* [ClAram בַּר; Nöldeke 1910:137–139, Fassberg 2008a; Sab114; Mutz339] cst. ‘son’; *kalba bər kalba* ‘son of a bitch!’, *xmāra bər xmāra* ‘what an ass!’; see *brona*, *brāta*
- bərqa* [ClAram בְּרָקָא; Sab116; Mutz339] m. ‘lightning’
- *bəšla* [ClAram בְּצִלָּא; Sab113] ‘onion’; pl. *bəšle*
- bəš* [K; Sab116; Mutz339] adv. ‘more’; see *bəš-ṛab*, *bəštor*, *bəz-zodāna*
- bəš-ṛab* [K *bəš* + *ṛāba*; cf. *biš/z-+rab* Sab116, *bəš-ṛab* Mutzafi 2008a:339] adv. ‘more’; see *bəš*, *ṛāba*
- bəštor* [K *baštir* Mutz339; cf. *bišto(f/m)* Sab116] adv. ‘better’; see *bəš*
- bəxya* [cf. ClAram בכִּיחָא; cf. *bikhyā* Maclean 1901:32, *bxeta* Sab110] ‘crying’
- *bəzmāra* [K < Ar مِسْمَار < Aram מִסְמַר; Sab107; Mutz339] ‘(metal) nail’; pl. *bəzmāre*
- bəzza* [ClAram בּוּזָא Sab107] m. ‘wretched person’
- bəz-zodāna* [K *bəš* + *zodāna*; cf. *bəš-zodāna* Mutz339] adv. ‘more’; see *bəš*, *zodāna*, *zyd*
- bəzṛoṭe* [K; cf. *+bizzōta*, *+bizzodka*, pl. *+bizzōte*, *+bizzotkat* Sab107] pl. ‘torches’
- bomāxəd* [*b* + *’o* + *yoma* + *xeta*; cf. *bōmaxín/d/t* Sab106, *bomaxət* Mutz340] ‘the day after tomorrow’
- brāta* [ClAram בְּרַתָּא; Nöldeke 1910:137–139; Fassberg 2008a; Sabar 2002:113; Mutz340] f. ‘daughter’; pl. *bnāsa*; *kalp̄sa brāt kalba* ‘what a bitch!’; see *bər*, *brona*
- brona* [Syr בְּרֹנָא < OArām בַּר + dim. suff. *-ona*; Nöldeke 1910:138; Fassberg 2008a; Sabar 202:114; Mutz340] m. ‘son’; cst. *bron*, e.g., *bron ’āga* ‘son of the agha’; pl. *bnone*; see *bər*
- ḅ**
- ḅanḅ* [Ar بَنْك, T < Eur; Sabar 1990:59 and 2002:112] ‘bank’; see *paṅqá-noṭ*

- **ḥarāna* [K; cf. **barāna* Sab113, *barāna* Mutz336] ‘ram’; pl. *ḥarāne*
ḥarāza [K; cf. *birāza*, pl. **birāze* Sab113, *ḥarāza* Mutzafi 2008a:341] ‘boar, pig’; pl. *ḥarāze*
ḥāš [K; cf. **bāš* Sab104, *bāš* Mutz337] inv. ‘good’; adv. ‘well, very’;
pāšle naxwaš ḥāš ‘he became very ill’
 **ḥaškalnāya* see **baškalnāya*
ḥač’a [T, K; cf. **bič’a* Sab104, *bāč’a* Mutz338] m. ‘bastard’; cf. *maḥzer*
- č
- ča* [K Chyet 2003:82] adv. ‘well, c’mon’ (with imperative); *ča mēselu xanči māye* ‘C’mon (and) bring them some water!’
čādāra [K, T; *čādāra* Sab130] ‘tent’
čakke [K; Sab131; Mutz341] pl. tant. ‘weapons’
čalnāya [GN *Čalla* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m. ‘resident of Challa’
čamča [K; cf. ‘ladle’ Sab131, ‘spoon’ Mutz341] f. ‘spoon’
 **čanta* [K, T; Ar شَطْط; cf. *čanta*, pl. *čanyāta* Sab132, *čanta*, pl. *čanāḥa* Mutz341] ‘satchel’; pl. *čanyāsa*
čāpole [K; cf. *chāpūla* Maclean 1901:137] pl. ‘slaps’
čappar [K; Sab132] f. ‘palisade’
čappe [K; Sab132; Mutz341] ‘left’; only in **ida čappe* ‘to the left (= left hand)’
čāwāš [T; Sab130] m. ‘sergeant’
čāy [Ar, K, T, P; cf. *chai* Maclean 1901:129, *čāy(i)* Sab130, *čāye* Mutz341] f. ‘tea’
čaydanka [K, T; cf. *chaidān* Maclean 1901:130] ‘teapot’
čayxāna [K, T; cf. *čāyixāna* Sab130] m. ‘tea house’
čenike [K *čenek* ‘little’ Rizgar 1993:55?] pl. ‘pieces’; see *čənye*
čeri [ClAram חַרְשִׁי < Akk; Sab131; Mutz91,342] f. ‘autumn’
čəčūke [K *čūčik* ‘bird’ Rizgar 1993:58] pl. ‘birds(?)’; cf. *čūka*
čənye [K *čēni* ‘in small portions’ Rizgar 1993:56] pl. ‘pieces’; cf. *čen-ike*
čəpka [K; cf. *čəppəkə* Mutz342; Sab132] f. ‘drop’
čəxra [ClAram √חרח; cf. **šixra* Sab299] ‘soot, ground charcoal’; see *šəxroḥa*
čiroke [K; cf. **čirōke* Sab131] f. ‘story, folktale’
ču [K; *ču* Mutz342; Sab130; Correll 1974] ‘no, not, not any’; *ču-gā* ‘never’, *ču-xa* ‘no one, anyone’, *ču-māndi* ‘nothing’
čūka [K; ‘chick’ Mutz342] ‘bird(?)’; cf. *čəčūke*
čukulāte [ModH, Eur] pl. ‘chocolates’
čukun, čuku, čunku [K, T, P; cf. *chünki* Maclean 1901:128, Sabar *činki, čiki/un* 2002:132, *čukun* Mutz342] conj. ‘because’; see **ako, ko*
- č
- čə’ə* [ClAram √שעש; Sab130] m. ‘smooth’; pl. *čə’ə*

d

- d, d-, 'ad- [ClAram -ד/י; Sab136; Mutz343; §4.1.8] possessive-relative particle; see *dla*, *mād*, *tad*
- da* see *de*
- dabāḥa* [Ar √ذبح; cf. ClAram √דבה] m. 'ritual slaughterer'; see *dbḥ*
- dabanja* [T, K; cf. *d/ṭabanja Sab137] 'pistol'
- dāda* see *be-dāda*
- dahba* [K, Ar دابة; Sab138; Mutz343] 'animal'; pl. *dahbe*
- dāna* [ClAram דאנא; Sab136; Mutz343] 'time'; pl. *dāne*; conj. *kud dān* 'whenever'
- **dapá* [ModH דף] 'page'; pl. *dapé*
- daqīqa* [K, T, Ar دقيقة; Sab144; Mutz344] f. (1) 'thin', (2) 'minute (of time)'; pl. *daqīqe*; see *pāre*
- darbōta* [K, T < Ar ضربة; cf. s. and pl. *darbīye* Sab144 based on Avidani 1959:36–39; cf. s. דרבא, pl. דרבתיסא Alfiye 1986:47] f. 'blow from God (one of the ten plagues)'; pl. *darbiye* (*haggada*)
- dard* [K, T; Sab144] 'pain'; *dárd-u-balāye* 'pains and troubles'; see *be-dárd*
- darga* [K; Sab144; Mutz344] 'gate'
- **darham* [K, T, Ar درهم < Gr; cf. *dirḥum* Sabar 1990:60 and 2002:145, *darham* Mutz344] 'dirham'; pl. *darhāme*
- darwēž* [K, T, P, Ar درويش; cf. *darwēš(a)* Sab145] m. 'dervish'
- dašta* [K; JBA דשתא; QAram דחשת; Greenfield & Shaked 1972:38–39; Mutz344] f. 'field'
- dawāra* [K, T; Sab138; Mutz344] 'riding animal'; pl. *dawāre*
- dawla* [Ar دولة; cf. *dā-wiltā* 'wealth, riches, government, the State, prosperity, good fortune' Maclean 1901:63] 'state'
- dax*, *daxwās-* [Syr داخت; cf. *dix*, *dax* Sab142, *dax*, *daxwāṭ-* Mutz344] prep. 'like'; *dax* before nouns; *daxwās-* before suffixes; *daxwaseni*; adv. *dax* 'as soon as'; *dax mundyālu l-'ar'a* 'as soon as they threw it on the ground'
- daxla* [K 'grains' < Ar دخل 'income'; Sab142; Mutz344] 'crop'
- daxwās-* see *dax*
- de*, *da* [K, T; cf. *dī*, *dé*, *dā* Maclean 1901:59, *dī*, *day*, *de(h)* Sab140, *dā* Mutz345] adv. 'so, now, well then'; *de mā 'odax?* 'So what should we do?'; *de qū misi* 'So get up (and) bring (it)!'; *da* before gutturals: *da-ḥmól* 'So wait!'
- de'sa* [ClAram דייטא; Syr دهسلا; Sab137; *de'ṭa* Mutz344] f. 'sweat'
- de'sāna* [*de'sa* + suff. -āna] m. 'sweaty'
- dehna* [LEAram דהנא; *dehna* Sab138] 'fat'
- dehwa* [ClAram דהוא; Sab138; Mutz344] 'gold, goldpiece'
- dena* [K, Ar دين; cf. *dēna*, *dehna* Sab141, *dena*, pl. *dene* Mutz344] m. 'debt'; pl. *dene*
- denāna* [*dena* + suff. -āna; Mutz344] 'debtor'; pl. *denāne*
- desta* [Syr دهستا < P; cf. *dasta* Sab143] f. 'portion of food given to guests'

- dəbba* [CIARAM דָּבָא; Sab137; Mutz345] f. 'bear'; pl. *dəbbāsa*
- dəd* see *did-*
- dədwē* [LEARAM דִּידְבָא; Sab138; Mutz345] pl. 'flies'
- dəm̄ma* [CIARAM דְּמָא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *dimma*, pl. *dimmāhe*, *dimm-āye*, *dimmāta* Sab142; *dəm̄ma*, pl. *dem̄māhe* Mutz345] m. 'blood, blood money'; pl. *dəmmāhe* 'guilt of bloodshed': *lā-dāre-tun dəmmāhe zodāne qdāl gyānexun* 'don't put additional guilt of bloodshed on your necks'
- dənga* [?; cf. *danga* 'big wooden mallet' Sab143] 'punch, blow'; pl. *dənge*
- dəpna* [LEARAM דִּפְנָא; cf. *dipna*, *dipn̄ta* Sab144, *dəpna* Mutzafi 2008a:345] 'side'; prep. *dəpən*, *l-dəpən* 'next to'
- dəqna* [CIARAM דְּקָנָא; Sab144; Mutz345] m. 'beard'
- dərəst* [K; cf. *darsa(?)ad*, *darset* Sab145, *dərəst* Mutz345] adv. 'correct, straight, straightaway'
- dərmāna* [K, T; cf. *dirmāna* Sab145, *darmāna* Mutz344] 'medicine, remedy'; see *drmn*
- dəžmən* [K, T; cf. *dižmin*, *dušmin* Sab140, *dəžmən* Mutzafi 2008a:345] 'enemy'
- did-* [ל + דִּי? יד + דִּי?; Sab141; Mutz41] indep. genitive prn. 'of'; *didi* 'mine', *didox* 'yours (m.s.)', *didax* 'yours (f.s.)', *dide* 'his', *dida* 'hers', *deni* 'ours', *dexun* 'yours (c.pl.)', *didu* 'theirs'; *dəd Wān* 'from Wan'
- din¹* [K, T, Ar دین Sab141; Mutz345] m. 'religion'; see *be-din*
- din²* [H דִּין; Sab141] 'judgment'; *yoməd din* 'Day of Judgment'
- dinar* [Ar دينار < Lat, Gr; cf. ⁺*dīnar* Sab141 and 1990:60, *dinār* Mutzafi 2008a:345] 'dinar'; pl. *dināre*
- dla* [CIARAM לָא + דִּי; Mutz345] prep. 'without'; conj. 'lest'; see *d-*
- doktor* [T, K, Eur; cf. ⁺*d/tuxtor* Sab138] m. 'medical doctor'
- domóz* [K, T Chyet 2003:163] 'pig'
- dor* [H דֹּר; ⁺*dōr* Sab140] m. 'generation'
- *drangāya* [K; cf. *drangi* Sab145] adj. 'late'; f. *drangesa*
- dugle* [Syr ܕܘܓܠܐ; Sab138; Mutz346] 'lie(s)' adv. *b-dugle* 'falsely'
- dūka, duksa* [CIARAM דִּכְתָּא, דִּכְסָא; Sab139; Mutz346] f. 'place'; pl. *dukāne*; *dūkəd xlāša* 'place of refuge'
- duksa* see *dūka*
- dukkāna* [Ar دُكَّان; T] דִּכְכָּן; cf. *dik(k)āna* Sab142] 'shop, store'
- dūma* [K; Mutz346] m. 'tail'
- dumāyik* [K; cf. *dumāy/hik* Sab139] adv. 'at the end'
- dūnume* [Ar دُونُوم, T *dunum*] pl. 'dunams'
- dunye* [K, T, Ar دُنْيَا; Sab139; Mutz346] f. 'the world, earthly existence'
- dūra* [ModH دُورָה, Ar دُرَّة] 'durra'
- dūša* [CIARAM דִּבְשָׂא; Sab141; Mutz346] m. 'honey'

f

- falaq* [T, Ar فَلَاق; *falaq* Sab263] 'bastinado'
- falda* [< Ar فَلَادَة] 'piece (of meat)' 'strip of meat placed in cholent'

- falxa* [colloquial ModH < Ar] ‘work in the field’; cf. *plx*
- faqīr* [T, Ar فقير; cf. *faqīr(a)* Sab264, *faqīr* Mutz347] inv. ‘poor’ (but also pl. *faqīrim* [H pl. suff.])
- farq* [Ar فرق; cf. + *farq* Sab265] ‘difference’
- farqūsa* [*farq* + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*] f. ‘distinction, discrimination’
- fasādūsa* [Ar فسَاد + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; cf. ‘gossip’ Yona 1999A:361, ‘corruption’ Sab263] f. ‘gossip’; see *wd*
- feka* [K, Ar فَاكِهَة; Sab262; Mutz347] ‘fruit’
- fišaka* [K, Ar فشك < T; Sab263; Mutz347] ‘bullet, cartridge’
- flān, flāna* [K, Ar فَلَان; cf. ClAram 𐤕𐤋𐤏; cf. *flān(a)*, *flānkas* Sab263, *flān-*, *flāna* Mutz347; § 4.1.12.d] ‘such and such, a certain’; *flān* is used with humans: *flān brāta* ‘such and such a daughter’, *flān nāša* ‘such and such a person’; *flāna* is used with non-humans: *flāna māsa* ‘such and such a village’, *flāna dūka* ‘such and such a place’; see *flānkas*
- flānkas* [Sab263; Mutz347; § 4.1.12.e] ‘so and so, a certain person’; *flānkas ké-le* ‘Where is so and so?’; see *flān(a)*
- g**
- gā* [K; cf. *gāha*, *gaha*, *ga* Sab118; *gā* Mutz347] f. ‘time’; *xá-gā* ‘once’; *xá-gā xet(a)* ‘once again’; *čú-gā* ‘never’; *’é-gā* ‘so then, when’; *’atta gā* ‘now’; *xarāye gā* ‘the last time’; see *’egā*, *’ogā*, *gār*
- gāla* [Syr ܓܠܐ; cf. ܓܠܐ, ܓܠܐ Yona 1999A:85, *gāla* Sab18a and Mutz347] ‘kilim rug’
- gali* [K; Sab122] ‘valley’
- gamiya* [T; Sab123] ‘ship’
- ganāwa* [ClAram ܓܢܘܐ; Sab123; Mutz348] m. ‘thief’; pl. *ganāwe*; see *gnw*, *ganawūsa*
- ganawūsa* [*ganāwa* + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; Sab123] f. ‘thievery’; see *gnw*, *ganāwa*
- ganmoke* [K; Mutz348] pl. tant. ‘maize’
- gār* [K, Ar ܓܪܐ; cf. ܓܪܐ, ܓܪܐ Yona 1999A:91, *garra*, -*gar* Sab123] ‘time’; attested only in *čú-gār* ‘never’ (less frequent than *čú-gā*) and *gārgāra* ‘from time to time’; see *gā*, *gārgāra*
- garáč* [ModH ܓܪܐ, T, K, Eur; Yona 1999B:253] ‘garage’
- gardāna* [K; Sab124] ‘heavy gold or silver necklace’ (*haggada*)
- gāre* [ClAram ܓܪܐ < Akk; Sab118; Mutz348] ‘roof’; pl. *garawāsa*
- gārgāra* [*gār* + *gār*] adv. ‘from time to time’; see *gā*, *gār*
- garma* [ClAram ܓܪܡܐ; Sab124; Mutz348] ‘bone’; pl. *garme*
- *garūsa* [ClAram ܓܪܘܣܐ; Sab124; Mutz348] ‘large’; pl. *garūse* ‘large (vegetables)’
- gaw-* see *go*
- gazera* [H ܓܙܪܐ; cf. + *gazēra* Sab121, *gazera* Mutz348] f. ‘(evil) decree’
- gdāda* [LEAram ܓܕܕܐ; Sab119; Mutz348] ‘thread’; pl. *gdāde*
- geb* see *geba*
- geba* [ClAram ܓܒܐ; cf. *gēba* Sab121, *geb(a)* Mutz348] ‘side, direction’; *’eka geb zalle* ‘(in) which direction did he go?’; *’ax-geb tán-geb*

- (*ṭamāha-geb*) ‘when all’s said and done, eventually’ (lit. ‘here side, there side, way over there side’); cf. JZakh *maxxa laxxa* Sabar 2005:195; JBetan *m-é-’āla m-é-’āla* ‘for various reasons’ Mutz207; JBetan *mən d-axxa l- d-axxa* ‘eventually’ Mutz330; ’*āx-geb* ‘hither’ and *tām-geb* ‘thither’ Mutz34; Palestinian Arabic *min hōn la-hōn* ‘when all’s said and done’ Elihay 2005:159)
- gehənnam* [TO and JBA גֵּיהֶנָּם < H גֵּיהֶנָּם; cf. *gēhunnām, gēhunna, gēhanna* Sabar 2002:122, *gehənnam* Mutz348] ‘hell’; *gehənnə gehənnam* ‘hell of hells’ (Mutz348)
- gen’edən* [H עֵדֶן; cf. גֶּן-עֵדֶן Yona 1999א:90, *gan-’ēdin* Sab123, *gan’edən* Mutz348] ‘Garden of Eden’
- gera* [K; Sab122] f. ‘threshing’
- gəlda* [CIaram גִּלְדָּא; Sab122; Mutz349] m. ‘skin’
- gəlla* [CIaram גִּלְלָא; Sab122; Mutz349] ‘grass, plant, herb’; pl. *gəllāle*
- gənāhe* [K; cf. *günāha, gunah* Sab123] pl. ‘sins’ (*haggada*)
- gərāni* [K; Sab124] f. ‘famine’
- gəṛūsa* [LEAram גֻּרְבָּא < P; cf. *gi/urūta*, pl. *gi/urwe* Sab124, *gəṛūṯa*, pl. *gəṛwe* Mutz349] f. ‘sock’; pl. *gəṛwe*
- gəṛūwer* [K; cf. גֻּרְוּבָּר Yona 1999א:79, *gīruvīr* Sab124] inv. ‘round-shaped’
- gəšṛa* [LAram < Akk; cf. **gišra* Sab125, *gəšṛa* Mutz349] ‘bridge’
- gəxka* [LAram גַּחַךְ Sab122; Mutz349] f. ‘laughter’; see *gəx*
- gəzra* [CIaram גֻּזְרָא; Sab121; Mutz349] m. ‘pile of chopped wood’
- giska* [K; cf. *gizkā, giziktā* Maclean 1901:49, *gīsika* Sab122] ‘young goat’
- go, gaw-* [CIaram גּו < PrAram **gaww*; cf. *go, ko* Sab119, *gu* Mutz350] prep. ‘in, within, among’; with suffixes *gaw-*, e.g., *gawexun*; cf. *’əl’uwwa*
- gob’ena* [גּוֹבַיְנָא Mutz350; גּוֹ + בַּיְנָא Sab119] ‘forehead’
- gopāla, gopalta* [K; cf. **göpāla, *göpalta* Sab120] m. and f. ‘shepherd’s stick’
- gora* [CIaram גּוֹרָא; Sab120; Mutz349] m. ‘man’; pl. *gūre, gurāne; gora u-baxtūsa* ‘husband-wife relationship (= being married)’
- *goranāya* [GN *Gorāni* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. ‘resident of Gorani (Iraqi Kurdistan)’ pl. *goranāye*
- gorūsa* [LAram גּוֹרְוּסָא;] f. ‘manliness (bravery)’
- gova* [K < גּוֹבָא; cf. גּוֹבָא Yona 1999א:75, *gowa* Mutz349] ‘stall, den’; pl. *govāne*; see **govka, gūba*
- *govka* [K *gov + k*] ‘stall, den’; pl. *govke*; see *gova, gūba*
- *goza* [Syr ܡܘܨܬܐ < P?; Sab119; Mutz350] ‘walnut’; pl. *goze*
- gūba* [CIaram גּוּבָא ‘pit’; Maclean 1901:45; Sab119; Mutzafi 2008a:350] ‘pit, loom (located in the pit)’; see *gova*
- gūda* [LEAram גּוּדָא; Sab119; Mutz350] ‘wall’; pl. *gudāne*
- gulange* [K? cf. pl. *gulāge, gulangi* Brauer 1993:413, גּוּלְגָּא Yona 1999א:76; *gulāga* Sab120] pl. ‘sidelocks (of orthodox Jew)’
- gulpanyāsa* [CIaram גּוּלְפָּא; cf. *gulpa* Sab120] pl. ‘wings’ (*haggada*)
- gumrək* [T; cf. *gümürüg* Maclean 1901:47, *gumrik* Sab120] ‘customs’
- guniya* [K; cf. *gā-wān* ‘thorn for lighting fires, bramble’ Maclean 1901:

- 47, *guniya* ‘gunny sack’ Sab120 and Mutz350] f. ‘bramble, kindling twigs’; pl. *guniye*
- guník* [K *gúník*, *gíník* Chyet 2003:230] ‘gunny sack’
- gupta* [T] *gūḡḡā*, Syr *ܓܘܒܬܐ*, *ܓܘܒܬܐ*; cf. *gup/bta* Sab120, *gupta* Mutz-350, *gūḡḡa* ~ *gubṭa* < *gubbṭā* < **gubnṭā* Talay 2008:58 n. 98] f. ‘cheese’
- gwira* [ClAram *ܨܘܪܐ*] m. ‘married’; f. *gurta*; see *gwr*
- gyāna* [K; cf. *gyāna*, *gāna*, pl. *gyānāṭa* Sab121, *gyāna*, pl. *gyanāṭa* Mutz350–351] f. ‘self, soul’; *gyāni* ‘myself’; pl. *gyanāsa* ‘souls’ (*haggada*)
- **gzira* [ClAram *ܨܘܪܐ*] m. ‘circumcised’; pl. *gzire*; see *gZR*
- ḡ**
- ḡazab* [Ar *غَضَب*; cf. *ḡazab*, **xazab* Sab135, *ܨܘܪܐ* Avidani 1959:38–39, *ܨܘܪܐ* Alfiye 1986:47] ‘anger’ (*haggada*)
- ḡer* [Ar *غَيْر*; cf. **ḡēr* Sab134, *ḡer* Mutz351] ‘another’; *ḡer dūka* ‘another place’
- h**
- hā* [ClAram *הָא*; Sab148; Mutz351] adv. ‘here, so, then’; *hā šqol haqqox* ‘Here take your due!’
- hādax* [ClAram *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* Sab148; *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* Mutzafi 2008a:351] adv. ‘thus, so, like this’; *qam hādax* ‘beforehand’, *basəḥ hādax* ‘afterwards’; see *hatxa*
- hallā hallā* [K, P; **hallā*-**hallā* Sab150] excl. ‘how fortunate!’
- ham* [K, T, P; Sab151; Mutz351; Blau & Hopkins 2006:455] adv. ‘also’
- har* [K, T, P; Sab151; Mutz351] adv. ‘always, still, in any case, after all, just’; *har hatxa* ‘just like this’
- hatk* [K, Ar *هَاتِك*; cf. *hətīkə* Yona 1999a:118, *hatike* Sab152] m. ‘disgrace’
- hatxa*, **atxa* [ClAram *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* + *ܗܘܝܐ* Sab149; cf. *had/txa* Sab149; **hād* + **kā* Mutz351] adv. ‘so, such, like this’; see *hādax*
- hawūsa* [**yhawūṭa*? Mutz351; *hawa* (< T *heva*) + abstr. suff. *-ūsa* Maclean 1901:72] f. ‘favor’
- hay* [T, K; Sab149; Cohen 1995:398] excl. ‘hey!’; see *he²*
- hayāma* [K < Ar *هَيَام*; cf. *hayam* Sab150, *hayāma* Mutz351] adv. ‘period of time’
- hayya* [QAram *הַי*, Sam Aram *הַי*, JBA *הַי*, *הַי* Sokoloff 2002:375–376; Sabar 2002:149–150; Mutz352] adv. ‘quickly, early’
- he¹* [ClAram *הַי*, *הַי*; Sab149; Mutz352] adv. ‘yes’
- he²* [ModH *هَي*?; Mutz352] excl. ‘hey!’; see *hay*
- hedi* [K < Ar *هَدِي*; Sab150; Mutz352] adv. ‘slowly’; *hedi hedi* ‘very slowly’
- hekkaratūsa* [GN *Hekkāri* + K abstr. suff. *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. ‘residents or region of Hakkari (Turkish Kurdistan)’

- hekkarnāya* [GN *Hekkāri* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. ‘resident of Hakkari (Turkish Kurdistan)’
- hermike* [K; Sab152] pl. ‘pears’
- heš* [K; cf. *hēš(tan)* Sab150, *heš* Mutz352] adv. ‘yet, still’
- hanna* [Syr ܚܢܢܐ, Tur *hnó*; cf. *hin-nā*, *hin-nî* Maclean 1901:78, *hanna* Sabar 2002a:151; Rubin 2005:78–79 n. 46; *hanna*, pl. *hanne* Mutzafi 2008a:352; Hoberman 2007:140] filler ‘um, whatchamacallit’; see *hnul*
- həšyar* [K; cf. *hišyar*, *hiššar* Sab152, *həššar* Mutz352] inv. ‘careful, awake’
- hivi, hiwi* [K; cf. *hīvi*, *hīwi*, pl. *hīvīye* Sab150, *hiwi*, pl. *hiwiye* Mutz352] ‘hope, plea, pleading’; pl. *hiwiye*; see *be-hīvi*
- hudā, hudāya* [ClAram ܚܘܕܝܐ; Sab149; Mutz352; § 3.15.a] m. ‘Jew’; f. *hudesā*, pl. *hudāye*

ḥ

- ḥabibi* [ModH, Ar حَبِيب; Sab163; Mutz353] m. ‘my beloved’
- ḥafla* [ModH, Ar حَفْلَة] ‘party’
- ḥajj* [Ar حَج; cf. *hij* Maclean 1901:92] ‘the haj (pilgrimage to Mecca)’
- ḥajji* [K, P, T, Ar حَاج; Sab163; § 4.2.3.10] ‘hajji, pilgrim (who has been to Mecca)’; pl. *ḥajjāye*; ‘*edəd ḥajjāye* ‘pilgrim festival’
- ḥākəm* [K, T, Ar حَاكِم; cf. *ḥākım*, *ḥēkım* Sab163, *ḥākəm* Mutz353] m. ‘judge’
- **ḥakoma* [Ar حَكَم; Sab165; Mutz353] ‘ruler’; pl. *ḥakome*
- ḥāl* [K, T, Ar حَال; Sab163; Mutz353] f. ‘situation, condition’; *ḥāl-u-masale* ‘the upshot’ (cf. Mlaḥsô *ḥāl w masale* Jastrow 1994:76; JZakho *ḥāl-u- qıšta* Sab163; JAradh *ḥāl-u-ḥwāl* Mutzafi 2002:486); *narm u-ḥāle* ‘soft and the like’ (see *garma*)
- ḥalāla* [K, T, Ar حَلَال; cf. *ḥalāl(a)* Sab166, *ḥalāla* Mutz353] m. ‘kosher, lawful’; f. *ḥalalta*; pl. *ḥalāle*
- ḥambaqisa* [conflation of Ar حَبْك + ClAram ܚܢܩ/? JNerwa *ḥabbaqisa* ‘dense smoke, dusty weather’; JAmid *ḥambaqıḍa* ‘dense smoke,’ JBetan *ḥambaqıḍa* ‘dense smoke, suffocating smoke’ and *ḥanbaqıḍa* ‘suffocating smoke’ Mutzafi p.c.] f. ‘dense smoke’; *ḥambaqisəd tanna* (*haggada*; cf. חַבְבְּקִיסִיד תַּנָּא = תְּמִרוֹת-עֶשֶׂן Avidani 1959:35)
- ḥanukka* [H חֲנֻכָּה; cf. *ḥanu/ikka* Sab167, *ḥanukka*, *ḥanukkoye* Mutz353] ‘Hanukka’
- ḥaqq* [K, T, Ar حَق; cf. Sabar *ḥaqq(qa)* 2002:168, *ḥaqqā* Mutz353] m. ‘right, true, salary, due’; pl. *ḥaqqāne*
- ḥarām, ḥarāma* [K, T, Ar حَرَام; cf. *hārām*, *ḥarāmā* Maclean 1901:79,106, *ḥarāma* Sab168] m. ‘forbidden’; f. *ḥaramta*; see *ḥaramūsa*, *ḥrm*
- ḥaramūsa* [*ḥarām* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab168] f. ‘prohibition, impurity’; see *ḥarām*, *ḥrm*
- ḥarb* [T, Ar حَرْب; Sab168] ‘(international) war’
- ḥāxām* [H חָכָם; cf. *ḥāxām*, *xāḥām* Sab166, *ḥāxam* Mutz353] m. ‘rabbi’

- ḥāxām bāši* [H חֶזֶק + T baş; Sab166] m. 'Chief Rabbi (of the Ottoman Empire)'
ḥayyāwe [H חַיָּב; cf. *ḥayyāv* 'guilty' Sab165] pl. 'obligated'
ḥel see *ḥil*
**ḥewan* [K, T, Ar حیوان; cf. *ḥēwan*, *ḥaywan* Sab165, *ḥewan* Mutz353] 'animal'; pl. *ḥewāne*
ḥəzur, ḥəzura [K, Ar حَزْر; cf. **ḥızur* Sab164] 'estimation, conjecture'; pl. *ḥəzure*, *ḥəzūre*; 'üdlī *ḥəzūre* 'I estimated'
ḥil, ḥel [LWAram להל; cf. *hāl/l*, *hī/ıl*, *ḥīl* Sab148, *həl*, *ḥəl* Mutz23] prep. and conj. 'until'
ḥudud [T, Ar حُدُود; Yona 1999x:136] 'border (geographical, political)'
ḥukum [Ar حُكْم; cf. *ḥukum*, *ḥukum* Sab164] f. 'government'; see *hukūma*, *hukumīya*
ḥukūma [Ar حُكُومَة; Mutz354] 'government'; see *ḥukum*, *ḥukumīya*
ḥukumīya [*ḥukum* + *iya*] 'government'; see *ḥukum*, *ḥukūma*
ḥušta [Ar حُجَّة; Sab164; Mutz354] f. 'excuse, pretext'
ḥūt [K, Ar حُوت; Sab164] 'large fish'

j

- jalab* [Ar جَلَب; Sab128] 'herd'
jamadāni [K; cf. *jimidāni* Sab128] f. 'checkered kerchief or keffiyā'
jandərma [K, T, IrAr < Fr; Sab129 and 1990:60; Mutz354] m. 'gendarme'; pl. *jandərme*
jawāhər [Ar جَوَاهِر; cf. **jawāhır* Sab126] 'gemstone' (*haggada*)
jeba [Ar جَيْب; cf. *jēba*, pl. *jēbābe* Sab127, *jeba*, pl. *jebāne* Mutz354] 'pocket'; pl. *jēbābe*
jema' [IrAr; Sab128] 'mosque'; cf. *məzgaftə*
jeza, jezá [Ar جزاء; cf. *jī/uzá* Sab127] 'penalty, fine'
jəgāra [IrAr, T, K < Eur; cf. **jigāra* Sab126, *jəgāra* Mutzafi 2008a:354] f. 'cigarette'; pl. *jəgāre*; see *grš*
jəns [Ar جنس < Lat; Sab129] 'type, sort'
jəwāb, jwāb [K, Ar جَوَاب; cf. *jīwāb* Sab126, *jwāba* Mutz355] m. 'answer, response'; see *jwb*
jəzdān [IrAr, K, T; cf. **jīzdān* Sab127] 'purse, wallet'
jigra [T, P, Ar جِكْر; cf. **jigra*, *jikra* Sab126, אִיגְרָא Avidani 1959:38–39, אִיגְרָא Alfiye 1986:47] 'wrath' (*haggada*)
**jirān* [K, Ar جِيرَان; cf. *jīran*, *jīranta*, pl. *jīrāne* Sab128] 'neighbor'; pl. *jīrāne*; see *jīrānatūsa*
jīrānatūsa [*jīrān* + K abstr. suff. -at + abstr. suff. -ūsa] f. 'neighborliness'; see *jīrāne*
jmətta see **jmīda*
**jmīda* [Ar جَمْد; m. 'frozen'; f. *jmətta*
julla [K, Ar جِلَّة; Sab127; Mutz355] 'article of clothing'; pl. *julle*
jwāb see *jəwāb*

k

- ka-* [K; *ke* Wahby 1966:72] conj. ‘when, since’; only in *ka-’égā* ‘since then’
- kaččala* [K; cf. *kâchâlâ* Maclean 1901:131, *kaččala* Sab181] m. ‘bald’
- káfil, kafil* [K, T, Ar كَافِل; cf. *kafil* Sab188] m. ‘guarantor’
- kāfār* [K, T, Ar كَافِر; Sab180] m. ‘heretic, infidel’; cf. **kapora*
- **kāka* [ClAram כָּכָא; Sab180; Mutz356] ‘tooth’; pl. *kāke*; *le dārya-lle* (*’ax*)*xa kutkākād gyāne* ‘he has borne a grudge against him here’ (cf. *דַּרְיָלוּ כָּכָא* Sab180)
- kalamča* [K; Sab186] f. ‘handcuff’
- kalba* [ClAram כַּלְבָּא; Sab186; Mutz356] m. ‘dog’; pl. *kalbe*; *kalba bār kalba* ‘son of a bitch!’; *kálbe-u-malbe* ‘dogs and the like’ (see *m-* in doublets Sab209); see *kalapsa*
- kalapsa* [ClAram כַּלְבַּתָּא; cf. *kalib/p̄ta* Sab186; § 3.22.b] f. ‘bitch’; *kalapsa brāt kalba* ‘what a bitch!’; see *kalba*
- kallax* [K; cf. *kallax, kallaš* Sab186] ‘corpse’; pl. *kallāxe*
- kaməsre* [Syr ܟܡܫܪܐ; cf. *kāmitrā* ‘pear’ Maclean 1901:135; *kamisre* ‘a fruit tree’ Brauer 1993:416] pl. ‘pears’
- kāni* [K; Mutz356] ‘spring’; *kāni Karačke* ‘spring of Karačke’; cf. *’ena*
- kāpa* [JBA כַּפָּא, כְּתָפָא < ClAram כְּתָפָא; Sab180 Mutz367] f. ‘shoulder’; pl. *kapāne*
- **kapora* [Syr ܟܦܘܪܐ; **kapora* Sab188 and Mutz356] m. ‘faithless, cruel’; pl. *kapore*; cf. *kāfār*
- kar’a* [Syr ܟܪܝܐ; *kar’a* Mutz356] ‘butter’
- karatūsa* [GN *Kāra* + K abstr. suff. *-at* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. ‘residents or region of Kara (Iraqi Kurdistan)’; see **karāya*
- **karāya* [GN *Kāra* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. ‘resident of Kara (Iraqi Kurdistan)’; pl. *karāye*; see *karatūsa*
- karb* [K < Ar كَرْب; cf. *karba* Sab188] ‘anger’ (*haggada*)
- karta* [Syr ܟܪܬܐ; Sab189; Mutz356] f. ‘load, burden’
- kāsa* [ClAram ܟܪܫܐ; Sab180; Mutz356] f. ‘belly, stomach’; *kāsu q̄dla* ‘they got angry’
- kašxe* [IrAr; cf. *kašxa* ‘show-off’ Sab189] pl. ‘fine, impressive’
- kātāb* [K, Ar كَاتِب; cf. *kātīb(ċi)* Sab181] m. ‘secretary’
- kavra* [K *kevir* ‘rock’ Chyet 2003:808] ‘cliff’; pl. *kavre*
- kawdanta, kawanta* [ClAram ܟܘܕܢܐ(ܐ); Bar-Asher 1998:136–137; cf. *kawđinta, kōzinta, kođine* Sab182, *kođanta*, pl. *kođane* Mutz357] f. ‘mule’; pl. *kóđane, kawdane*
- kāwōd* [H ܟܘܘܕ; cf. *kāvōd, kawōd* Sab181, *kāvod* Mutz356] f. ‘honor, respect’; *kāwōd řapsa* ‘great respect’; see *xbd*
- kawanta* see *kawdanta*
- kčəkcəb* [K?] m. ‘type of rifle’
- ke*¹ [ClAram ܟܐ; Sab93; Mutz356] *ké-le* ‘Where is he?’; see *’eka*
- ke*² [K; Sab184] adv. (used with imperative) ‘c’mon, please!’; *ke sa* ‘c’mon!’

- kef, kefa* [K, T, Ar كَيْف; cf. *kef* Sab185 and Mutz3565] ‘joy’; *māto kefox* ‘How are you?’; *kefox sele* ‘you rejoiced’
- kelka* [K *kelek* ‘dry stone wall’ Wahby 1966:73] m. ‘stone wall’; *kelkəd hudud* ‘stone wall marking the border’
- kepa* [ClAram כִּפָּא; Sab185; Mutz357] m. ‘stone’; pl. *kepe*
- kəčē* [K; cf. *kichî, kachâ, kichâ* Maclean 1901:131, *kačče* Sab181] f. ‘woman! (voc.)’
- kəl* see *kəsəl, kəsəkəsəl*
- kəliliye* [onomat.; cf. *kililiyat* Sab186, *kililiye* Mutz104] pl. ‘ululations’ (*haggada*); *mxāya kəliliye* ‘make ululating sounds’ (cf. *d-r-y kililiyat* Sab186)
- kəndāla* [K; Sab187] m. ‘steep slope’
- kəpna* [ClAram כִּפְנָא; Sab188; Mutz357] ‘hunger, famine’; see *kpn, kpina*
- kəppur* [H כִּפּוּר; Sab177; Mutz357] ‘(Day of) Atonement’
- kəra* [K, T, Ar كَرَاء; cf. **kire* Sab188] m. ‘rent’
- kəračīye* [K; cf. *kerajo* ‘donkey-driver’ Rizgar 1993:108] pl. ‘muleteers’
- kərma* [K; cf. *kırmıkta* ‘worm’, pl. *kırmıkyāta, kırmıyāna* ‘wormy’ Sab-189; *kərməkəθa* ‘worm’, pl. *kərməkyāθa* Mutz357] ‘worms’; pl. *kərme*
- kərmanj* [K *kirmanc* ‘Kurd, peasant’ Chyet 2003:325] m. ‘Kurd, peasant’
- kərya* [LAram כְּרִיָּא] m. ‘short’; see *kry*¹
- kəs* see *kəsəl, kəsəkəsəl*
- kəsəl* [< **kislā* ‘loin’ Mutz357 and 2006:93–97; cf. Sab187] ‘to, with, by’; *kəslu; mən kəsəl, kəsəl dide, kəl* before nouns: *kəl muxtar* ‘with the mukhtar’; *kəl xmāse* ‘with his mother-in-law’; *kəl Rəhovot* ‘at Rehovot’; *kəs spindarnāye* ‘with the residents of Spindar’; see *kəsəkəsəl*
- kəsəkəsəl* [*kesel* + *kesəl*] prep. ‘right with’; *kəsəkəsleni* ‘right with us’; see *kəsəl*
- kəsta* [JBA and Mand כִּיסְתָּא; Sab188; Mutz357] f. ‘small bag, money-bag’; see *kis*
- kətte* [K; cf. *kətte* Sab190, *katte* Mutz356] ‘one (of two or of a group)’; see *kətt-u-māt*
- kətt-u-māt* [cf. *kətt-u-māt* Sab190] ‘odds and ends, bit by bit’; see *kətte*
- ki’e* see *y’y*
- kilo* [T, Ar, ModH < Eur; cf. *kēlo*, pl. *kēlōyat* Sab184] ‘kilo’; pl. *kiloye*
- kilometər* [T, Ar, ModH < Eur; § 3.18.a] ‘kilometer’; pl. *kilometre*
- kis* [Ar كَيْس; Sab184] m. ‘moneybag, pocket’; see *kəsta*
- kma* [ClAram כִּמְא; Sab186; Mutz357] interr. adv. ‘how much?’; *b-kma* ‘for how much’; indef. prn. ‘some’; *kma qorūše* ‘some piasters’
- knəšta* [ClAram כְּנִשְׁתָּא; cf. *k(1)ništa*, pl. *knıšyāta* Sab187, *knəšta*, pl. *knəšyāθa* Mutz357] f. ‘synagogue’; pl. *knəšyāsa*
- ko* [K rel. prn. and conj. *ko* Chyet 2003:328] conj. ‘because, that, since’; see *’ako, čukun*
- kódəne* see *kawdənta*

- kolāna* [K; cf. *kōlāna*, *kōlanka* Sab182, *kolāna* Mutz357] ‘alley, path’; pl. *kolāne*
- kolka* [K?] m. ‘hovel’
- koma* [ClAram אֲכֻמָּא; Sab183; Mutz357] m. ‘black’; f. *kumta*; see *kym*
- kotakki* [K, T; cf. *kōtak*, *kōtakki*, *kōtakūta* Sab184] ‘hardship’
- kpina* [ClAram כַּפְּנָן] m. ‘hungry’; pl. *kpine*; see *kpn*, *kəpna*
- ksesa* [Syr ܟܣܝܘܫܐ; cf. Sab190; 2008:358; Mutz358] f. ‘hen’; pl. *kəsyāsa*
- ksisa* see *kusisa*
- kud*, *kut-* [ד + כּוּל; Sab181–182; Mutz358] ‘each’; *kūd-lel* ‘every night’; *kūd-yom* ‘every day’; *kutxa* ‘each one’; *kūt-xa-u-xa* ‘each and every one’; *kūtreni* ‘the two of us’; *kūtrexun* ‘the two of you’; *kutru* ‘the two of them’; *kūtlāhun* ‘the three of them’; *kūt’arbeni* ‘the four of us’; *kutkāke* ‘all the teeth’; see *kull-*, *kuššat*
- kuləkyaša* [K; cf. *kullikṭa*, *-ake* ‘ulcer’, *kulikyāta* ‘hemorrhoids’ Sab183] pl. ‘ulcers’
- kull-* [ClAram כּוּל; Sab182; Mutz358] ‘all’; *kulle* ‘all of him’; *kulla* ‘all of her’; *kullu* ‘all of them’; see *kud*, *kuššat*
- kur* [K, T; cf. *kūrā*, *kūrrā* Maclean 1901:128, *kōra* Sab183] ‘blind’
- kūra* [K; Sab183] m. ‘young goat’
- kurdi* [ModH כּוּרְדִי, Ar كُرْدِي; cf. LEAram קֻרְדִּיָּא; cf. *qūrdath*, *qūrdit* Maclean 1901:274, *kurdi* Sab183; *kurdi* = Jewish Neo-Aramaic, a term which arose in Israel Mutz358] ‘Jewish Neo-Aramaic’; see *qurdāski*
- kurdināya* [*kurdi* + gent. suff. *-nāya*; cf. ‘a Kurd’ Sab183, ‘Kurdistani Jew’ Mutz358] m.s. ‘Kurdistani Jew’; pl. *kurdināye*; see *qurdāya*, *qurd-əski*, *qurdawūsa*
- kursi* [K, Ar كُرْسِي < ClAram כּוּרְסִיָּא < Akk; Sab184; Mutz358] ‘chair’
- kurtāke* [K; Sab184] pl. ‘garments’
- kusisa* [Syr ܟܘܣܝܫܐ; cf. *kusisa* Sab183, *kusiṯa* Mutz358, *ksila* Khan 1999:572 and 2004:607; § 3.18.a] f. ‘hat’
- kuššat* [שׁת + ד + כּוּל; Sab181; Mutz358] adv. ‘every year’; see *kud*, *kull-*
- kut-* see *kud*
- kutka* [K *kodk* Jaba 1879:347] f. ‘knee’
- kutwa* [Ar كُتْبَة; cf. *ki/ūtwa* Sab190] m. ‘thorn’; pl. *kutwe*
- kutxa* see *kud*
- ḵ**
- ḵappāra* [H כַּפָּרָה; cf. **kappāra* Sab188, *kappāra* Mutz356] ‘expiation’
- l**
- l-*, *’al-*, *’allad* [ClAram -ל; Sab203; Hoberman 2008:149; Mutz123,359] prep. ‘to, at, for’, object marker
- l-’al* [ClAram לְעֵיל Sab93, *’al* Mutz331] adv. ‘above’
- la*, *lā*, *la’* [ClAram לָא; Sab203; Mutz359; § 4.7.4] adv. ‘no’; *lā* and *la’* are emphatic

- lākən* [K, T, Ar لَآكِن; cf. *lākin*, *lakin* Maclean 1901:149] conj. ‘but’
- lastike* [IrAr, T < Eng *elastic*; cf. *lāstik* ‘elastic rubber string’ Sab203 and 1990:60] pl. ‘sandals (made from tire tubes)’
- lašša* [K; Sab209; Mutz359] m. ‘(human) body or corpse’; pl. *lašše*
- laxma* [ClAram ܠܚܡܐ; Sab207; Mutz359] m. ‘bread’
- lāzəm* [K, T, Ar لَازِم; Sab203; Mutz359] ‘necessary’
- leb-* see *let*
- lele* [ClAram ܠܝܠܝ; cf. *lele*, pl. *lēlwāṭa* Sab206, *lele*, pl. *lelawāṭa* Mutz-360] m.s. and pl. ‘night’; *tre lele* ‘two nights’; *kúd-lel* ‘every night’; see ‘*adlele*, *palgadlel*’
- let, letən, létəna* [ClAram ܠܝܬ < ܠܝܬ ܐܝܬ < ܠܝܬ; cf. *lēt*, *lēs*, *lē/ītīm*, *lēsim* Sab207, *liṯ*, *liṯən*, *liṯena* Mutz360; § 4.8.1] negator of existence ‘there is not’; *ləṯwa* ‘there was not’; *lebi* (< ܠܝܬ ܒܝ; § 4.8.2) ‘I cannot’; see ‘*it*’
- ləbba* [ClAram ܠܒܒܐ; Sab203; Mutz360] m. ‘heart’
- ləbne* [Ar ܠܒܢ; cf. ClAram ܠܒܢܝܬܐ; cf. *lubna*, *lubnīta*, pl. *lūne*, *lubne* Sabar 2005] pl. ‘bricks’ (*haggada*)
- lətwa* see *let*
- lira* [T < Eur < Lat; Sab206; Mutz360] f. ‘Turkish pound (gold coin)’; pl. *lire*
- lišāna* [ClAram ܠܫܢܐ; Sab 206–207; Mutz360] m. ‘tongue, language’; *lišāna deni* ‘Jewish Neo-Aramaic’
- lö’a* [ClAram ܠܘܥܐ; cf. *lo’ta* ‘chewing gum’ Sab204 and Mutz360] ‘jaw’
- !
- lappa* [K; Sab207] ‘lump, handful’
- m*
- m-* see *mən*
- mā* [ClAram ܡܐ; Sab209; Mutz361] interr. prn. ‘what?’; *mā-le*, ‘what’s with him?’; see *kma*, *mād*
- ma’alləm* [Ar مَعْلَم; Sab222; Mutz361; § 3.20.d] m. ‘teacher’ (who functioned also as rabbi, ritual slaughterer, cantor); *mā’alləm!* (voc.); pl. *ma’almine*; see ‘*lm*’
- ma’aš* [Ar مَعَاش; Sab222–223] m. ‘income, salary’
- ma’būde* [Ar مَعْبُود; Sab222] pl. idols, gods (*haggada*)
- ma’ṁūr* [T, Ar مَأْمُور; cf. *ma’mur* Sab210] m. ‘officer-in-charge’; see ‘*ṁr*, ‘*əmr*’
- **ma’qūl* [K, Ar مَعْقُول; cf. *meqōl*, pl. *ma’qūle* Sab222, *māqul*, pl. *māqūle* Mutz362] pl. *ma’qūle* ‘nobles’
- mābayn* [Ar مَآبَيْن; cf. *mā-bayni/bēn, nābēn* Sab209, 228, *mabāyn* Mutz-361] prep. ‘between, among’; *mābayn nāše* ‘among the people’; *mābayneni* ‘between us’; *mābaynəd didu* ‘among them’
- mād* [ClAram ܡܐ + ܕ; Sab209; Mutz361] rel. prn. ‘that which, what-ever, as regards’; see *d-*, *mā*

- madām* [T, K, IrAr < Eur] f. 'Madam'
mādām [Ar مَا دَامَ; cf. מָדָם Yona 1999א:229, *mādām* Sab209; *mādām* Mutz361] conj. 'since, as'
- máfəra* [K *mefer* Chyet 2003:368; Ar مَفَرٌ *mifar* Sab223] 'opportunity, escape'
- mahājər* [Ar مِهْجَرٌ; Yona 1999א:231] m. 'refugee'; pl. *mahājəre*
mahəfūza see *muhəfəza*
máhkama [T, Ar مَحْكَمَةٌ; Sab215; Mutz361] 'court'
mal'ax [H מַלְאָךְ; cf. *mal'(ə)ax*, *mal'āxa* Sab218, *mal'ax* Mutz361] m. 'angel'; pl. *mal'āxe*
- malla* [K < Ar مَوْلَى; cf. *mawlāyi* 'my Master' Sab213, *malla* Mutz361] 'mullah'; pl. *mallāye*
malbe see *kalba*
malək [K, T, P, Ar مَلِكٌ; cf. 'headman' Maclean 1901:179, 'king' Sab219] m. 'chieftain'; pl. *malkāne*
- mamnún* [T, Ar مَمْنُونٌ; Sab220] inv. 'grateful'
māma [K; cf. *māmo* Sab210, *māma* Mutz361] m. 'uncle'; *māmo* 'uncle! (voc.; term of respect)'; pl. *mamāni* 'my uncles' (§ 4.2.3.2 n. 50)
- mar'az* [Ar مَرَعَزٌ < מְרַעַז * Sab225] m. 'cloth made of fine goat-wool'; cf. 'amra, 'əzza
- māra* [ClAram מָרָא; Sab210; Mutz362] 'master, owner'; cst. *mar*, *mare*; pl. *marawāsa*, *mar'āsa*; *mari* 'my Master'; *mare gora* 'married woman'; *mare*^H *kowaḥ*^H 'powerful'; *mare 'aṣal* 'possessing a good nature', *mar dukkāna* 'shopkeeper'
- margəлта* [Syr ܡܪܓܠܬܐ and ܡܪܓܠܬܐ < Ar; cf. *marəgla* Sab224; *marəgla* 'cauldron' (larger than *margəлта*), *margəлта* Mutz362] f. 'cauldron'
maroknāya [GN *Maroko* (< ModH) + gent. suff. -nāya] m. 'Moroccan'; f. *maroknesa*; pl. *maroknāye*
- marḥāma* [T, Ar مَرْحَمَةٌ] 'mercy, compassion'; see *ṛhm*, *mṛaḥmāna*
māsa [ClAram מָסָא < Akk; Sab210; Mutz362] f. 'village'
- masale* [K, T < Ar مَسْأَلَةٌ; Krotkoff 1982:135; Mlaḥsô *másāle* Jastrow 1994:182;] f. 'matter, affair'; *ḥāl-u-masale* 'upshot'; 'iya *masale zəlla* 'this matter ended'
- masta* [K; Sab221; Mutz362] 'yoghurt'
mašraf [K, T, Ar مَصْرَفٌ; Sab223] 'expense'
māše [K; Sab210; Mutz362] pl. 'beans'
māt see *kāttu-māt*
maṭār [Ar مَطَارٌ] f. 'airport'
māto [*mā* 'what' + *ṭev* 'report' Nöldeke 1868:162; *mā* + *ṭev* + possible influence of *ṭo < טב Mutz362; cf. *māto(f/v)* Sab209, *māto* Mutz362] interr. adv. 'how?'; *mātoḏ* 'as soon as'
mātoḏ see *māto*
maṭbax [K, T, Ar مَطْبَخٌ; Sab215] 'kitchen'
maxəлта [LEAram מהולתא, מהולתא Sokoloff 2002:644; Sab218] f. 'fine sieve'; pl. *maxəlyāsa*
- maxisa* [ClAram מַחִי; Mutz363] f. 'blow, hit'; see *mxy*
mazwāda [ModH מְזוּדָה?, Ar مَزْوَدٌ] 'suitcase'; pl. *mazwāde*

- mazza* [K, T, Ar مَزَّة; Sab214; Mutz363] m. ‘appetizers taken with alcoholic drinks’
- mažbur* [K, T, Ar مَجْبُور; cf. *majbūr* Sab211, *majbur* Mutz361] inv. ‘forced, reluctant’
- m-badal* see *badal*
- *mbušla* [ClAram √בשל] m. ‘cooked’; pl. *mbušle*; see *bšl*
- metər* [K, ModH مَطَر < Eur; cf. *mētar* Sab217 and 1990:61, s. *metər*, pl. *metre* Mutz363; § 3.18.a] ‘meter’; pl. *metre*
- *məbisa* [ClAram √בות]; m. ‘food cooked overnight’; pl. *məbise* (*hag-gada*)
- mədor* [K, T, Ar مُدِير; cf. *mudur* Sab212] m. ‘mudir, Turkish governor of a subdistrict’; pl. *mədore*
- məl* see *mən*
- məlkəta* [T mülkiyet?; Ar مِلْكِيَّة; cf. *mulk*, *mulkīni* Sab219] f. ‘property, possessions’
- məlləta* [K, T, Ar مِلَّة; cf. *mullita*, *mullate* Sab219, *məllat* Mutz2002:363] f. ‘ethnic group’
- *məlyón* [K, T, ModH < Eur; cf. *milyon* Sab219, *məlyón* Mutzafi 2008a:363] ‘million’; pl. *məlyone*
- mən¹, m-* [ClAram מֵן; Sab220; Mutz124] prep. ‘from, with’; *mənne u-l-ál* ‘from here on’
- mən², məl* [§ 4.4.7.e] jussive particle: *mən hāwe* ‘let it be’; *məl ’āzəl* ‘let him go’;
- məndi* [PrAram *madda; TO and TJ מְדָעָם; Syr مَدِير; JBA מֵדִי; Mand מִנְדָא מִנְדָא; reanalyzed as *mən + di?*; Tal 1975:16–17; Sab220; Mutz363] ‘thing’; *kulle məndi* ‘all sorts of things’; *čú-məndi* ‘nothing’
- mərrūta* [K; Sab225] ‘(sullen) face’; pl. *mərrūte*
- məskena* [ClAram מַסְכָּן < Akk; cf. *muskın* Sab221, *məskenuša* ‘poverty’ Mutz363] m. ‘poor fellow’
- məššər* [K, T, Ar مِصْر; Sab223] ‘Egypt’
- məšwá* [H מְשֻׁוּה; cf. *mušwa* Sab223] f. ‘religious duty, good deed’
- məšəlmāna* [Syr مَشْلَمَانَا; cf. *mušlmāna* Sab213, *məšəlmāna*, *mušlmāna* Mutz364] m. ‘Muslim’; f. *məšəlmanta*; pl. *məšəlmāne*
- məšpāha* [H מִשְׁפָּחָה; Mutz364] f. ‘family’; pl. *məšpāhe*; also attested with H pronunciation *məšpāhā*.
- məšša* [K *miše* Chyet 2003:392] inv. ‘many’
- məšxa* [ClAram מִשְׁחָה; Sab226; Mutz364] ‘liquid butter, cooking oil’
- məzāda* [Ar مَزَاد; cf. *mazādā* Maclean 1901:166, *muzād* Sab214] ‘auction’
- məzgafte* [K < Ar مَسْجِد; cf. *mizgafte* Sab214, *məzgaft*, *məzgafte* Mutz364] f. ‘mosque’; cf. *jema*’
- məzze* [LEAram מְזִיָּא < מְעוּיָא? Sokoloff 2002:652; Sab214; Mutz363–364] pl. ‘hairs’
- mḥakesa* [NeoAram √ḥky < Ar √حكي; cf. *maḥəkēta*, *mḥakēta* Sab215] f. ‘talk, tale, story’; see *ḥky*
- *milāna* [Syr مِلَانَا < P; Krotkoff 1985:129; Sab216; Mutz363] ‘blue’; pl. *milāne*

- misa* [ClAram מִיִּתָּא; Sab217; Mutz363] m. 'dead'; pl. *misāne*; see *mys*
momāsa [ClAram מוֹמָסָא; Sab213; Mutz364] f. 'oath'; see *ymy*
mosa [ClAram מוֹתָא; Sab214] 'death'; see *mys*
moxa [ClAram מוֹחָא; Sab213; Mutz364] 'brain'
m-qam [ClAram מִן קָדָם; Sab280; Mutz124–125] prep. 'due to'; *m-qam qaračke* 'due to highway robbers'; see *qam*, *qamqam*
mraḥmāna [ClAram מְרַחֲמָנָא (מְ); Sab225; Mutz365] m. 'merciful'; 'ilāha *mraḥ-māna-le* 'God is merciful'; see *ṛḥm*, *marḥāma*
mšidāna [NeoAram √šydn] m. 'crazed'; see *šydn*, *šidāna*, *šidanūsa*
mučū [onomat.] 'smack! (sound of kissing)'
mufti [T, Ar مُفْتِي; Sab213] m. 'mufti'
muḥāfāza, maḥafūza [T *muhafaza* Hony 1957:245, K *mihafeze, muhafeze* Chyet 2003:385,398, Ar مُحَافَظَة] f. 'guarding'
muḥtāj [K, T, Ar مُحْتَاج] inv. 'in need'; *lewu muḥtāj* 'they weren't in need'
mušlāya [GN *Mošal* + gent. suff. -āya; cf. *mōšilnāye* Sab213] m. 'resident of Mosul'; pl. *mušlāye*
mutašarrəf [T, Ar مُتَصَرِّف; cf. *mūtašarīp* Maclean 1901:165, *mītašarrif* Khan 1999:575] m. 'provincial governor'
muxtar [K, T, Ar مُخْتَار; Sab213] m. 'mukhtar, headman of a village'; pl. *muxtāre*
mxabine, xabine [K, Ar مَخْبِنَة?; cf. (*m*)*ḡabīne*, *mxabīne* Sab134] excl. (*m*)*xabine* 'what a loss!'; *xabinox* 'what a loss for you!'
- ṁ*
- ṁāl* [K, T, Ar مَال; cf. +*mal* Sabar 2004:112, *māl* Sab209, *ṁāl* Mutz365] 'property, possessions, wealth'
ṁamzər [H מַמְזֵר; +*mamzēr* Sab220] m. 'bastard'; cf. *bəç'a*
ṁāye [ClAram מַיָּא; Fassberg 1997; cf. +*māya*, +*māye* Sab209, *ṁāye* Mutz365] pl. tant. 'water'
- n*
- nāmus* see *be-nāmus*
naqda [Ar نَقْد; cf. *naqda*, *niqda* Brauer 1993:111, *nəqda* Mutz367] 'bride price'
naqətta see **naqida*
**naqida* [ClAram √nqđ; Sab235; § 3.6.b] m. 'thin'; f. *naqətta*
naqla [K, Ar نَقْل; Sab235; Mutz366] 'time'; pl. *naqle*; *naqəl ḡlāha* 'third time'
naqoša [Ar √nqš; Sab235; Mutz366] 'minus, less, lacking, few'; pl. *na-qoše*; *tre'sar naqoš 'əšra, ruba'* '11:50, 11:45 a.m./p.m.'; see *nqša*, *nqš*
nar'a [LEAram נִרְאָא; Sab235; Mutz366] 'axe'
narm [K *nerm* Chyet 2003:409] inv. 'gentle, soft'; *narm u-ḥāle garməd dide* 'He is a pleasant fellow' (lit., 'his bones are soft and the like')

- (cf. *garne xafife/yaqüre* He is pleasant/unpleasant [lit., his bones light/heavy] Sab124); see *ḥāl*
- nāsa* [pl. of ClAram נָאָסָא; Mutz366 and 2005; Sab230] ‘ear’; pl. *nas-yāsa*
- našūsa* [ClAram מִצְוִתָּא; Sab234; Mutz366; < *našwsā? f. ‘fight’; pl. *naš-wāsa*; see *nšy*
- nāša* [ClAram אָנָשָׂא; Sab228; Mutz366] m. ‘person’; pl. *nāše*
- našāma* [H נִשְׁמָה; cf. ClAram נִשְׁמָתָא, *nišāma* Sab235, *našāma* Mutz366] f. ‘soul’
- nawāga* [P; Sab230; Mutz366] m. ‘grandson’; f. *nawagta* ‘granddaughter’
- nāwī* [H נְבִיאָא; *nāwi* Sab229, *nāw/vi* Mutz18 n.42, 366] m. ‘prophet’
- naxira* [ClAram נִחְרָא; Sab233] m. ‘nose’; pl. *naxire*
- naxwaš* [K; Sab232; Mutz366] inv. ‘ill’; see *xwaš*
- nečir* [K; ClAram נַחְשָׁר < P Greenfield 1970:183; cf. *nēčir* Sab232] ‘hunting’
- nehra* [ClAram נְהָרָא; Sab230; Mutz367] m. ‘river’; pl. *nehrawāsa*
- nerwāya* [GN *Nerwa* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. ‘resident of Nerwa’ (Iraqi Kurdistan); f. *nerwesa*; pl. *nerwāye*
- nəqwa* [ClAram נִקְבָּתָא; cf. *nūqwa*, *nūqva*, *nūq(q)ūta* Sab231, *nəqwa* Mutz367] f. ‘female’; pl. *nəqwe*
- nəxpūsa* [ClAram √נִכְרַ + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab233] f. ‘embarrassment’; see *nxp*
- nəxṛāya* [ClAram נִחְרָיָא; cf. *nuxrāya*, *nixrāya* Sab231, *nəxṛāya* Mutz367] m. ‘foreigner’
- nəxta* see *nixa*
- nəzima* [K?; cf. *nizim* Sab231] m. ‘low, inferior’
- **nəžda* [K, Ar نَجْدَة; cf. נִשְׁדָּא Yona 1999a:327, *nij/žda* Sab229] ‘gang’; pl. *nəžde*
- nixa* [ClAram √נִיח; Sab232] ‘the late’ (lit., ‘rested’ = euph. for ‘dead’); *nixad sawoyi* ‘my late grandfather’; f. *nəxta*; see *nyx*
- nqiša* [Ar √نقص; Maclean 1901:218] m. ‘lacking’; see *naqoša*, *nqš*
- nūra* [ClAram נִירָא; cf. *nūra*, **nūra* Sab231, *nūra* Mutz368] m. ‘fire’

P

- pa* [K; Mutz368] adv. ‘so, then’
- palga* [ClAram פִּלְגָא; Sab256; Mutz368] ‘half’; *tré-u-palge* ‘two and a half’; *šát-u-palge* ‘a year and a half’; see *pālsā’a*, *palgədlel*, *palgədyo*, *pálpaṇqənoṭ*
- palgədlel* [*palgeh* + *d* + *lele*; cf. *palgid lēle*, *palgızlal* Sab256, *palgədlel* Mutz-368] ‘midnight’; see *palga*, *lele*
- palgədyo* [*palgeh* + *d* + *yom*; cf. *palgid yöm* Sab256, *palgədyom* Mutz368] ‘noon’; see *palga*, *yoma*
- palgūsa* [*palg(a)* + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab56; Mutz368] f. ‘middle, center’; *palgus māsa* ‘center of the village’
- pálpaṇqənoṭ* [*palg(a)* + *paṇqənoṭ*] f. ‘half lira’; pl. *pálpaṇqənoṭe* ‘half liras’; see *palga*, *paṇqənoṭ*

- pālsā'a* [palg(a) + sā'a] 'half an hour'; see *palga*, *sā'a*
panjāre [K, T; cf. *panjārā* Maclean 1901:254, *panjariye* Sab256] f. 'window'
pappūka [K; cf. *pappūka/-ūke* Sab257, *papūka* Mutz368] m. 'pitiful'
paq'a [LEAram פקעא; cf. *piq'ā*, *piqyā* Maclean 1901:256] 'crack'; pl. *paq'e*
pāre [K, T; Sab253; Mutz368] pl. tant. 'money'; *pāre daqiqe* 'small change'
**parsnāya* [CIAram פרס + gent. suff. -nāya; פרסנאיה Sab259; § 3.22.d] m. 'Persian'; pl. *parsnāye*
pāsa [CIAram פאהא; Sab253; Mutz369] f. 'face'
pāša [T, K; cf. **pāša* Sab253, *pāša* Mutz371] m. 'pasha'
pastela [ModH פסטל < Judeo-Spanish Nehama 1977:416] 'pie'
**paṭira* [CIAram פטירה; Sab254; Mutz369] 'unleavened bread'; pl. *paṭire* (*haggada*); see **ujna*
payṭūna [Eur *phaeton* < Lat, Gr] m. 'carriage'
pehna [K; Sab253] 'kick'; pl. *pehne*; see *ndy*
pelafta [K; cf. *pēlavta* 'slipper' Sab255] f. 'shoe'; pl. *pelāwe*
pəm̄ma, *pumma* [CIAram פמה; Nöldeke 1910:177–178; cf. *pu/üm̄ma*, *küm̄ma* Sab256, *pu/əm̄ma* Mutz369] m. 'mouth'
pəñčāya [GN *Pəñča* + gent. suff. -āya; cf. *pəñšāya* Mutz369] m. 'resident of Pinianish (Turkish Kurdistan)'; pl. *pəñčāye*; see *pəñčātūsa*
pəñčātūsa [GN *Pəñča* + K abstr. suffix -at + abstr. suff. -ūsa] 'residents or region of Pinianish'; see *pəñčāya*
pəsr̄a [CIAram בשרא; cf. *pīsr̄a*, *pīsr̄a?* Sab257, *pəsr̄a* Mutz369] m. 'flesh, meat'
pəšūke [T پشك 'little gnat or mosquito' Redhouse 1890:450; cf. K *pēšī*, *pēšūle* 'gnat, mosquito' Chyet 2003:452, Syr ܦܫܝܟܐ, MishH פשפש pl. 'gnats'
pəzaḡāya [K *pis* 'son' + 'āḡa 'agha?'] m. 'village noble'; pl. *pəzaḡāye*
pič̄a [K *pič̄* Wahby 1966:108] 'small quantity, a little'
pis [K; cf. *pīs*, *pīsaka*, *pīsake* Sab255, *pis* Mutz369] inv. 'filthy, dirty'; see *pisyatūsa*
pisyatūsa [K *pis* + K abstr. suff. -at + abstr. suff. -ūsa] 'filthiness'; see *pis*
potine [T, K < French *bottine*; cf. *pōtine* Sab254 and 1990:55] pl. 'boots'
poxa [Syr ܦܫܝܟܐ; cf. *pōxa*, *pūxa* Sab254, *poxa* Mutz370] m. 'wind'
prāge [Syr ܦܫܝܟܐ; Brauer 1993:422; Mutz370] pl. tant. 'millet'
priṭa [CIAram פרט] m. 'torn'; see *prṭ*
prəzla [CIAram פרזלא; Sab258; Mutz370] 'iron'
pt̄ixa [Ar √فطح?; cf. *pt̄ōxa* Sab254 and Mutz371] m. 'wide'
pumma see *pəm̄ma*

ṭ

- paləstināye* [ModH פלסטיןאי < Eur] pl. 'Palestinians'
**paḷla* [K; Sab256; Mutz371] 'live coal'; pl. *paḷle*

- paṇqánoṭ* [K *banqanot*, *paṇqanot* < Eng *banknote* Chyet 2003:23,430; cf. *banqanōṭ* Sab112] f. 'lira, paper money'; pl. *paṇqánoṭe*; f.s.?: *mpultāle xamši paṇqánoṭe* (§ 4.4.23.5); see *baṅk*; *páṭpaṇqánoṭ*
- páṣṣaport* [T, K < Italian; cf. *+passaport*, *+pastapor* Sab257] 'passport'
- poṣṭa* [K, T < Eur; Sab254] f. 'post, mail'
- q**
- qabəl* [Ar قَبَل; cf. (m)*qabil* Sab273, *qabəl* Mutz372] prep. *qabəl mən* 'before'; conj. *qabəl mən* 'before': *qabəl mən 'axnan 'āsaxwa* 'before we used to come'; adv. *qabəl hādax* 'beforehand'
- qačax* [K, T; cf. *qačax/ġ* 'smuggler' Sab273, *qačāġa* 'robber' Mutz372] m. 'smuggled goods'; see *qačāxa*
- qačāxa* 'smuggler'; see *qačax*
- qaddiš* [H קִדְּוֹשׁ; Sab273] 'memorial prayer'
- qadər* [Ar قَدْر; cf. *qadra*, *qadır*, *qadda* Sab273–274, *qadar* Mutzafi 2008a:372] 'size, quantity'; see *'aqqar*, *qudrəta*
- qadome* [ClAram √קדמ; Sab273; Mutzafi 2002:482] 'tomorrow'
- qahwa* [K, T, Ar قَهْوَة; cf. *qahwa*, *qahwe* Sab274, *qahwa* Mutz372] 'coffee'
- qahba* [Ar قَهْبَة; cf. *qahba/e*, *qahbike* Sab276, *qahba* Mutz372] f. 'daughter of a whore!'
- qāla* [ClAram קָלָא; Sab272] m. 'voice, sound'
- qalāma* [K, Ar قَلَم; Sab278] m. 'pen'
- qal'a* [K, Ar قَلْعَة; Sab278; Mutz372] f. 'fortress'
- qalūla* [Syr قَلْبَلْب; Sab279] m. 'quick, fast'
- qalunka* [K; Sab279; Mutz372] m. 'narghile'; pl. *qalunke*
- qalya* [ClAram √קלי; Sab279] 'fried and heavily salted meat; meat cooked for the winter'
- qam* [ClAram קָמ(ו); Sab280; Mutz372] prep. 'before (temporal and spatial); *xa zo'a bargūze le qāmi* 'I am wearing a woolen suit'; *qam tar'a* 'outside'; *qam hādax* 'beforehand'; see *m-qam*, *qam-qam*
- qamāya* [ClAram קָמָיָא; cf. *qamāya* 'first, before' Sab280, *qamāya* 'first' Mutz372] m. 'previous'
- qamāye* [ClAram קָמָיָא; cf. *qamāye* Sab280, *qamāye* Mutz372] adv. 'at first'
- qamqam* [ClAram קָמ(ו)קָמ; *qāma-qam* Mutz372] prep. 'right before' (spatial); *qamqāman* 'right before us'; see *qam*, *m-qam*
- **qāna* [ClAram קָנָא; Sab272; Mutz372] 'horn'; pl. *qanāne* 'horns'
- qānun* [Ar قَانُون < Gr; Sab273] 'law'
- qaprāna* [K; Sab281; Mutz372] 'hut, booth'; pl. *qaprāne*
- qaṭṭān* [K, T < Eur; cf. *qaṭṭan* Sabar 1990:62 and 2002:281] 'captain'
- qarantina* [T *karantina*, Ar كَرَنْتِيْنَة, ModH קָרָנְטִינָה < Eur] 'quarantine'
- qaraqól* [T; *qaraqól* 'head of robbers' band' Sab284] 'garrison'
- qarətta* see *qarire*
- **qarira* [ClAram קָרִירָא; Sab283; Mutz372; § 3.6.i] 'cold, cool'; f. *qarətta*; pl. *qarire*

- qorúš* [K, Ar قُرُش; cf. *qirúsh*, *qürúsh*, *qrúsh* Maclean 1901:285, *qirus* Sab283] ‘piaster, small coin’; pl. *qorúše*, *qoruske*
- qotiya* [K, T; Sab276] m. ‘small box’
- qozzə!qorɔt* [T; cf. *+qızıl/rqöt* Sab276] excl. ‘hell!, disgusting!’
- qudrəta* [K < Ar قُدْرَة; Sab274] f. ‘(Divine) omnipotence’; see *’aqqar*, *qadər*
- qūjəke* [K; cf. *qūja* Mutz375] pl. ‘martens’
- quṣu!* [K, T, Ar قُنْصُل; ModH קונסול < Eur; cf. *qünşúl*, *qünşúr* Maclean 1901:273; *+qunsor* Sab275] m. ‘consul’
- quṣulya* [ModH קונסולייה, Ar قُنْصِيْلِيَّة; < Eur; cf. *qünşúlkhânâ* Maclean 1901:273] f. ‘consulate’
- qur‘ān* [K < Ar قُرْآن; cf. *qur‘an* Sab276] ‘Quran’
- qurdā, qurdāya* [*qurd* + gen. suff. *-āya*; LEAram קִרְדָּיָא; Sab276; Mutz375; § 3. 15.a] ‘Kurd’; f. *qurdesa*; pl. *qurdāye*; see *kurdināya*, *qurdawūsa*, *qurdəski*
- qurdawūsa* [*qurdā* (?) + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*] pl. ‘Kurds’; see *qurdāya*, *qurdəski*, *kurdināya*
- qurdəski* [**qurdā‘it* + K suff. *-ki*; cf. *kurdi* Sab183, *qurðəθ*, *qurðəθki* Mutz-375] ‘Kurdish (language)’; *lišāna qurdəski* ‘Kurdish language’; see *kurdi*
- qura* [K; cf. *qurra*, *qurrōna* Sabar 202:276, *qura* Mutz375] m. ‘boy’; *quró* ‘boy! (voc.)’
- qurwa* [LEAram קִרְוָה; cf. *qûrbâ* Maclean 1901:274, *qırwa* Sab282, *qərwa* Mutz373] ‘vicinity, nearness’; prep. ‘near’; *qurwəd tāma* ‘near there’; *qurwəd hanukka* ‘near Hanukka’
- quşur* [K, Ar قُصُور; cf. *qişûr* Maclean 1901:283, *qışûr(i)* Sab281] ‘defect, deformity’
- qūta* [Sab274] ‘vagina’
- qwita* see *quwya*
- qyāməta* [K < Ar قِيَامَة; Sab278] ‘resurrection’
- r**
- raḥat* [K, Ar رَاحَة; Sab289; Mutz376] adv. ‘calmly, relaxed’
- rakāwa* [ClAram רִכְבָּא; Maclean 1901:293] m. ‘rider’; see *rkw*
- *rakixa* [ClAram רִכְיָא; Sab290; Mutz376] m. ‘soft’; f. *rakəxta*; see *rkx*
- rakəxta* see **rakixa*, *rkx*
- ramazān* [T, Ar رَمَازَان; Maclean 1901:294] ‘Ramadan’
- rašādi* [T *Reşad* < Ar رَشَاد] ‘gold lira (minted by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed V (Mehmed Reşad))’
- rekanāya* [GN *Rekan* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. ‘resident of Rekan (Iraqi Kurdistan)’; pl. *rekanāye*
- reš* [ClAram רֵיש, רֵיש; calque on K *ser* ‘head, upon’ Khan 2002:239, Mutz125; cf. *riš/ž* Sab290, *reš* Mutz376] prep. ‘on, upon’; *’it rešəxun* ‘you owe’; see *reša*, *rešreš*
- reša* [ClAram רֵישָׁא, רֵישָׁא; Sab290; Mutz376] ‘head’; pl. *reše*; *xa tremma reše* ‘about two hundred head (of cattle)’; *reše reše* ‘from one end to the other’; see *reš*, *rešreš*

- rešreš* [CIaram ריש, ראש; cf. *reša-reš* Mutz125, 376] prep. 'right above'; see *reš*, *reša*
- rə'ola* [CIaram רעל; Sab286] 'shivering' (*haggada*)
- rəqqā, reqa* [LEAram רוקקא; cf. *riqqâ, rahqa, raqqa* Sab289, *rəqqā* Mutz24, 378] 'distance' *m-rəqqā* 'from afar'; cf. *rĥq*
- riviya* [K *rivî, rêvî, rovî* Chyet 2003:523; cf. *rūvika* Sab287] m. 'fox'
- rqā'e* [LEAram רוקענא; cf. pl. *raqā'e* Sab292, pl. *rqā'e* Mutz377] pl. 'patches, rags'
- ruba'* [Ar رُبْع; cf. CIaram רבָּעָא; cf. *rūbī', rub'/'a* Sab287] 'quarter'; *xá-ruba'* 'a quarter'; *rúba'-sā'a* quarter of an hour'; see *naqoša*
- rūt* [K; Sab288] inv. 'naked, bare'
- ruxta* see *rwixa*
- rwixa* [LEAram רויחא; cf. *rwixa* Sab288, *řwixa* Mutz378] m. 'wide'; f. *ruxta*
- ř
- řāba* [CIaram רָבָא; cf. *+rāba* Sab286, Mutz377 and 2006:126–127] adv. 'many, much, very'; *řāba nāše 'urwe* 'many important people'; see *'urwa, 'urwāne, bšš-řab*
- řaḅḅi* [Ar يَا رَبِّ يَا رَبِّ] *yā řaḅḅi* 'My Lord!'
- řaḍyo* [T, K, IrAr < Eur; cf. *+rādiyo* Sab286] 'radio'
- řapsa* see *'urwa*
- řašte* [K, T; cf. *rastî, řašti* Maclean 1901:294, *+rāst* Sab286] 'right' (as against 'left'); only in *'ida řašte* 'to the right (= right hand)'
- řema* [P; Sab290] 'pus'
- řazza* [K, P, Ar رَزْز; cf. LAram ארוזא, אורז, ארוזא, ארוזא; cf. *+rizza* Sabar 2002:288; *řazza* Mutz378] 'rice'
- řomāna* [CIaram רומן + suff. *-āna*; cf. *+rō/ūmāna* Sab288, *řomāna* Mutz378] m. 'high'; f. *řomanta*; pl. *řomāne*; see *řym*
- řūbar* [K; cf. *rōbar, rūbar* Sab287, *řūbar* Mutz378] 'stream'
- s
- sā'a* [Ar سَاعَة; cf. *sā'a, řa'a* Sab236, *sā'a* Mutz378] f. 'hour'; pl. *sā'e*; see *pālsā'a*
- sahāda* [CIaram סַהְדָא; cf. *sahḍa* Sab237, *sahḍa, sahāḍa* Mutz378] m. 'witness'; pl. *sahāde*
- salāmat* [T, K, Ar سَلَامَة; cf. *sālāmat* Maclean 1901:226; cf. *salāme*, pl. *salāmatīye* Sab240] 'welfare, prosperity'; *b-salāmat* 'safely'
- sahma* [Ar سَهْم; Sab237; Mutz378] m. 'portion, lot'
- sántimetər* [ModH סַנְטִימֶטֶר < Eur; cf. *santín* Mutz379] 'centimeter'
- *sapöxa* [CIaram סַפִּי; cf. *sapöya* Sab242; contamination with *laxma* 'bread'? Mutzafi p.c.] 'wrap sandwich'; pl. *sapöxe*
- sartuk* [K; cf. *sartike* Sab244, סַרְטִיקָה Yona 1999:341, *sertika, sertun, sertur* Brauer 1993:425] 'cream'
- sāwa* [CIaram סַבָּא; cf. *sāwa* Sab236, *sawoya* Mutz379] m. 'grandfather'; *sāwi* 'my grandfather'; see *sota*

- sayyad, sayyada* [K, T, Ar سَيِّد; cf. *sayyid, sayda* ‘sir’ Sab239] m. ‘sayyid, descendant of Muhammad’; see *sayyadka*
- sayyadka* [K, Ar سَيِّد + suff. -ka] m. ‘sayyid, descendant of Muhammad’; see *sayyad, sayyada*
- se’ra* [ClAram סַעְרָא; Sab236; Mutz379] ‘goat hair’
- séfarṭora* [H סֵפֶר תּוֹרָה; cf. *sēfar* + *tōra* Sab243, *sefərṭora* Mutzafi 2008a:379] ‘Torah scroll’
- sepa* [ClAram סִיפָא; Sab239; Mutz379] ‘sword’
- setira* [K *se* ‘three’ + *tir* ‘shot’] ‘long three-shot rifle’
- səfərṭās* [T, Ar سَفَر طَاس; Sab243] m. ‘(traveling) lunch box’
- səjjāda* [K, T, Ar سَجَّادَة] f. ‘prayer rug’
- səkkina* see *skina*
- səksa* [ClAram סַכְתָּא; Sab240; Mutz379] f. ‘peg’
- səmbela* [K, Ar سَمْبِل; Sab241] ‘mustache’; pl. *səmbele*
- sənjāqe* [K, Ar سَنَجَق < T; Sab241] pl. ‘flags, banners’
- səpsa* [ClAram סַפְתָּא; Sab243; Mutz380] f. ‘lip, edge’; *səpsəd* ‘ar’əd gy-
ānu ‘the edge of their land’
- səswa* [ClAram סַחְוָא; Sab245; Mutz380] m. ‘winter’
- skina, səkkina* [ClAram סַכְיָא; cf. MishH סַכִּין; cf. *skīna, sikkīna* Sab240, *skina* Mutz380] ‘knife’; pl. *skine, səkkine*
- smaxta* [ClAram √סמך; Sab241; Mutz380] f. ‘pregnant’; pl. *smixe*
- smoqa* [TO סְמוֹקָא, סְמוֹקָא; Sab241; Mutz380] m. ‘red’
- sniqa* [Syr √سند] m. ‘needy’; pl. *sniqe*; see *snq*
- sota* [LAram סַבְתָּא; Sab238; Mutz380] f. ‘grandmother’; see *sāwa*
- sparəgla* [LEAram אַסְפַּרְגְּלָא; Sab243; Mutz380] ‘quince’; pl. *sparəgle*
- spindarnāya* [GN *Spindar* + gent. suff. -*nāya*] m. ‘resident of Spindar (Iraqi Kurdistan)’; pl. *spindarnāye*
- spiqā* [ClAram √ספק; Sab242] m. ‘empty’; see *spq*
- spisa* [probably ClAram Mutz381; NeoAram √sps < Gr? Sab242] m. ‘rotten’
- **sqila* [LEAram √סקל ‘polish’; Sab243; Mutz381] m. ‘beautiful’; f. *sqalta*
- surāya* [Syr سُرْيَانِي; Rollinger 2006; cf. *sōrāya, surāya* Sab238, *surāya* Mutz381] Christian’; f. *suresa*; pl. *surāye*
- sūsa* [TO סוּסָיָא, Syr سُهَسَا; cf. *sūse, sūsa* Sab238, *sūsa* Mutz381] m. ‘horse’; pl. *sūse*
- swa’ta* [ClAram סַבְעָא; Sab237] f. ‘satiety, satisfaction’; *xəllox swa’tox* ‘you ate your fill’
- **swi’a* [ClAram √סבע; Sab237; Mutz381] m. ‘satiated’; pl. *swi’e*
- ṣ
- **ša’arta* [ClAram סַעְרְתָּא; cf. +*sa’arta*, pl. +*sa’āre* Sab242, *ša’arta*, pl. *ša’āre* Mutz382] ‘grain of barley’; pl. *ša’āre* (1) ‘grains of barley’, (2) ‘barley’
- šabo’ta* [ClAram צַבְעָתָא(א); Sab266; Mutz382] f. ‘finger’
- šābun* [T, K, Ar صَابُون < Gr; Sabar 1990:62 and 2002:266; Mutz382] ‘soap’

- šadra* [T, Ar صدْر; cf. **sadra* Sab267, *šadra* Mutz382] m. 'chest'; cf. *šudra*
šaqaṭe [Ar سَقَط; cf. **saqat*, *saqaṭōka*, *saqaṭōke* Sab243] pl. 'cripples'
šawā'a [LEAram שַׁבְעָא; cf. *šabāga* Sab266, *šawā'a* Mutz382] m. 'dyer';
 see *šw'*, *šwya*
šāx [K, T; Sab266; Mutz382] inv. 'healthy, alive, intact, well'
šəhya [CIAram שְׁחָ; cf. *šəhya*, *šəhya*, *šihya* Sab268, *šəhya* Mutz382]
 m. 'thirsty'
šəwya [CIAram שְׁבַע; § 3.14] m. 'dyed, colored'; see *šawā'a*, *šw'*
šfera [Ar صَفِير; cf. *šafira* Sab270] 'whistle'; see *šfr*
šīwa [LEAram שִׁיבָא; Sab268; Mutz382] m. 'tree, wood'; pl. *šīwe*
šlosa [CIAram שְׁלוּסָא; Sab269; Mutz382] f. 'prayer'
šo'rāsa [Syr ܫܘܪܫܐ 'invective'; cf. *šu'irta*, *ši'urta*, pl. *šu'rāta* Sabar
 2002a:267] pl. 'curses'; see *š'r*
šofi [K, T, Ar صُوفِي; cf. *šôpî* Maclean 1901:263, *šôfika* Sab267] m. 'sufi,
 ascetic'; pl. *šofyāne*
šopa [K, T; cf. *šūpa* 'ante-room' Sab267, *šopa*, *zopa* 'stove' Mutz383] f.
 'stove'
 **šrifā* [ModH שְׂרִיפָה 'hut'; pl. *šrifē*
štaḡfərəllā [K < Ar اَسْتَغْفِرُ اللهُ excl. *bāba štaḡfərəllā* 'I ask God's forgiveness!'
šudra [Ar صُدْرَة; Sab267; Mutz383] f. 'shirt, vest'; cf. *šadra*
šulhe [K, Ar صَلْحَة; cf. *šulḥ* Sab267] s. or pl? 'peaceful reconcili-
 ation(s)'; *'axnan ču šulhe la godax* 'we won't make any peaceful
 reconciliation(s)'
šurta [K, P, Ar صُورَة; Sab268] f. 'face'; pl. *šuryāsa* 'cheeks'
- š
- šafqa* [IrAr < Russian; Sab302] f. 'hat (with a brim)'; pl. *šafqe*
šahāra [LAram √ שׁוּחַ 'be vigilant'; cf. *ša/ihāra* Sab294, *šahāra* Mutz-
 384] m. 'blind'; f. *šaharta*; see *šthr*
šākar [Syr ܫܟܪܐ, ܫܟܪܐ, JBA שׁוּכַר < P; K, T; Sab293 and Mutz384] 'sugar'
šāla [K, Ar شَال < P; Sab293] m. 'fabric shawl used by men as belt'; pl.
šāle
šalla [K; Sab299; Mutz384] m. 'Kurdish woven pants of fine wool,
 worn usually together with **šapukta*'
šapsa [CIAram שַׁבְּתָא; cf. *ša/ibta*, *šab/psa* Sab294, *šabṭa* Mutz384] f.
 'Sabbath'
šamina [CIAram שְׁמִינָא; Sab301; Mutz384] m. 'fat'; pl. *šamine*
 **šaqfa* [Ar شَقْفَة; 'piece (of land)' Sab303] 'piece'; pl. *šaqfe* 'pieces (of fur)'
šaḡisa [Syr ܫܥܝܫܐ; cf. *šaḡiṭa* Sab302, *šaḡiṭa* Mutz384] f. '(water)
 channel'; pl. *šaḡyāsa*
*šaqqa*¹ [Ar شَقَّ; cf. *shaqâ* 'slap, half' Maclean 1901:311, *šaqqa* 'half'
 Sab302] 'half, section'
 **šaqqa*² 'slap'; pl. *šaqqe* 'slaps'; see *šaqqāme*
 **šaqqāma* [K; cf. *šiqqāma* Sab302, *šaqqāma* Mutz384] 'slap'; pl. *šaqqāme*
 'slaps on face'; see *šaqqa*²
šar'a [Ar الشَّرْع; cf. *šar'* Sab304] f. 'religious law'; pl. *šar'e*

- šargūme* [LEAram שָׂרְגוּמָּה Sokoloff 2005:1146; Sab303] pl. 'turnips'
 **šarṭ* [Ar شَرِطٌ; Sab303] 'covenant'; *šarṭəd mila* 'covenant of circumcision' (= ברית מילה) (*haggada*)
- šarwāla* [BAram שַׁרְוָלָה, Syr ܫܪܘܠܐ < P; cf. +*šarwāl* Sab303, *šarwāla* Mutz384] f. 'long underpants, trousers'; pl. *šarwāle*
- šaṛūsa* [CIAram שַׁרְוּסָא; cf. *šarūta* Sab303, *šaṛūṯa* Mutz384] f. 'lunch'
šāta [CIAram שָׂתָא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *šāta*, *šinna* Sab293, *šāta* Mutz385] f. 'year'; pl. *šanne*
- šaxina* [Syr ܫܚܝܢܐ; Sab298; Mutz385] m. 'warm'; f. *šaxanta*; *šaxina-le* 'he is hot(-headed)'; see *šxn*
- šawa* [CIAram שַׁבְעָא; cf. *šō'a*, *šawwa* 'seven, week' Sab295] 'week'; pl. *šawe*; *šawəd basra* 'the week after'; cf. *šō'a*, *šō'amma*, *šō'i*, *šwa'sar*
- šes-béš* [K, T, P; Sab304] 'backgammon'
šex [K, T, Ar شَيْخٌ; cf. *šex*, pl. *šēxyāne* Sab297 and Mutz385] m. 'sheikh'; pl. *šexāye*
- šemma* [CIAram שְׂמָא; Hoberman 2007; Sab300; Mutz385] m. 'name'
šemme [CIAram שְׂמֵיָא; Hoberman 2007; cf. *šimme*, pl. *šimmāhe* Sab300–301, *šemme* Mutz385] pl. tant. 'sky, heavens'
- šamša* [CIAram שַׁמְשָׁא; Sab301; Mutz385] 'sun'
šansa [CIAram שְׁנָתָא; Sabar 202:302] f. 'sleep'
šəqya [JBA שְׂקִיָּא* Sokoloff 2002:1174; Mutz386] 'glue'
šarika [K, Ar شَرِيكٌ; Sab304; Mutz386] m. '(business) partner'
šarma [Syr ܫܪܡܐ; Sab304; Mutz386] f. 'ass, buttocks'; pl. *šarme*
šarṭa [Ar شُرْطَةٌ; cf. *šurṭa/i* Sab296, *šarṭa* Mutz386] 'policeman'; pl. *šarṭe*
šaryoxa [Ar شَرَاكٌ?; Sab304] m. 'shoe-string'
šatya [CIAram שְׂתִיָּא; cf. *ši/atyā* Sab305, *šatya* Mutz386] 'warp'
šaxda [CIAram שְׁחֻדָּא; cf. *šix/gda* Sab298, *šaxḏa* Mutz386] 'good tidings'
- šaxta* [Syr ܫܚܝܬܐ 'sediment, secretions'; Sab299; Mutz386] f. 'dirt, filth'; see *šaxtāna*
- šaxtāna* [*šaxta* + suff. -*āna*; Sab299; Mutz386] m. 'dirty'; pl. *šaxtāne*; see *šaxta*
- šaxxoṛa* [CIAram שְׁחַרָּא; cf. +*ši/axōra* Sab298, *šaxxoṛa* Mutz386] 'coal, charcoal'; see *čaxra*
- šidāna* [calque on K, P; CIAram שִׁדְיָא 'demon' + suff. -*āna*; Sab294; Mutz385] m. 'crazy, mad'; pl. *šidāne*; see *mšidāna*, *šidanūsa*, *šydn*
- šidanūsa* [*šidāna* + abstr. suff. -*ūsa*; Sab294] f. 'craziness'; see *šydn*, *mšidāna*, *šidāna*,
- škafta* [K; cf. s. *škafta*, pl. *škafyāṯa* Sab299 and Mutz386] f. 'cave'; pl. *škafṭyāsa*
- šoḥad* [H שְׁחָד; cf. *šōḥad* Sab295] 'bribe'
šō'a [CIAram שַׁבְעָא; cf. *šō'a*, *šawwa* Sab295, *šō'a* Mutz386] 'seven'; see *šawa*, *šō'amma*, *šō'i*, *šwa'sar*
- šō'amma* [*šō'a* + 'amma; cf. *š(o)wa'ma*, Sab295; *šō'á'amma* Mutz396; § 4.3.3] 'seven hundred'; see *šawa*, *šō'a*, *šō'i*, *šwa'sar*

- šö'i [ClAram שבעין; Sab295; Mutz386] 'seventy'; see *šawa*, *šö'a*, *šö'-amma*, *šwa'sar*
- šuftiya [K *šifti* Chyet 1993:581; *šaftiyya*, *šəptiyya* < Beduin Ar *dəbšiyya*? Talay 2008:61 n.106; cf. *shiptiyâ*, *shaptiyâ* Maclean 1901:310; *šiftiya* Khan 1999:581] f. 'watermelon'; pl. *šuftiye*
- šūla [Syr شُلا < Ar شُعْل; *šūla*, *šu'(ā)la*? Sab296, *šūla* Mutz387] 'work, deed, affair'; pl. *šu'āle*
- šulxāya [ClAram √ שלח + suff. -āya; Sab296; Mutz387] m. 'naked'; pl. *šulxāye*; see *šlx*
- šūqa [ClAram שוקא; Sab296; Mutz387] 'market'
- šwa'sar [Syr عَشْرَةَ; Sab295; *šuwá'ssar*, 'əšwá'əssar Mutz115] 'seventeen'; see *šawa*, *šö'a*, *šö'amma*, *šö'i*
- šwāna [K; cf. *šivāna*, *šüvān*, *šüwān* Sab294, 'ašwān, *šwāna* Mutz329] m. 'shepherd'
- t*
- ta, ʔas, ti* [Syr تال, تال; cf. *ʔla*, *ta*, *da*, *ʔlāti*, *ʔāti* Sab172; *ta*, *ʔāli*, *ʔālox* Mutz388] prep. 'to, for'; conj. 'in order to'; *ta-lá* 'lest'; *ʔas dide*, *ʔāse* 'to him'; *ti gyāne* 'for himself'; see *tad*
- tābur* [T, Ar طَابُور; cf. *ʔābūr*, *tābūr* Maclean 1901:109, *tābur* Sab306] battalion'
- tad* [Mutz388] *ta* + *d*; conj. 'in order to' see *ta*
- tagbir* [K, Ar تَدْبِير; cf. *tag/kbir* Sab306, *tagbir* Mutz388] 'counsel, conspiracy'; 'ūdlu *tagbir* 'they conspired'
- taḥqiqāt* [Ar تَحْقِيقَات; Sab308] pl. 'investigations'
- talga* [ClAram תלגא; Sab309; Mutz388] m. 'ice, snow'
- talma* [Syr تَلْمَا; Sab310] m. 'water-jug'
- talya* [LEAram תליא 'part of stomach' Sokoloff 2002:1209; cf. 'entrails' Sab309] '(human) lung'
- tāma, tam, 'al-tāma, 'al-tām, tan-* [ClAram תַּמָּה; cf. *tāma*, *tam*, *ltam*, *min tam*, *tangib/tangēba* Sab306, *tam*, *tāma*, *l-tam*, *l-tāma* Mutz388] adv. 'there, to there'; 'āx-geb *tān-geb* (*ʔamāha-geb*) 'when all's said and done, eventually'; *tam lé-'āl* 'from there on'; see 'axxa, *geba*, *ʔamāha*
- tan-* see *tāma*
- tangāwi* [K; Maclean 1901:323] f. 'distress'
- tar'a* [ClAram תַּרְעָא; cf. JPA תרה Kutscher 1967:70 n. 64; cf. *tar'a*, *tara* Sab312, *tar-*, *tar'a* Mutz389] m. 'door'; pl. *tar'āne*; *qam tar'a* 'outside'
- tārix, ʔārix* [ModH תַּרְיִחַ, Ar تَارِيخ; cf. *tāriḥ* 'history, an account, date of event' Maclean 1901:326, *t/ʔāriḥ* 'length of time, period' Sab306–307] f. 'date'
- tawərta* [ClAram (TO תוּרְתָא, Syr ܬܘܪܬܐ); Sab308; Mutz389; § 3.22.b] f. 'cow'; pl. *toryāsa*; see *tora*
- tāxa* [K; Sab306] 'quarter of town'; pl. *tāxe*
- tāza* [K, T; inv. Sab306 and Mutz389; *tāza* and *tāze* Nöldeke 1868:135] c. 'new, fresh, precious'; pl. *tāze*

- télafon, télefon* [K, T, ModH טֵלֶפּוֹן < Eur; cf. *telefun* Sab310 and 1990:62] m. 'telephone'; see *ym*
- tena* [ClAram תֵּנָא (נ) תֵּנָא; cf. *te'na*, *tēna* Sab306, *te'na* Mutz389] f. 'fig'; pl. *tene*
- ter* [K; Sab308] 'sufficient'; *wəllu qurdāye terax ter yəmmax ter xas-wāsax ter kulléxun-'ilu* 'Right now the Kurds are enough for you, enough for your mother, enough for your sisters, enough for all of you'
- tera* [K; cf. *tér* Maclean 1901:320, תִּירָא Sab309] f. 'large bag, saddle-bag'
- **teška* [?; cf. תִּישְכָּא Yona 1999א:434, *tēška*, *tēška* Sab309] 'whelp'; pl. *teške*
- təffaḡ* [K; cf. *tfang*, *tfakke* Sab311, *təffaḡ* Mutz389] f. 'rifle'; pl. *təffāḡe*
- təhome* [H תְּהוּם; cf. *tihōm* Sab307, pl. tant. *təhome* Mutz389] pl. tant. 'abyss'
- təjjāra* [Ar تَجَّار (pl.); *tijjar*, *tājir* Sab306, *təjjāra* Mutz389] m. 'merchant'; pl. *təjjāre*
- tək* [onomat.] 'knock (on door)'
- təkša* [ClAram תִּכְשָׂא; Sab309] 'waistband'
- təlqūna* [T, K, Ar تَلْقِين] 'final rites at a funeral'
- təltā'sar* [TO תְּלָת עֶשְׂרֵי, Syr ܬܠܬܐ ܥܫܪܐ; cf. *tilta'sar*, *+talta-sar* Sab310, *təltā'əssar* Mutz115] 'thirteen'; see *tlāha*, *tlāsi*, *tlāhūšeb*
- təlyā* [ClAram תְּלִיָּא] m. 'hung'; f. *tleta*; see *tly*
- təmmal* [TO תְּמַלִּי, Syr ܬܡܠܝܐ; Hoberman 2007; Sab310; Mutz389] 'yesterday'
- təne, b-təne* [K, P; cf. *b-tine* Sab310, *təne*, *b-təne* Mutz389] adv. 'alone, only'
- tənna* [ClAram תְּנַנָּא; cf. *tənna*, *tehna* Sab310, *tənna* Mutz389] m. 'smoke'
- təqla* [ClAram תְּקִלָּא; Sab312] 'weight'
- tərtē* see *tre*
- təttun* [T, K; cf. *tütün*, *tütün* Sab308, *tuttun* Mutz390] 'tobacco'
- ti* see *ta*
- tiqa* [ClAram ܥܬܝܩܐ; cf. *'atiqa* Sab103, *'atiqa* Mutz329; § 3.1.7.d] m. 'old'; f. *təqta*; pl. *tige*
- tmanyā* [ClAram תְּמַנְיָא; Sab310; Mutz114] 'eight'; see *ṭmāne'sar*, *ṭmāni*
- tola* [K; cf. *tūlā* Maclean 1901:317, *to'la* Mutz390] f. 'revenge'; *tola mpārəqlax* 'you take revenge'; *tol babexun* 'revenge for your father'
- tona* [T, K, ModH < Eur] 'ton'; pl. *tone*
- tora* [ClAram (Syr ܬܘܪܐ, BAram and TO תּוֹרָא); cf. *tōra*, *tawra* Sabar 2002a:308, *tora* Mutz390] m. 'ox'; pl. *tore*; see *tawərta*
- traḡ* [onomat.; Sab175] 'thwack! (sound of beating)'
- tre, tre'* [ClAram תְּרֵי (תְּרֵי); Sab312; § 4.3.1.e] 'two'; *tre'* 'only two' (pausal); f. *tərtē* (*haggada*); *kutru* 'two of them'; see *tre'sar*, *tremma*, *trūšeb*
- tre'sar* [TO תְּרֵי עֶשְׂרֵי, Syr ܬܪܝ ܥܫܪܐ; cf. *tre'sar* Sab313, *trē'əssar* Mutz115] 'twelve'; see *tre*, *tremma*, *trūšeb*

- tremma* [tre + ʿamma; cf. Mutz390 *tréʿamma*; § 4.3.3] ‘two hundred’; see *tre*, *tre’sar*, *trüšeb*
- trüšeb* [LAram תרי בשבא *trüšēba*, *trōšib*, *trüšib* Sab313, *trošeb* Mutz-117] ‘Monday’; see *tre*, *tremma*, *tre’sar*, *trüšeb*
- tūkəla* [K? cf. *tekelṭú* ‘saddle-cloth of felt’ Wahby 1966:143] m. ‘piece of clothing’
- tūsa* [LAram תותא; Sab308; Mutz390] ‘mulberry tree’
- tūsi* [K?] ‘type of thorn’
- tuxma* [K, P, T; cf. *tuxum* Sab307, *tuxma* Mutz390] ‘type, kind’; *tuxmad xorox* ‘type like you’
- tūra*, *twira* [ClAram √תבר] m. ‘broken’; see *twr*
- türkəya* [Türk + gent. suff. -āya; cf. *türkəya* Sab313] m. ‘Turk’; pl. *türkəye*
- türki* [K; cf. *tirki* Sab313, *turki* Mutz390] ‘Turkish (language)’
- twira* see *tūra*
- ‡
- **ṭabāqa* [T, Ar طَبَقَة; Sab170; Mutz391] ‘story, floor’; pl. *ṭabāqe*
- ṭahora* [ModH or H טהר] m. ‘clean, pure’
- ṭalāqe* [Ar طَلَّق; cf. *ṭalāqe* Sab173] ‘divorce’; see *ṭlq*
- ṭamā* [ta ‘for’ + mā ‘what’; cf. ‡(l)amā(ha), טמא, מה, תמה Sab172, *ṭamā* Mutz391] interr. adv. ‘why?’
- ṭamāha* [ClAram תמה; cf. *tamā/ōha* Sab306, *ṭamāha* Mutz391] adv. ‘way over there’ in phrase *ʾax-geb tən-geb ṭamāha-geb* ‘when all’s said and done’ (lit. ‘here side, there side, way over there side’); see *tāma*
- ṭánəke* [K, T, Ar تَنَك; cf. *tanikā*, *ṭūnikā* Maclean 1901:323, *tanak*, *tanikāye* Sab311] pl. ‘large tin cans’
- ṭanašta* [K *teništ*, *teništ* Chyet 2003 605] f. ‘side’; pl. *ṭanašyāsa*
- ṭappá* [Syr ܛܦܦܐ ‘side’; cf. *ṭappāya*, *ṭappēta* Sab174, *ṭapoya* Mutzafi 2002:483; § 3.15.a] ‘hillside’
- ṭāpu* [K, T; Sab170] m. ‘title deed’
- ṭaraf* [T, Ar طَرَف; Sab175] ‘side, part’; only in *mən ṭaraf hukum* ‘on the part of the government’
- ṭarefa* [H טרפה Ben-Yaacob 1985:78; Sab175] ‘non-kosher meat’
- ṭārix* see *tārix*
- ṭarəka* [K *terik* ‘green stick’ Rizgar 1993:183; *terik* ‘wet firewood’ Chyet 2003:608] m. ‘stick’; pl. *ṭarke*
- ṭarma* [K; Sab175] m. ‘corpse’; pl. *ṭarme*
- ṭarrašta* [Syr ܛܪܪܫܬܐ; Sab175; Mutz391] f. ‘thicket, bush’; pl. *ṭarrāše*
- ṭas* see *ta*
- ṭayyāra* [Ar طَيَّارَة; Sab172] ‘airplane’
- ṭe’na* [ClAram טענא; Sab170; Mutz391] m. ‘load’
- ṭélgəraf* [K, T < Eur; cf. *+telgrāf* Sab309 and 1990:62] ‘telegraph’
- ṭélgəram* [K, T < Eur; cf. *+telgrām* Sab309] m. ‘telegram’
- ṭera* [Syr ܛܪܐ; cf. ‘bird, fowl’ Sab172; ‘hoopoe’ Mutz391] ‘fowl, bird’

- **ṭəyarāya* [GN *Ṭəyāra* + gent. suff. *-āya*] m. ‘resident of Tiari (Turkish Kurdistan)’; pl. *ṭəyarāye*; see *ṭəyarnāya*
- ṭəyarnāya* [GN *Ṭəyāra* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. ‘resident of Tiari’; see **ṭəyarāya*
- tima* [ClAram טימא < Gr; Sab172] ‘price, cost’
- ṭina* [ClAram טינא; Sab172; Mutz391] ‘mud’
- ṭiq* [onomat.] ‘bang! (sound of gunshot)’
- ṭlōxe* [ClAram טל(ו)פחיא; Sab172; Mutz392] pl. ‘lentils’
- ṭlāha* [ClAram תלתא; cf. *ṭlā(ha)* Sab172, *ṭlāha* Mutz391] ‘three’; *kúṭlā-hun* ‘the three of them’; see *ṭlāhūšeb*, *ṭlāsi*, *ṭalta’sar*
- ṭlāhūšeb* [LAram תלתא בשבא; cf. *ṭlāhošib*, *ṭlāhūšib*, *ṭlāhūšab* Sab172, *ṭlāhošeb* Mutz117] ‘Tuesday’; see *ṭlāha*, *ṭlāsi*, *ṭalta’sar*
- ṭlāsi* [ClAram תלתין; cf. *ṭlāti*, *ṭlāsi*, *ṭlāhi* Sab172, *ṭlāḏi* Mutz115] ‘thirty’; see *ṭlāha*, *ṭalta’sar*, *ṭlāhūšeb*
- **ṭmira* [ClAram √טמר; Sab173; Mutz392] m. ‘hidden’; pl. *ṭmire*; (*haggada*)
- ṭmāne’sar* [Syr ܬܡܢܝܢ; cf. *tmāne(-)’sar*, **tmāne’sar* Sab310, *ṭmāne’assar* Mutz115] ‘eighteen’; see *ṭmāni*, *tmanyā*
- ṭmāni* [ClAram תמנין; cf. *tmāne*, **tmāne* Sab310, *ṭmāni* Mutz115] ‘eighty’; see *tmanyā*, *ṭmāne’sar*
- ṭrambel* [K < Eur *automobile* + T *tulumba*; Sab175 and 1990:56,63] ‘automobile, bus’; pl. *ṭrambele*
- ṭrosa* [LAram √תרק; cf. **trōsa* Sab313, *ṭrosa* Mutz392] ‘truth, true’; *marri ṭrosa* ‘tell me the truth!’; *lewe ṭrosa* ‘it is not true’; see *ṭrs*
- **ṭupra* [ClAram טפרא (BAram טפרא, TO טופרא, Syr ܬܦܪܐ); cf. *tūpra* Sabar 2002a:172, *ṭupra* Mutz392] ‘nail, claw’; pl. *ṭuprāsa*
- ṭūra* [ClAram טורא; Sab172; Mutz392] ‘mountain’; pl. *ṭurāne*
- v
- veza* [K *wisa* Chyett 2003:647] adv. ‘so, in such a way, like this’
- w
- wa* [K *-hawa*; Mutzafi 2004:85–86; §4.4.26] repetitive-reversive postverbal particle ‘back, again’; *lu d’īre-wa* ‘they have returned back’
- wa’dūsa* [Ar √وعد + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab155] f. ‘promise’
- wājəbūsa* [Ar ووجب + abstr. suff. *-ūsa*; Sab153] f. ‘obligation’ (*haggada*)
- wakil* [K, Ar وكيل; Sab154] m. ‘agent, deputy, substitute’
- wal* [Polotsky 1967:111; Sab154] adv. ‘indeed, surely’
- walāya* [Ar ولاية; Maclean 1901:81] f. ‘valayet’
- walḥāṣəl* [Ar والحاصل; Sab154; cf. Mlahso *warḥašel* Jastrow 1994:193] adv. ‘in short’
- wāli*, *walya* [Ar والي; Sab153] m. ‘vali, (Turkish) governor’; *walyā-bak* ‘the Vali Bey’ (< T *vali ağabey* ‘His Honor the Governor?’)

- waḷla* [Ar *وَاللّٰه*; cf. *+walla*, *+wallahi*, *wü/inne* Sab153, *+wulla* Sabar 2005: 176,178, *waḷla* Mutz393] excl. 'By God!', 'indeed'; see *'alla*, *'ilāha*, *'išālla*
- wānesa* [GN *Wān* + adj. suff. *-esa*] f. 'resident of Van'
- warāqa* [Ar *وَرَقَّة*; cf. *+warāqa* Sab155] f. 'paper, document'; pl. *warāqe*
- waxt, waxta* [K < A *وَقْت*; cf. *waxt, waqt* Sab155] m. 'time'; pl. *waxte*
- warde* [T], LAram < P; Sab155; Mutz393] pl. 'roses, flowers'
- wewa, 'ewa, -ewa, -wa* [Mutz52; § 4.4.6.4] 3 m.s. past copula
- wal-* [*u* + *'alla* Mutz 57–58,393; Hoberman 1989:33; § 4.4.6.3.a] deictic copula; *walle* 'he is right here'; *walla* 'she is right here'
- wəzdān* [K, A *وَجْدَان*; cf. *wij/ždān* Sab153] 'conscience'
- wiza* [T, K < Eur; Maclean 1901:81] 'visa'

x

- xa¹, xa'* [CIAram *ܚܳܐ*; cf. *xa, xa'* Sab191, *xa, xa'* Mutz114,393–394] 'one'; indef. prn 'a(n), a certain'; *xá-yalunka* 'a certain child'; *xa'* 'a single one, only one (pausal)'; *pššwāle xa'* 'it remained the only one'; preceding a numeral adv. 'about, approximately'; *xa 'əšra* 'alpe' 'about ten thousand'; *xá-gā* 'once'; *xá-b-xa* 'one by one'; multiplicative; *xá-u-tre* 'double'; *xá-u-'arba* 'fourfold'; *xá-u-šō'a* 'sevenfold'; see *xadda*, *xade'sar*, *xošeba*
- xa²* see *xe*
- xabine* see *mxabine*
- xabra* [K, T, Ar *خَبْر*; Sab192; Mutz394] 'thing, word'; pl. *xabre*
- xabūša* [LEAram *ܚܳܒܳܘܫܳܐ*; Sab192; Mutz394] 'apple'
- xade'sar* [TO *ܚܳܕܳܝܳܐ*, Syr *ܚܳܕܳܝܳܐ*; cf. *xade'sar* Sabar 202:192, *xadē'əssar* Mutz115] 'eleven'; see *xa*, *xadda*
- xaloya* [Syr *ܚܳܠܳܘܳܝܳܐ*; Sab197; Mutz394] m. 'maternal uncle'; *xaloyi* 'my maternal uncle'; *xalóx* 'your maternal uncle'; see *xalta*
- xalta* [Syr *ܚܳܠܳܬܳܐ*; Sab197; Mutz394] f. 'maternal aunt'; *xalti* 'my maternal aunt'; see *xaloya*
- xalwa* [CIAram *ܚܳܠܳܘܳܐ*; cf. *xalwa, xilya* Sab197, *xalwa* Mutz394] m. 'milk'
- xam* [K, Ar *خَم*; cf. *kham, gham, ghām* Maclean 1901:101] m. 'care, trouble'; *b-xāmox* 'in your care'
- xamša* [CIAram *ܚܳܡܳܫܳܐ*; Sab198; Mutz394] 'five'; see *xamša'ar*, *xamšamma*, *xamši*, *xamūšeb*
- xamša'sar* [Syr *ܚܳܡܳܫܳܐܳܝܳܐ*; cf. *xamša'sar* Sab198, *xamšá'əssar* Mutz115] 'fifteen'; see *xamša*, *xamši*, *xamūšeb*
- xamšamma* [*xamša* + *'amma*; cf. *xammišma*, *xamša 'immāye* Sab198, *xamšá'amma* Mutz394; § 4.3.3] 'five hundred'; see *xamša*, *xamša'sar*, *xamši*, *xamūšeb*
- xamši* [CIAram *ܚܳܡܳܫܳܝܳܐ*; Sab198; Mutz115] 'fifty'; see *xamša*, *xamšamma*, *xamša'ar*, *xamūšeb*
- xamūšeb* [CIAram *ܚܳܡܳܫܳܐܳܝܳܐܳܝܳܐ*; cf. *xamšūšib* Sab198, *xámšošeb* Mutz117] 'Thursday'; see *xamša*, *xamšamma*, *xamši*

- xamxāme* [P; Maclean 1901:134] pl. 'steep places'
- xanči* [NeoAram *xa* + K *pič?*; *xanči* Sab199] indef. prn. 'some, a few'; *xanči q̄tililu* 'some they killed'; *xanči zəmṛəyāsa basime 'amrə* 'you should sing some nice songs'; cf. *piča*, *xapči*
- xānəm* [K, T; cf. *khānim* Maclean 1901:103, *xānime* Sab191] f. 'Madam'
- xanjar*, *xanjāra* [K, T, Ar *خَنْجَر*; cf. *xanjar* Sab198 and Mutz394] m. 'dagger'; pl. *xanjāre*
- xanuqta* [CIAram *√*חנק; cf. *khānüqtā* 'neck' Maclean 1901:103, *xunuqta* 'throat' Sab194] 'throat'
- xapči* [NeoAram *xa* + K *pič?*; cf. *xapča* Sab199 and Mutz394] adv. 'a bit, slightly'; *'iya masale pəšla xapči* ^H*šeket* ^H 'this affair remained a bit quiet'; cf. *piča*, *xanči*
- xarāye* [CIAram *חריתא*(א); cf. *x(a/1)rāye* Sab199, *xarāye* Mutz395] adv. 'later, finally'
- xarbé* [K *xirbe* Rizgar 1993:200, Ar *خَرَابَة*; cf. *xirābi* Sab199, *xarābe* Mutz394] pl. tant. 'ruins'
- xāsa*¹ [CIAram *חַסָּא*(א); Sab191; Mutz395] f. 'sister'; pl. *xaswāsa*; see 'axona
- xāsa*² [CIAram *חַסָּא*; cf. Sab191, Mutz395] 'new'; f. *xasta*; pl. *xāse*; see *xss*
- xāša* [CIAram *חַרְשָׁא, חַצָּא*; Sab191; Mutz395] m. 'back'; *pəšlu xa xāša* 'they were of one opinion'; see *xarxāša*
- xāṭər* [Ar *خَاطِر*; Sab191; Mutz395] 'sake, wish'; *ta xaṭərexun* 'for your sake'; *ta xāṭər 'ilāha* 'for the sake of God'
- xāye* [LEAram *חַי*(י); Sab191; Mutz395] pl. tant. 'life'
- xazina* [Ar *خَزِينَة*; cf. *xizēna*, *xazīne* Sab195] m. 'treasure, safe, cashbox'
- xe*¹, *xes-*, *xa-* [CIAram *ח(ו)ח*(ח); cf. *txēt/txe*, *xēt*, *xē* Sab309, *xe*, *xet-* Mutz395] prep. 'under, beneath'; *xese* 'under him'; *xa* before *reš* (Sab200): *xa-réšəd dide* 'under his head', *m-xa-réšəd dide* 'from under his head'; see 'altax, 'altxé(t?)
- xe*² see *xeta*
- xes-* see *xe*¹
- xet* see *xeta*
- xeta*, *xeta*, *xe*² [BibAram *חַתְּרִי*, TO *חַתְּרִי*, Syr *ܚܬܪܝܐ*; cf. *xēta*, *x1/et* Sab196, *xeta*, *xət* Mutz395; §4.1.10.b] inv. 'other'; *xá-gā xet(a)* 'once again; *xa xet šqalle* 'he took another'; *xa səjjāda xe* 'another prayer rug'; *šraxlu xá-l-e-xet* 'they shouted to each other'; *xa lu mšaboḥe 'al-xé* 'One is praising the other'
- xədda* [CIAram *חַדְּדָא*; Fassberg 1985; cf. *khdhā* Maclean 1901:92, *hda* Jastrow 1988:90, *xda*, *xidda* Sab192; Hoberman 2007:149] indef. prn. 'someone'; see *xa*
- xəddamta* [Ar *خَدَامَة*; cf. *xiddamta* Sab192] f. 'maidservant'
- xədyawāsa* [CIAram *חַדְּדָא*; cf. pl. *xidyawāta* Sab192, *xədyawāṭa* Mutz395] pl. 'breasts'
- xədyūsa* [CIAram *חַדְּדָא*; Sab192; Mutz 2008:395] 'joy' (*haggada*); see *xdy*
- **xəlyā* [CIAram *חַלְיָא*; Sab197; Mutz395] 'sweet'; pl. *xəlye* (*haggada*)
- xəmyāna* [Syr *ܚܝܘܢܐ*; Sab198; Mutz395] m. 'father-in-law'

- xəpyāya* [Syr ܒܝܦܢܐ; Sab199; Mutz396] m. 'barefoot'
- xərxāša* [K *xir* + *xāša*; Sab200; Mutz396] 'cummerbund'; see *xāša*
- xəška* [Syr ܒܝܥܟܐ; Sab201; Mutz396] m. 'darkness'
- xətna* [ClAram ܚܚܢܐ; Sab202; Mutz396] m. 'bridgeroom, son-in-law'
- xəṭṭa* [ClAram ܚܚܬܐ; cf. *xittīta*, pl. *xittē* Sab195, *xəṭṭiṭa*, pl. *xəṭṭe* Mutz-396, *xittā*, pl. *xittē* Khan 1999:585] 'grain of wheat'; pl. *xəṭṭe* 'wheat'
- xəyyāra* [K, T, Ar ܚܝܟܐ; cf. *xıyyāra* Sab196] f. 'cucumber'; pl. *xəyyāre*
- xəzma* [K, T; Sab195] m. 'in-law'; pl. *xəzmawāsa*
- xitka* [K?; K *xet* Chyēt 2003:657, Ar ܚܬ 'line' + suff. -k?] m. 'bar indicating military rank on a uniform'
- xlima* [LArām ܚܠܝܡܐ 'healthy'; Sab197; Mutz396] m. 'thick'; pl. *xlime*
- xlūla, xulūla* [Syr ܚܠܘܠܐ, JBA and Mand ܚܝܠܘܠܐ Nöldeke 1875:118 n. 2; cf. *h/h/xlūla* Sab150–151, *xlūla* Mutz396; §3.18.a] m. 'wedding feast'
- xmāra* [ClAram ܚܡܪܐ; Sab198; Mutz396] m. 'ass, donkey'; pl. *xmāre*; *xmāra bər xmāra* 'what an ass!'; see *xmarūsa*
- xmarūsa* [ClAram ܚܡܪܐ + abstr. suff. -ūsa; Sab198; Mutz396] f. 'stupidity'; see *xmāra*
- xmāsa* [ClAram ܚܡܬܐ; Sab198; Mutz397] f. 'mother-in-law'
- xola* [ClAram ܚܒܠܐ; Sab194; Mutz397] 'rope'
- xor* [ClAram ܚܒܪܐ; cf. *xōr* Sab194, *xur* Mutz397;] prep. 'like'; see *xora, xorūsa*
- xora* [ClAram ܚܒܪܐ; cf. *xōra, xōra* Sab194, *xūra* Mutz397] m. 'friend'; see *xor, xorūsa*
- xorūsa* [ClAram ܚܒܪܐ + abstr. suff. -ūsa; Maclean 1901:91] f. 'friendship'; see *xor, xora*
- xošeba* [LArām ܚܘܫܒܐ; cf. *xu/ošēba* Sab195, *xošeba* Mutz117] 'Sunday'
- xruwiye* [K; cf. *khriiryé* 'millet' Maclean 1901:106, *xro:win* 'buckwheat' Krotkoff 1982:155, *xrowiye* 'sorghum' Mutz397] pl. tant. 'sorghum'
- xudreš* [ܚܘܕܪܐܫ Sab191; Tezel 2003:99,112] 'Take my word for it!' (= [I swear by] the life of the head of-); *b-xudrešox*; see *xāye, reša*
- xulāma* [K, Ar ܚܘܠܡܐ; cf. ⁺*gulāma* Sab134, *xulāma* Mutz397] m. 'servant'; pl. *xulāme, xulamawāsa*
- xulma* [ClAram ܚܘܠܡܐ; cf. *xı/ulma* Sab197, *xulma* Mutz397] 'dream'; [?]*āna kiʾən xulma lu xəzye xulma lewu xəzye* 'Do I know if they have dreamt or not?'
- xulūla* see *xlūla*
- xumma* [TO ܚܘܡܐ; LEArām ܚܘܡܐ; cf. *xımma* Sab197, *xəmma* Mutz395] m. 'heat'
- xurga* [LArām ܚܘܪܓܐ; Sab194] m. 'step-son'
- xurṭ* [K; cf. ܚܘܪܬ Yona 1999A:172, ⁺*xurt, xurit* Sab195] inv. 'aggressive'; see *xurṭūsa*
- xurṭumāne* [Syr ܚܘܪܬܡܢܐ; cf. *xurṭmāne* Sab195, *xurṭumāne* Mutz398] pl. 'chickpeas'

<i>xurṭūsa</i>	[<i>xurṭ</i> + abstr. suff. - <i>ūsa</i> ; cf. כּוּרְטוּסָא Yona 1999A:172, ⁺ <i>xurtuṭa</i> Sab195] f. 'force'; <i>b-xurṭūsa</i> 'forcefully'; see <i>xurṭ</i>
<i>xuṭba</i>	[T, Ar حُطْبَة] f. '(Muslim Friday) sermon'
<i>xuṭṭa</i>	[ClAram חוּטְרָא; cf. <i>khūtrā</i> Maclean 1901:94, <i>xuṭra</i> Sab195] 'stick, rod'; pl. <i>xuṭte</i> ; see <i>xṭr</i>
<i>xuwwa</i>	[TO חוּוָא; Hoberman 2007:140 cf. <i>xuwwa</i> Sab193, <i>xuwwa/e</i> Mutz398] m. 'snake'; pl. <i>xuwwa</i>
* <i>xwāra</i>	[ClAram חוּוָא; Sab193; Mutz398] 'white'; pl. <i>xwāre</i> ; see <i>xwr</i>
<i>xwaš</i>	[K <i>xweš</i> Chyet 2003:674; cf. <i>xōš</i> Sab195; <i>xoš</i> Mutz397] inv. 'good'; see <i>naxwaš</i>
<i>xwazī</i>	[K; cf. <i>xwazī</i> , <i>xuzzi</i> Sab193] excl. 'would that!'

y

<i>yā-</i>	see <i>'iya</i>
<i>ya'ni</i>	[K, T, Ar يَنْعِي; cf. <i>yānī</i> Maclean 1901:121, <i>ya'ni</i> , <i>ya'nu</i> , <i>ya'nix</i> Sab178, <i>ya'ni</i> Mutz398] adv. 'that is to say'
<i>yāla</i>	[ClAram יְאֵלָא? יְאֵלָא?; Ar عِيَال?; Sab92; Mutz399] m. 'child'; pl. <i>yāle</i> , <i>yalunke</i> ; <i>yāl 'amawāsa</i> 'cousins'; <i>kalbe yāl kalbe</i> 'sons of bitches!'; see <i>yalunka</i>
<i>yalunka</i>	[<i>yāla</i> + dim. suff. - <i>ūn</i> + <i>ka</i> ; Sab92; Mutz399] m. 'child'; pl. <i>yalunke</i> ; see <i>yāla</i>
<i>yāma</i>	[ClAram יָמָא; Sab176; Mutz399] 'sea'
<i>yarixa</i>	[ClAram יָרִיכָא; Sab179; Mutz399] m. 'long'; f. <i>yarṣxta</i> ; pl. <i>yarixe</i> ; <i>lišāna yarixa</i> 'cheeky' (lit. 'long tongue'); see <i>yrx</i>
<i>yarxa</i>	[ClAram יָרְחָא; Sab179; Mutz399] m. 'month'; pl. <i>yarxe</i>
<i>yārūsa</i>	[K; cf. <i>yārūsa</i> Sab176 and Mutz399] f. 'camaraderie'; <i>b-yārūsa</i> 'jokingly'
<i>yatumta</i>	[ClAram יָתֻמָא; Sab179; Mutz399] f. 'orphan'
<i>yamma</i>	[ClAram יָמָא; Sab177; Mutz399] f. 'mother'
<i>yoma</i>	[ClAram יוּמָא; Sab177; Mutz399] m. 'day'; pl. <i>yomāsa</i> , <i>yome</i> ; <i>yomād din</i> 'Day of Judgment'; <i>ḥil yoma gənya</i> 'until the sun (has) set' (§4.4.16.g); <i>yom basra</i> 'the next day'; <i>kūd-yom</i> 'every day'; see <i>palgadyo</i>
<i>yuqdāna</i>	[Syr ܝܘܩܕܢܐ; Sab177] 'conflagration' (<i>haggada</i>); see <i>qyd</i>

z

* <i>zad'əwāna</i>	[NeoAram * <i>zado/u'a?</i> + suff. - <i>āna</i> ; Maclean 1901:83] 'fearful, cowardly'; pl. <i>zad'əwāne</i> ; see <i>zd'</i> , <i>zde'sa</i> , <i>zdo'sa</i>
<i>zamāra</i>	[LAram זָמְרָא; Sab159; Mutz400] m. 'singer'
<i>zanqa</i>	[Syr ܙܢܩܐ < P; 'flesh under the chin, the larynx' Maclean 1901:88; 'chin' Sab160] f. 'chin'
<i>zaviya</i>	[K; cf. <i>zawīya</i> , <i>zavīya</i> Sab157] f. 'field'
<i>zaxonāya</i>	[GN <i>Zāxo</i> + gent. suff. - <i>nāya</i> ; Sab156, Mutz400] m. 'resident of Zakhō'
<i>zde'sa</i> , <i>zdo'sa</i>	[ClAram ܙܕܥܘܬܐ; cf. <i>zde'ta</i> , <i>zdo'ta</i> Sab156, <i>zdo'ta</i> Mutz400] f. 'fear'; see * <i>zad'əwāna</i> , <i>zd'</i>

- zdo'sa* see *zde'sa*
- zebarnāya* [GN *Zebar* + gent. suff. *-nāya*] m. 'resident of Zebar (Iraqi Kurdistan)'; pl. *zebarnāye*
- zəbla* [Ar زبل; Sab156] 'garbage'
- zəmrəyāsa* [TO זמר; Syr ܙܡܪܐ; cf. *zmârâ*, *zmârtâ* Maclean 1901:87, *zimmurta* Sab159, *zəmra* Mutz400] pl. 'songs'; see 'mr, *zmr*
- zindān* [T, K; cf. Syr ܝܢܢܘܬܐ] 'jailer' < P; cf. *zindāna* Sab160] 'dungeon, prison'
- zo'a* [LArām ܙܘܥܐ < Gr; Sab157; Mutz400] 'pair'; pl. *zo'e*
- zodāna* [Ar √زيد + suff. *-āna*; Sab157; Mutz400] m. 'more, additional'; pl. *zodāne*; see *báz-zodāna*, *zyd*
- zoma* [K; Sab157] 'summer camp'
- zozān* [K; cf. *zōzān(a)* Sab157] f. 'mountain (summer) pasture'; pl. *zozāne*
- zōra* [LWArām ܙܘܪܐ and Syr Kutscher 1976:23–25; cf. *z'ōra*, *zōra* Sab 2002a:156, *zora* Mutz400] 'small, little, young'; f. *zūrta*; pl. *zōre*
- zūna* [CLArām ܙܘܢܐ < P < Akk; cf. *zūna*, *zōna* Sabar 2002:157, only *m(ḥn)-zūna* Mutz401] 'time'; attested only in *m-zūna* 'long ago'
- zūna*, *zwina* [CLArām ܙܘܢܐ] 'bought'; see *zwn*
- zyāra* [K, T, Ar ܙܝܪܐ; cf. ⁺*zyāra*, ⁺*zyarta* Sab158, *zyāra* Mutzafi 2008a:401] f. 'visit to a shrine'; 'edəd *zyāra* 'Feast of Weeks, Pentecost (שבועות)'
- ȝ
- zōr* [K, T, Ar ܙܘܪ; cf. *zōr*, ⁺*bizzōr* Sab157] 'force'; *b-zōr* 'forcefully, reluctantly'
- ž
- žang* [K Chyet 2003:809] f. 'rust, rusty'; pl. *žange*
- ži*, *-ž* [K; cf. *ši(n)*, *šik(ēne)*, *žī(g)* Sab297, *-ši* Mutz385; Cohen 2008b] conj. 'also, too, even'
- žwanta* [K *jivan* 'rendez-vous, date, appointment' Chyet 2003:292] 'expecting, waiting for'; *bābi le ḥmila žwanti* 'my father has been expecting me'; ^H*bet kvarót la ḥmalta žwantox* 'the cemetery has been expecting you'; (cf. *חמל-היביתא צפה* Yona 1999b:405)

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

- Alder, Marcus N. 1907. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*. London: Henry Frowde.
- Alfiye, Shabtay. 1986. הגדה של פסח בשפה כורדית ואכוית. Jerusalem: n.p.
- Almkvist, Herman. 1891. *Kleine Beiträge zur Lexikographie des Vulgärrabischen*. Leiden: Brill.
- Arnold, Werner. 1990. *Das Neuwestaramäische*. Vol. V: Grammatik. Semitica Viva 4/V. Leiden: Harrassowitz.
- Arnold, Werner and Helmut Bobzin, editors. 2002. "Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik. Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Assaf, Simha. 1934. "לתולדות היהודים בקורדיסטאן ושכנותיה." *Zion* 6:פה-קיג.
- . 1943. *Beoholei Ya'akov: Essays on the Cultural Life of the Jews in the Middle Ages*. Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook [Hebrew].
- Avidani, 'Alwan. 1959. סדר הגדה של פסח עברי - כורדי. Jerusalem: n.p.
- . 1977. סדר הגדה של פסח עברי כורדי. 2nd edition. Jerusalem: n.p.
- Bar-Asher, Moshe. 1977. *Palestinian Syriac Studies: Source-Texts, Traditions and Grammatical Problems*. Jerusalem: n.p. [Hebrew].
- . 1998. "The Syropalestinian Version of the Bible." *Lěšonénu* 61:131–43 [Hebrew].
- and Moshe Florentin, editors. 2005. *Samaritan, Hebrew and Aramaic Studies Presented to Professor Abraham Tal*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute [Hebrew].
- Bauer, Hans and Pontus Leander. 1927. *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.
- Ben-Hayyim, Ze'ev. 1954. *Studies in the Traditions of the Hebrew Language*. Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano.
- . 1976. *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans*. Vol. III, Part II: The Recitation of Prayers and Hymns. Jerusalem: Academy of Hebrew Language [Hebrew].
- . 2000. *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew Based on the Recitation of the Law in Comparison with the Tiberian and Other Jewish Traditions*. With assistance from Abraham Tal. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Ben-Yacob, Abraham. 1980. *Kurdistan Jewish Communities*. 2nd edition. Jerusalem: Kiryath-Sepher [Hebrew].
- . 1985. *Hebrew and Aramaic in the Language of the Jews of Iraq*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute [Hebrew].
- Ben Yehuda, Eliezer. 1908–1958. *Thesaurus totius hebraicitatis et veteris et recentioris*. Jerusalem: Ben-Yehuda. 16 vols. Reprinted 6 vols. New York: Yoseloff, 1960.
- Blau, Joshua and Simon Hopkins. 2006. "On Aramaic Vocabulary in Early Judaeo-Arabic Texts Written in Phonetic Spelling." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 32:433–471.

- Blau, Joyce and Veysi Barak. 1999. *Manuel de Kurde: Kurmanji*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Brauer, Erich. 1993. *The Jews of Kurdistan*, completed and edited by Raphael Patai. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Breuer, Yochanan. 1997. "The Function of the Particle 'qā' in Babylonian Aramaic." *Lěšonénu* 60:73–94 [Hebrew].
- Brockelmann, Carl. 1908–1912. *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*. 2 vols. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard.
- Campbell, Lyle. 2004. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. 2nd edition. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.
- Clarity, Beverley E. et al. 2003. *A Dictionary of Iraqi Arabic: English-Arabic, Arabic-English*. Georgetown Classics in Arabic Language and Linguistics. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press.
- Cohen David. 1995. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques*. Avec la collaboration de François Bron et Antoine Lonnet. Fascicule 5:H-HFF. Paris/Leuven: Mouton/Peeters.
- Cohen, Eran. 2008a. "The Copular Clause in Jewish Zakho Neo-Aramaic." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 53:43–68.
- . 2008b. "Focus in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho." *Lěšonénu* 70:661–678 [Hebrew].
- Contini, Riccardo. 1998. "Considerazioni sul presunto 'dativo etico' in aramaico pre-Cristiano." In *Études sémitiques et samaritaines offertes à Jean Margain*, 83–94. Histoire du texte biblique 4. Edited by Christian-Bernard Amphoux, Albert Frey, and Ursula Schattner-Rieser. Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre.
- Correll, Christoph. 1974. "Ein Vorschlag zur Erklärung der Negation čū (cū) in den neuwestaramäischen Dialekten des Antilibanon." *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124:271–285.
- Dalman, Gustaf. 1905. *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*. 2nd edition. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Dobbs-Allsopp, F.W. 1995. "Ingressive qwm in Biblical Hebrew." *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 8:41–54.
- Elihay, J. 2005. *The Olive Tree Dictionary: A Transliterated Dictionary of Conversational Eastern Arabic (Palestinian)*. Jerusalem: Minerva.
- Epstein, J.N. 1960. *A Grammar of Babylonian Aramaic*. Jerusalem: Magnes [Hebrew].
- Fassberg, Steven E. 1985. "Determined Forms of the Cardinal Number 'One' in Three Pentateuchal Targumim." *Sefarad* 45:209–215.
- . 1997. "Translations of 'Water' in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan." *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions and Jewish Languages* 9–11:483–494 [Hebrew].
- . 2005. "Lexical Investigations in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic: Is There a Shift of 'Aleph to 'Ayin?" In Bar-Asher and Florentin 2005:243–256 [Hebrew].
- . 2008a. "The Forms of 'Son' and 'Daughter' in Aramaic." In Gzella and Folmer 2008:41–53.
- . 2008b. "The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Čalla." In *Neo-Aramaic Dialect Studies: Proceedings of a Workshop on Neo-Aramaic held in Cambridge, 2005*, 65–74. Edited by Geoffrey Khan. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias.

- Fellman, Kadia. 1978. *Catalogue of the Recordings in the Tape Archives*. עדה ולשון א. Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem Language Traditions Project.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. 1979. "The Phases of the Aramaic Language." In *A Wandering Aramean: Collected Aramaic Essays*, 57–84. Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series 25. Chico, California: Scholars.
- . 1995. *The Aramaic Inscriptions of Sefire*. 2nd edition. *Biblica et Orientalia* 19/A. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Fleisch, Henri. 1961. *Traité de philologie arabe*. Vol. I: Préliminaires, phonétique, morphologie nominale. Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique.
- Fox, Samuel E. 1997. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Jilu*. *Semitica Viva* 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2002. "A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Bohtan." In Arnold and Bobzin 2002: 165–180.
- . 2007. "The Story of Mem u Zine in the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Bohtan." In Miller 2007:69–79.
- Garbell, Irene. 1965. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Persian Azerbaijan*. *Janua Linguarum Series Practica* 3. The Hague: Mouton.
- Goldenberg, Gideon. 1993. "Otto Jastrow, *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Herzevin (Provinz Siirt)*—A Review Article." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 38:295–308. Reprinted in Goldenberg 1998:630–643.
- . 1995. "Attribution in Semitic Languages." *Langues orientales anciennes: philologie et linguistique* 5–6:1–20. Reprinted in Goldenberg 1998:46–65.
- . 1998. *Studies in Semitic Linguistics*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1998.
- Greenfield, Jonas C. 1970. "HAMARAKARA > 'AMARKAL." In *W.B. Henning Memorial Volume*, 180–186. Edited by Mary Boyce and Ilya Gershevitch. London: Lund Humphries.
- . 1972. "Three Iranian Words in the Targum of Job from Qumran." *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122:37–45.
- Gzella, Holger and Margaretha L. Folmer, editors. 2008. *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission 50. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Halevy, Rivka. 2004. "The Function of the Construction 'Verb + l- + Personal Reflexive Pronoun' in Contemporary Hebrew." *Lěšonénu* 66:113–143 [Hebrew].
- Hashiloni, Ahiya and Yosef Hashiloni. 1985. "הכם יעקב (אחיה) השילוני וצ'ל." *התחדשות* 5:129–132.
- Hasselbach, Rachel. 2007. "External Plural Markers in Semitic: A New Assessment." In Miller 2007:123–138.
- Heinrichs, Wolfhart, editor. 1990. *Studies in Neo-Aramaic*. Harvard Semitic Studies 36. Atlanta: Scholars.
- . 2002. "Peculiarities of the Verbal System of Senāya within the Framework of North Eastern Neo-Aramaic (NENA)." In Arnold and Bobzin 2002:237–268.
- Henkin, Roni. 1994. "On the Narrative Imperative in Negev Arabic and in Russian." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39:245–283.
- Hoberman, Robert D. 1988. "The History of the Modern Aramaic Pronouns and Pronominal Suffixes." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108:557–575.

- . 1989. *The Syntax and Semantics of Verb Morphology in Modern Aramaic: A Jewish Dialect of Iraqi Kurdistan*. American Oriental Society 69. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- . 1990. "Reconstructing Pre-Modern Aramaic Morphology: The Independent Pronouns." In Heinrichs 1990:79–88.
- . 1997. "Modern Aramaic Phonology." In *Phonologies of Asia and Africa*, 1:313–335. Edited by Alan S. Kaye. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2007. "Semitic Triradicality or Prosodic Minimality? Evidence from Sound Change." In Miller 2007:139–154.
- Hony, H.C. 1957. *A Turkish-English Dictionary*. 2nd edition. With the advice of Fahir İz. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hopkins, Simon. 1989a. "Neo-Aramaic Dialects and the Formation of the Preterite." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34:413–432.
- . 1989b. "A Tale in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Nayada (Persian Azerbaijan)." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12:243–281.
- . 2002. "Preterite and Perfect in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic of Kerend (Southern Iranian Kurdistan)." In Arnold and Bobzin 2002:281–298.
- Hozaya, Younan and Anderios Youkhana. 1999. *Bahra: Arabic—Assyrian Dictionary*. 2nd edition. Arbil: Assyrian Aid Society of America.
- Huehnergard, John. 1983. "Asseverative *la and Hypothetical *lu/law in Semitic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103:569–593.
- Jaba, Auguste. 1879. *Dictionnaire kurde-français publié par Ferdinand Justi*. St.-Petersbourg: l'Académie Impériale.
- Jastrow, Otto. 1990. "Personal and Demonstrative Pronouns in Central Neo-Aramaic: A Comparative and Diachronic Discussion Based on Turoyo and the Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Hertevin." In Heinrichs 1990:89–106.
- . 1993. *Laut- und Formenlehre des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Midin im Tūr 'Abdin*. 4th edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 1994. *Der neuaramäische Dialekt von Mlahsô*. *Semitica Viva* 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 1997. "The Neo-Aramaic Languages." In *The Semitic Languages*, 344–377. Edited by Robert Hetzron. London: Routledge.
- Kamil, Murad. 1963. *Beiträge zur Entstehung der vierradikaligen Verben in den gesprochenen semitischen Sprachen*. *Memoires de l'Institut d'Égypte* 57. Le Caire: L'institut française d'archéologie orientale.
- Kapeliuk, Olga. 1997. "Spirantization of *ṭ* and *ḏ* in Neo-Aramaic." *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions and Jewish Languages* 9–11:527–544 [Hebrew].
- . 2008. "The Perfect Tenses in Urmi Neo-Aramaic." In Gzella and Folmer 2008:313–334.
- Kaufman, Stephen A. 1974. *The Akkadian Influences on Aramaic*. Assyriological Studies 19. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 1999. *A Grammar of Neo-Aramaic: The Dialect of the Jews of Arbel*. *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 47. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2002. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* 36. Leiden: Brill.

- . 2004. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 44. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2007. “The Morphology of Neo-Aramaic.” In *Morphologies of Asia and Africa*, 1:309–327. Edited by Alans S. Kaye. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- . 2008. “The Expression of Definiteness in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects.” In *Gzella and Folmer 2008*: 287–304.
- Krotkoff, Georg. 1982. *A Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Kurdistan: Texts, Grammar, and Vocabulary*. American Oriental Series 64. New Haven: American Oriental Society.
- . 1985. “Studies in Neo-Aramaic Lexicology.” In *Biblical and Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, 123–134. Edited by Ann Kort and Scott Morschauer. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Kutscher, Eduard Yehezkel. 1964. “Aramaic Calque in Hebrew.” *Tarbiz* 33:118–130 [Hebrew].
- . 1967. “Jewish Palestinian Aramaic.” In *Rosenthal 1967*, I/1:51–70.
- . 1976. *Studies in Galilean Aramaic*. Translated by Michael Sokoloff. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University.
- . 1982. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Edited by Raphael Kutscher. Jerusalem: Magnes.
- Lane, Edward William. 1863–1893. *Arabic—English Lexicon*. 8 vols. London: Williams and Norgate.
- Leander, Pontus. 1928. *Laut- und Formenlehre des Ägyptisch-Aramäischen*. Göteborgs högskolas årsskrift 34.4. Göteborg: Elanders boktryckeri aktiebolag.
- Lidzbarski, Mark. 1898. “Semitische Kosenamen.” In *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 2:1–23. Giessen: J. Ricker.
- MacKenzie, D.N. 1981. *Kurdish Dialect Studies*. 2 vols. London Oriental Series 9. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Maclean, Arthur John. 1895. *Grammar of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1901. *Dictionary of the Dialects of Vernacular Syriac*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Macuch, Rudolf. 1982. *Grammatik des samaritanischen Aramäischen*. Studia Samaritana 4. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Malik Yaqu. 1964. *ܐܘܪܝܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܝܢ ܘܕܘܘܟܝܢ* [= *The Assyrians and the Two World Wars*]. Tehran.
- Mann, Jacob. 1931. *Texts and Studies in Jewish History and Literature*. 2 vols. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press.
- Meehan, Charles and Jacqueline Alon. 1979. “The Boy Whose Tunic Stuck to Him: A Folktale in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho (Iraqi Kurdistan).” *Israel Oriental Studies* 9:174–203.
- Miller, Cynthia L., editor. 2007. *Studies in Semitic and Afroasiatic Linguistics Presented to Gene B. Gragg*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 60. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Morag, Shelomo. 1988. *Babylonian Aramaic: The Yemenite Tradition. Historical Aspects and Transmission, Phonology, The Verbal System*. Jerusalem: Ben Zvi Institute [Hebrew].

- Morrison, Craig. 2008. "The Function of *q̄tal hwā* in the *Acts of Judas Thomas*." In Gzella and Folmer 2008:257–285.
- Mutzafi, Hezy. 2000. "The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Maha Khtaya dBaz: Phonology, Morphology and Texts." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 45:293–322.
- . 2002. "On the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Aradhin and its Dialectal Affinities." In Arnold and Bobzin 2002:479–488.
- . 2004. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Koy Sanjaq (Iraqi Kurdistan)*. *Semítica Viva* 32. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2005. "The Reflexes of the Word אָר (‘Ear’) in Eastern Neo-Aramaic: Etymology, Diversification and Innovation." In Bar-Asher and Florentin 2005:243–256 [Hebrew].
- . 2006a. "On the Etymology of Some Enigmatic Words in North-Eastern Neo-Aramaic." *Aramaic Studies* 4:83–99.
- . 2006b. "An Eighteenth Century Poem on David and Goliath in Jewish Neo-Aramaic and Hebrew." *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions and Jewish Languages* 13–14:125–162 [Hebrew].
- . 2007. "The Sound Change *t̄ > š̄ in Tyare Neo-Aramaic." *Le Muséon* 120:351–364.
- . 2008a. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Betanure (Province of Dihok)*. *Semítica Viva* 43. Wiesbaden.
- . 2008b. "Trans-Zab Jewish Neo-Aramaic." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 71:409–431.
- Nehama, Joseph. 1977. *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol*. Avec la collaboration de Jesus Cantera. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Benito Arias Montano.
- Nöldeke, Theodor. 1868. *Grammatik der neusyrischen Sprach am Urmia-See und in Kurdistan*. Leipzig: T.O. Weigel.
- . 1875. *Mandäische Grammatik*. Halle an der Saale: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses.
- . 1910. *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.
- Odisho, Edward Y. 1997. "A Comparative Study of Pet Names in English and Assyrian." In *Humanism, Culture, and Language in the Near East: Studies in Honor of Georg Krotkoff*, 319–333. Edited by Asma Afsaruddin and A.H. Mathias Zahniser. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Pat-El, Na'ama. 2008. "Historical Syntax of Aramaic: A Note on Subordination." In Gzella and Folmer 2008:55–75.
- Pennacchietti, Fabrizio A. 1997. "On the Etymology of the Neo-Aramaic Particle *qam/kim*." *Massorot: Studies in Language Traditions and Jewish Languages* 9–11:475–482 [Hebrew].
- Polotsky, Hans Jakob. 1961. "Studies in Modern Syriac." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6:1–32.
- . 1967. "Eastern Neo-Aramaic: Zakho." In Rosenthal 1967, II/2:104–111.
- . 1979. "Verbs with Two Objects in Modern Syriac (Urmī)." *Israel Oriental Studies* 9:204–227.
- Rabin, Chaim. 1969. "The Nature and Origin of the *Shaf'el* in Hebrew and Aramaic." *Eretz-Israel* 9:148–158 [Hebrew].

- Redhouse, James W. 1890. *A Turkish and English Lexicon Shewing in English the Significations of the Turkish Terms*. Constantinople: A.H. Boyajian.
- Ritter, Hellmut. 1990. *Ṭūrōyo: Die Volkssprache der syrischen Christen des Ṭūr ʿAbdīn, C : Grammatik : Pronomen, "Sein, Vorhanden Sein", Zahlwort, Verbum*. Stuttgart : Franz Steiner.
- Rivlin, Yosef Yoel. 1959 = שירת יהודי התרגום: פרקי עליה וגבורה בפי יהודי כורדיסטן. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- Rollinger, Robert. 2006. "The Terms 'Assyria' and 'Syria' Again." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65:283–287.
- Rosenthal, Franz, editor. 1967. *An Aramaic Handbook*. Wiesbaden. Porta Linguarum 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Rubin, Aaron D. 2005. *Studies in Semitic Grammaticalization*. Harvard Semitic Studies 57. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Sabar, Yona. 1974. "First Names, Nicknames, and Family Names Among the Jews of Kurdistan." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 65:43–51.
- . 1975. "The Impact of Israeli Hebrew on the Neo-Aramaic Dialect of the Kurdish Jews of Zakho: A Case of Language Shift." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 46:489–508.
- . 1976. *A Neo-Aramaic Midrash on Beshallah (Exodus): Introduction, Phonetic Transcription, Translation, Notes and Glossary*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 1982. "The Quadriradical Verb in Eastern Neo-Aramaic Dialects." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27:149–176.
- . 1983. *The Book of Genesis in Neo-Aramaic in the Dialect of the Jewish Community of Zakho*. עדה ולשון ט. Jerusalem: Hebrew University Language Traditions Project.
- . 1984. *Homilies in the Neo-Aramaic of the Kurdistan Jews on the Parashot Wayhi, Beshallah and Yitro*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities [Hebrew].
- . 1990. "General European Loanwords in the Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho, Iraqi Kurdistan." In Heinrichs 1990:53–66.
- . 2002a. *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary: Dialects of Amidya, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, Northwestern Iraq*. Semitica Viva 28. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2002b. "Mah Nishtannah: A Comparison of the Neo-Aramaic Translations and the Hebrew Text of Two Kurdistan Passover Haggadot: A Historical-Linguistic Study, Including Remarks on Kurdistan Passover Folklore." *Lěšonénu* 64:73–91 [Hebrew].
- . 2002c. "Ad Lěšonénu 64, pp. 73–91." *Lěšonénu* 65: 95–96 [Hebrew].
- . 2004. "Mi Khamokha in Jewish Neo-Aramaic." *Ben 'Ever la-'Arav: Contacts between Arabic Literature and Jewish Literature in the Middle Ages and Modern Times* 3:95–120 [Hebrew].
- . 2005. "Yona Gabbay, A Jewish Peddler's Life Story from Iraqi Kurdistan as Narrated by Him in His Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Zakho (Four Episodes)." *Mediterranean Language Review* 16:167–220.
- . 2006. *The Five Scrolls in Jewish Neo-Aramaic Translations: Dialects of 'Amidya, Dihok, and Urmiya*. עדה ולשון כו. Jerusalem: Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center.

- Soden, Wolfram von. 1995. *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*. 3rd edition, unter Mitarbeit von Werner R. Mayer. *Analecta Orientalia* 33. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Sokoloff, Michael. 1990. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press.
- . 2002. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Spitaler, Anton. 1938. *Grammatik des neuaramäischen Dialekts von Ma'lūla (Antilibanon)*. *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 23. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
- . 1967. "The Aramaic Dialect of Ma'lūla." In Rosenthal 1967, II/2:82–96.
- Steiner, Richard C. 1987. "Lulav vs. *lu/law: A Note on the Conditioning of *aw > u in Hebrew and Aramaic." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 107:121–122.
- . 1995a. "Linguistic Features of the Commentary on Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets in the Hebrew Scrolls from Byzantium." *Lešonenu* 59:39–56 [Hebrew].
- . 1995b. "The Words מֵאָה '100' and מֵאָתַיִן '200' in *Derashot* Based on Popular Dialects of Aramaic." *Tarbiz* 65:33–36 [Hebrew].
- Talay, Shabo. 2008. *Die neuaramäischen Dialekte der Khabur-Assyrer in Nordostsyrien*. *Semitic Viva* 40. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Tezel, Aziz. 2003. *Comparative Etymological Studies in the Western Neo-Syriac (Ṭūrōyō) Lexicon*. *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 18. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Vollers, Karl. 1896. "Beiträge zur Kenntniss der lebenden arabischen Sprache in Aegypten: II. Ueber Lehnwörter. Fremdes und Eigenes." *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 50:607–657.
- Weiss, Raphael. 1979. *The Aramaic Targum of Job*. Tel-Aviv: Tel Aviv-University [Hebrew].
- Yona, Mordechai. 1999א. *Aramaic-Kurdish—Hebrew Dictionary*. Jerusalem: n.p.
- . 1999ב. *Hebrew—Aramaic-Kurdish Dictionary*. Jerusalem: n.p.
- . 2003. *Kurdish Jewish Encyclopaedia*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute [Hebrew].

Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

3. Corré, A.D. *The Daughter of My People*. Arabic and Hebrew Paraphrases of Jeremiah 8.13-9.23. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02552 9
5. Grand'Henry, J. *Les parlers arabes de la région du Mzā b (Sahara algérien)*. 1976. ISBN 90 04 04533 3
6. Bravmann, M.M. *Studies in Semitic Philology*. 1977. ISBN 90 04 04743 3
8. Fenech, E. *Contemporary Journalistic Maltese*. An Analytical and Comparative Study. 1978. ISBN 90 04 05756 0
9. Hospers, J.H. (ed.). *General Linguistics and the Teaching of Dead Hamito-Semitic Languages*. Proceedings of the Symposium held in Groningen, 7th-8th November 1975, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Institute of Semitic Studies and Near Eastern Archaeology of the State University at Groningen. 1978. ISBN 90 04 05806 0
12. Hoftijzer, J. *A Search for Method*. A Study in the Syntactic Use of the H-locale in Classical Hebrew. With the collaboration of H.R. van der Laan and N.P. de Koo. 1981. ISBN 90 04 06257 2
13. Murtonen, A. *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*. A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions. Part I. *A Comparative Lexicon*.
Section A. *Proper Names*. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07245 4
Section Ba. *Root System: Hebrew Material*. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08064 3
Section Bb. *Root System: Comparative Material and Discussion*. Sections C, D and E: *Numerals under 100, Pronouns, Particles*. 1989.
ISBN 90 04 08899 7
14. Retsö, J. *Diathesis in the Semitic Languages*. A Comparative Morphological Study. 1989. ISBN 90 04 08818 0
15. Rouchdy, A. *Nubians and the Nubian Language in Contemporary Egypt*. A Case of Cultural and Linguistic Contact. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09197 1
16. Murtonen, A. *Hebrew in its West Semitic Setting*. A Comparative Survey of Non-Masoretic Hebrew Dialects and Traditions. Part 2. *Phonetics and Phonology*. Part 3. *Morphosyntactics*. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09309 5
17. Jongeling K., H.L. Murre-van den Berg & L. van Rompay (eds.). *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Syntax*. Presented to Professor J. Hoftijzer on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09520 9
18. Cadora, F.J. *Bedouin, Village, and Urban Arabic*. An Ecolinguistic Study. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09627 2
19. Versteegh, C.H.M. *Arabic Grammar and Qur'anic Exegesis in Early Islam*. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09845 3
20. Humbert, G. *Les voies de la transmission du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09918 2
21. Mifsud, M. *Loan Verbs in Maltese*. A Descriptive and Comparative Study. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10091 1
22. Joosten, J. *The Syriac Language of the Peshitta and Old Syriac Versions of Matthew*. Syntactic Structure, Inner-Syriac Developments and Translation Technique. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10036 9

23. Bernards, M. *Changing Traditions*. Al-Mubarrad's Refutation of Sibawayh and the Subsequent Reception of the *Kitāb*. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10595 6
24. Belnap, R.K. and N. Haeri. *Structuralist Studies in Arabic Linguistics*. Charles A. Ferguson's Papers, 1954-1994. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10511 5
25. Talmon R. *Arabic Grammar in its Formative Age*. *Kitāb al-'Ayn* and its Attribution to Ḥalil b. Aḥmad. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10812 2
26. Testen, D.D. *Parallels in Semitic Linguistics*. The Development of Arabic *la-* and Related Semitic Particles. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10973 0
27. Bolozky, S. *Measuring Productivity in Word Formation*. The Case of Israeli Hebrew. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11252 9
28. Ermers, R. *Arabic Grammars of Turkic*. *The Arabic Linguistic Model Applied to Foreign Languages & Translation of 'Abu ayyān al-'Andalusi's Kitāb al-'Iḍrāk li-Lisān al-'Atrāk*. 1999. ISBN 90 04 113061
29. Rabin, Ch. *The Development of the Syntax of Post-Biblical Hebrew*. 1999. ISBN 90 04 11433 5
30. Piamenta, M. *Jewish Life in Arabic Language and Jerusalem Arabic in Communal Perspective*. A Lexical-Semantic Study. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11762 8
31. Kinberg, N. ; Versteegh, K. (ed.). *Studies in the Linguistic Structure of Classical Arabic*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 11765 2
32. Khan, G. *The Early Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought*. Including a Critical Edition, Translation and Analysis of the *Diqduq* of 'Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf ibn Nūḥ on the *Hagiographa*. 2000. ISBN 90 04 11933 7
33. Zammit, M.R. *A Comparative Lexical Study of Qur'ānic Arabic*. ISBN 90 04 11801 2 (in preparation)
34. Bachra, B.N. *The Phonological Structure of the Verbal Roots in Arabic and Hebrew*. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12008 4
35. Åkesson, J. *Arabic Morphology and Phonology*. Based on the *Marāḥ al-arwāḥ* by Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Mas'ūd. Presented with an Introduction, Arabic Edition, English Translation and Commentary. 2001. ISBN 90 04 12028 9
36. Khan, G. *The Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Qaraqosh*. 2002. ISBN 90 04 12863 8
37. Khan, G., Ángeles Gallego, M. and Olszowy-Schlanger, J. *The Karaite Tradition of Hebrew Grammatical Thought in its Classical Form*. A Critical Edition and English Translation of *al-Kitāb al-Kāfi fī al-Luġa al-'Ibrāniyya* by 'Abū al-Faraj Ḥārūn ibn al-Faraj. 2 Vols. 2003. ISBN 90 04 13272 4 (Set), ISBN 90 04 13311 9 (Vol. 1), ISBN 90 04 13312 7 (Vol. 2)
38. Haak, M., De Jong, R., Versteegh, K. (eds.). *Approaches to Arabic Dialects*. A Collection of Articles presented to Manfred Woidich on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13206 6
39. Takács, G. (ed.). *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13245 7
40. Maman, A. *Comparative Semitic Philology in the Middle Ages*. From Sa'adiyah Gaon to Ibn Barūn (10th-12th C.). 2004. ISBN 90 04 13620 7
41. Van Peursen, W.Th. *The Verbal System in the Hebrew Text of Ben Sira*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13667 3
42. Elgibali, A. *Investigating Arabic*. Current Parameters in Analysis and Learning. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13792 0
43. Florentin, M. *Late Samaritan Hebrew*. A Linguistic Analysis of Its Different Types. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13841 2
44. Khan, G. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Sulemaniyya and Ḥalabja*. 2004. ISBN 90 04 13869 2

45. Wellens, I. *The Nubi Language of Uganda. An Arabic Creole in Africa*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14518 4
46. Bassiouney, R. *Functions of Code Switching in Egypt. Evidence from Monologues*. 2006. ISBN 90 04 14760 8
47. Khan, G. *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*. 2005. ISBN 90 04 14834 5
48. Mejdell, G. *Mixed Styles in Spoken Arabic in Egypt. Somewhere between Order and Chaos*. 2006. ISBN-10: 90 04 14986 4, ISBN-13: 978 90 04 14986 1
49. Ditters, W.E. and Motzki, H. (eds.). *Approaches to Arabic Linguistics. Presented to Kees Versteegh on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 16015 6
50. Zewi, T. *Parenthesis in Biblical Hebrew*. 2007. ISBN 978 90 04 16243 3
51. Baalbaki, R. *The Legacy of the Kitāb. Sibawayhi's Analytical Methods within the Context of the Arabic Grammatical Theory*. 2008. ISBN 978 90 04 16813 8
52. Peled, Y. *Sentence Types and Word-Order Patterns in Written Arabic. Medieval and Modern Perspectives*. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17062 9
53. Al-Wer, E. and R. de Jong. *Arabic Dialectology. In honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17212 8
54. Fassberg, S.E. *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dialect of Challa*. 2010. ISBN 978 90 04 17682 9
55. Kahn, L. *The Verbal System in Late Enlightenment Hebrew*. 2009. ISBN 978 90 04 17733 8
56. Marogy, A.E. *Kitāb Sibawayhi. Syntax and Pragmatics*. 2010. ISBN 978 90 04 17816 8